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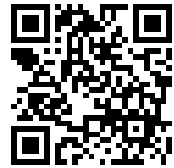

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OF THE

Modern Language Association

OF

AMERICA

N.14
1899

EDITED BY

JAMES W. BRIGHT

SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOL. XIV.

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1899

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THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED

TO THE MEMORY OF

DAVID LEWIS BARTLETT,

OF BALTIMORE,

A BROAD-MINDED AND A PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZEN, A MAN OF CULTIVATED TASTE, AND A SYMPATHETIC AND GENEROUS PATRON OF EDUCATION, OF THE ARTS, AND OF LITERATURE.

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PUBLICATIONS

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MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,

1899.

VOL. XIV, 1. NEW SERIES, VOL. VII, 1.

I.—A STUDY OF THE ROMANCE OF THE SEVEN SAGES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSIONS.

A WORD OF INTRODUCTION.

The main object of this study has been to investigate thoroughly the relations of the Middle English versions of the *Seven Sages of Rome.*

As preliminary to this investigation, a review of the history of the romance in the several stages through which it has passed before reaching English has been made. This survey, a recapitulation of the results which modern scholarship has attained in the study of the romance, has been made impartially, and with a view to set forth the most approved views that have been held rather than to advance any new theories of my own. Where these views are conflicting, as is particularly the case with respect to the eastern versions, I have endeavored to sift truth from error, though here naturally some difficulties have been encountered. It is only on the question of transmission of the romance that a view differing from that of the best authorities has been taken.

The chapter on the French and the Italian versions has been based in large part on the work of Gaston Paris, whose *Deux*

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Rédactions has superseded all previous contributions, representing as it does the most recent and the best results that have been attained in this branch of the study of the romance. Additions which have been made consist largely in information as to a number of manuscripts which were unknown to Paris, or which have since been found.

The second and major part of the study has been devoted to the *Seven Sages* in English. Here I have been preceded by Petras and Buchner, the one dealing mainly with the Middle English group, the other especially with the relations of the Wynkyn de Worde and Rolland versions. The dissertations of these two scholars are the only real contributions which have been made to the study of the English versions. It is therefore not surprising that many of the current theories with regard to these versions are shown on closer examination to be erroneous. The most far-reaching of these misconceptions is, I believe, that which regards the Wright version as independent of all other English versions. My investigations lead me to the conviction that at least seven of the eight Middle English manuscripts are related to each other through a common Middle English original.

I regret that I have been forced to forego consideration of one of the Middle English versions,—the Asloan. I was denied access to this manuscript by its owner, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and learned of the existence of a transcript of it in the University Library at Edinburgh when it was too late to avail myself of it. Prof. Varnhagen believes it to have had an immediate basis on some Old French manuscript; there are reasonable grounds for doubting this belief, however, and I am unwilling to subscribe to it until a further comparison with the remaining Middle English versions has been made.

This study leaves undone the most interesting, if not the most valuable part of the work I had planned,—a comparative study of the stories themselves; for not even the stories of the *Bidpai* collection have enjoyed a wider vogue than those of the *Seven Sages*. The task of tracing these in their travels

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and of collecting their analogues will be attempted in a future publication, when it is hoped that an edition of one or more of the unpublished Middle English manuscripts may also be attempted.

I. The Earlier History of the Romance.

I (*a*). *The Romance in the Orient.*

It is universally held to-day that the great collection of popular stories known in the West as the *Seven Sages of Rome*, in the East as the *Book of Sindibād*, is of Indian origin. This was well established by Deslongchamps already in 1838, in his *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*,[1] and has never since been seriously brought in question. The Indian original, however, has not yet been discovered, nor is it probable that it ever will be; and it even admits of very considerable doubt whether the romance ever existed in India in a form very near to that in which it is first found.

All attempts, too, to show a kinship between the romance and some surviving Sanskrit story have proved in large part futile. Benfey first pointed out the analogy between the introduction to the *Pantchatantra* and the framework of the *Sindibād*,[2] but he very justly concluded that the *Pantchatantra* was indebted to the *Sindibād* rather than the *Sindibād* to the *Pantchatantra*. In a later publication,[3] he called attention to the similarity between the *Sindibād* and the legend of Kunāla and Asoka, and Cassel has boldly assumed this legend to be the ultimate basis of the romance.[4]

The story of Kunāla is widely known in Sanskrit literature. Asoka, a famous Indian king, had, after the death of his first wife, married one of the latter's attendants. The

[1] Published at Paris, 1838, in conjunction with Leroux de Lincy's edition of the *Sept Sages de Rome*.

[2] *Pantchatantra*, Leipzig, 1859, I, § 8; also *Mélanges Asiat.*, III, p. 188 f.

[3] *Orient and Occident*, III, p. 177 f.

[4] *Mischle Sindbad*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 10 f., 62.

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new queen had been rejected previous to this by Kunāla, the son of Asoka by another wife, and bore in consequence the greatest hatred toward him. The prince is sent by Asoka to one of the provinces to put down a rebellion, where he wins great distinction for himself. In the meantime the king is stricken with a fatal disease, and determines to recall the young prince and place him on the throne. The queen, realizing what this would mean to her, offers to cure the king provided he grant her one favor. Having been restored to health through her agency, the king agrees to grant her whatever she may desire. She asks to be permitted to exercise supreme authority for seven days, during which time, at her instigation, the prince's beautiful eyes[1] are put out. Kunāla subsequently presents himself before his father in the guise of a lute-player, and is recognized. The queen is burned in expiation of her crime.[2]

Such in brief outline is the legend, which, if it is indeed the ultimate origin of the *Sindibād*, at least does not suggest an obvious relation to it.

Abundant proof of a Sanskrit origin of the *Sindibād*, however, is had in the nature or content of its stories and, in particular, of its framework, which is distinctly Buddhistic. Cassel has treated this aspect of the problem at great length.[3] He would concede as the result of his investigations that some of the many varying stories were not found in the hypothetical original, and that no one of the extant versions faithfully represents this original. Nor is it strange that this should be the case, for it would be a very miracle had the collection remained intact throughout a possible half-dozen redactions. It is, accordingly, impossible to determine which of the stories were in the original, or which not; this, for the present at least, must remain largely a matter of conjecture. Still, this

[1] Cf. *Mischle Sindbad*, p. 10.

[2] For further details of this legend, see Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844, pp. 144 f., 406.

[3] *Mischle Sindbad*, p. 82 f.

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much may be accepted as established, that some of the original stories, the ethical purpose, and many of the general characteristics of the Indian prototype have been preserved.

The Eastern group comprises a Hebrew, a Syriac, a Greek, an Old Spanish, two closely related and a third somewhat anomalous Persian, and three cognate Arabic versions. All these differ more or less from each other, but, as compared with the Western group, with which they have in common only four stories and the framework, they distinctly stand apart and make up a separate group. There are many important details in which the two groups differ, but the most marked features which characterize the Eastern group are, first, that each sage tells *two* tales as against *one* each in the western versions[1]—a feature which was probably not in the Sanskrit original; and, secondly, in contradistinction to the entire western group with the exception of the *Dolopathos*, that the prince has only one instructor, the philosopher Sindibād. This illustrious teacher is the central figure of all versions in the East, where by general consent the romance is called after him the *Book of Sindibād*.[2]

The origin of the name *Sindibād* is in dispute. Benfey traces it back to **Siddhapatī*,[3] Teza to **Siddhapala*;[4] Cassel, on the contrary, holds that the word was coined first after leaving India, and is neither *Siddhapatī* nor *Siddhapala*, but **Sindubadhjāja* = Indian teacher.[5]

The name of the prince has not been preserved, but the king is named in each one of the representative eastern texts. In the Syriac and the Greek he is called *Kurus*; in the Old

[1] This is the case in all eastern versions save the *Seven Vezirs* and the version of Nachshebī: in the former some sages tell one, some two stories; in the latter each sage tells only one.

[2] Prof. Rhys Davids in his work on the *Jātakas* (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, Boston, 1880, vol. I, pp. XLI, XCIV) seems to have confounded this romance with the story of *Sinbad the Sailor* of the *Arabian Nights*. The two are in no way related.

[3] *Pantchatantra*, I, § 5 (p. 23).

[4] *Il Libro dei Sette Savj*, ed. D'Ancona, Pisa, 1864, p. XLVII.

[5] *Mischle Sindbad*, p. 66.

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Spanish, *Alcos*, which may be considered a variant of *Kurus* (*Al-Curus*), since the Spanish holds very closely with the Greek and Syriac, and goes back to the same original. The Hebrew version, on the other hand, calls the king *Pai Pur*, or, as Benfey has suggested, *Kai* (king) *Pur*, and Cassel would identify this Pur with the Indian king Porus, ruler of India at the time of the Alexandrian invasion, and third before King Asoka of the Kunāla story. Porus, Cassel maintains, is a substitution for the less famous Asoka of the original—a transference of the Asoka tradition to Porus.[1] The Kurus of the Greek and Syriac he would explain in like manner as a similar transference, after leaving India, from Porus, or Asoka, to the far-famed Cyrus of the Persians.[2]

The route of transmission from India westward is very generally assumed to have been through Pahlavī into Arabic.[3] There seems to be little evidence, however, of the existence of a Pahlavī version, unless the current tradition to that effect, or the fact that the *Kalila wa Dimna* had such an intermediate stage, be regarded as such. Hence Cassel takes a radically different view from that generally held, maintaining that the lost Arabic text goes back not to a Pahlavī but to a Syriac version, which, in its turn, goes back to the Sanskrit,—the collection, then, having been transmitted westward through the agency of the Manicheans in the third or fourth century of our era.[4] The Hebrew and the lost Arabic versions he conceives to be coördinate redactions of this early Syriac version, finding support of this theory, so far as it concerns the Hebrew text, in the Syriac influence which the language of the latter exhibits. At the same time, although he thus claims for the Hebrew version the greatest antiquity of any text which has been preserved, Cassel admits that, in addition to the Syriac influence, the Hebrew text also contains traces of a Greek influence (as, for instance, in the names of the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 212. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[3] So Comparetti, Nöldeke, Clouston, and others.
[4] *Mischle Sindbad*, pp. 61, 310.

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sages),[1] which is of itself sufficiently indicative of the lack of conclusive proof of his thesis.[2]

The Arabic text, unlike the early Syriac, is in no way hypothetical, but the evidence that it once existed, even as late as the thirteenth century,[3] is conclusive. Its influence has been very wide, and, until Cassel, it has been generally assumed to be the source, either mediate or immediate, of the entire Eastern group. The Syriac *Sindban* and the Old Spanish version are believed to be its closest representatives. Its author, according to the testimony of the introduction to the *Syntipas*, was a certain Musa, and its date has been conjecturally placed by Nöldeke[4] and others in the eighth century.

Only ten versions belonging to the Eastern type have survived. These are the Hebrew *Mischle Sindbad*, the Syriac *Sindban*, the Greek *Syntipas*, the Persian *Sindibād-nāmeh* and its source, the text of As-Samarquandī, the Old Spanish *Libro de los Engannos*, the three Arabic versions of the *Seven Vezirs*, and the eighth night of the *Tūtī-nāmeh* of Nachshebī.[5]

The relative age of these is not definitely known. Early scholars as a rule held that the Hebrew version antedated all others; but this view was summarily rejected by Comparetti[6] and his followers, who claimed greatest antiquity for the *Syntipas*, a distinction of which it was robbed by Rödiger's discovery of the Syriac version. The Nachshebī version has also been held to be the oldest,[7] and Clouston in recent years

[1] These are, according to Cassel (p. 219 f.), Sindibād, Hippocrates, Apuleius, Lucian, Aristotle, Pindar, and Homer.

[2] *Mischle Sindbad*, pp. 222, 310.

[3] The Old Spanish version was made from it in 1253.

[4] In his review of Baethgen's edition of the *Sindban* in *Zeitschrift d. d. Morg. Gesellschaft*, XXXIII, p. 518.

[5] All these, with the exception of the text of As-Samarquandī, have been rendered accessible either in the original or in translations, and in most cases in both.

[6] Comparetti, *Book of Sindibād*, p. 53 f. Citation is made from the English translation by Coote, for the *Folk Lore Socy.*, London, 1882. The original *Ricerche* appeared at Milan in 1869.

[7] Brockhaus for example.

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has contended for the *Sindibād-nāmeh* as representing most closely the hypothetical original.[1] The result of the latest investigation, as has been seen, is to return to the view of early scholars, which gives to the Hebrew text first place both as regards date and fidelity to the lost original. Such is Cassel's conclusion, which, although somewhat revolutionary, is arrived at by argument which at least serves to invalidate Comparetti's assumption that the Hebrew text stands for a late and very free version of the romance. It is hardly legitimate to conclude, from the circumstance that the *Mischle Sindbad* stands apart from the remaining members of the Eastern group, that it is, on that account, less faithful to the original tradition. Nor is Comparetti's argument for the identification of the Joel to whom the work is attributed by Rossi and the British Museum manuscript, with the Joel who is reported to have translated the *Kalila wa Dimna* into Hebrew, and the consequent establishment of a thirteenth century date for this version, any more valid.[2] At the same time, it is to be regretted that Cassel has attained no definite results as to chronology.[3]

The *Mischle Sindbad*[4] contains twenty stories, three of which, *Absalom*, *The Disguised Youth*, and *The Humpbacks* (*amatores*), appear in no other version of the Eastern group. Its first three stories come in the same order as in the Syriac, Greek, and Old Spanish versions. Other agreements which are evident on reference to a comparative table serve apparently to hold these four texts together;[5] this, however, is probably rather due to a more faithful preservation of the

[1] Clouston, *Book of Sindibād* [Glasgow], 1884, p. L f.

[2] Comparetti, *Book of Sindibād*, p. 53 f. [3] *Mischle Sindbad*, p. 310.

[4] The Hebrew text has undergone the following editions: Sengelman (with German translation), Halle, 1842; Carmoly (with French translation), Paris, 1849; and Cassel (German translation and copious notes), Berlin, 1888.

[5] For the most complete comparative table, see Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1884; see also Cassel, p. 362 f., and Comparetti, p. 25.

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ultimate original on the part of these than to any very close relationship with the Hebrew, and comparison will show not only that these three have much in common which does not appear in the Hebrew, but also that the latter has many features (the naming of the sages, for example) which are peculiarly its own. Additional importance attaches to the Hebrew text from the fact that it probably bears a closer relation to the Western group than any other known eastern version.[1]

The Syriac *Sindban* was discovered by Rödiger in 1866, and was published with a German translation by Baethgen in 1879.[2] The text is unfortunately fragmentary, especially at the end. Although at first doubted by Comparetti, it has been satisfactorily shown by Nöldeke to be the Syriac basis of the *Syntipas*, alluded to in the prologue of the latter.[3] The immediate original of the *Sindban* must then be the last Arabic text of Musa. Nöldeke believes it to belong to the tenth century.

The Greek *Syntipas* is, in interest and importance, second only to the Hebrew text. As compared with its Syriac original, it is much more full and ornate,—an almost unfailing characteristic of a later text. Its author was, as the prologue establishes, a certain Michael Andreopulos and the translation was made at the command of one Gabriel μελώνυμος. Comparetti would identify this Gabriel with Duke Gabriel of Melitene, and thus establish the date of the work as the second half of the eleventh century;[4] but this, while a gain in a measure, is little more than a happy suggestion. Far less probability has Cassel's proposition that the reference is to the angel Gabriel.[5] The text was first published by

[1] See the next chapter on "The Transmission of the Romance to the Occident."

[2] Baethgen, *Sindban, oder die Sieben Weisen Meister*, Leipzig, 1879. An English translation by H. Gollancz appeared in *Folk Lore*, VIII, p. 99 f., June, 1897.

[3] *Zeitschr. d. d. Morg. Gesellschaft*, XXXIII, p. 513 f.

[4] *Book of Sindibād*, p. 57.

[5] *Mischle Sindbad*, p. 368.

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Boissonade, and has been lately critically edited by Eberhard.[1] A modern Greek adaptation of the older text is of little value in a comparative study of the romance.[2]

The *Libro de los Engannos*, like the Syriac text, was not known until late in the century. It is, according to its prologue, a translation from the Arabic, made in the year 1253. The text is complete, but very corrupt. Its closest affinities are with the Greek and Syriac versions, with both of which it exhibits intimate agreement in content and order of stories. It seems to have had no influence at all on modern Spanish literature. The first edition of the text appeared in Comparetti's *Ricerche*, in 1869; a second edition, with an admirable English translation appended, appeared in the English edition of this book in 1882.[3]

The Persian *Sindibād-nāmeh*[4] dates from the year 1375. It purports to be based on a Persian prose text which goes back to the Arabic. Clouston first suggested that this original was the text of As-Samarquandī, which was known in the early part of the century, but which had subsequently been lost sight of. By the rediscovery of a manuscript of this version in 1891, he has been enabled to establish this conjecture as a fact.[5] The As-Samarquandī text agrees closely with the *Sindibād-nāmeh* in content, the only important difference being the substitution on the part of the latter of one or two extraneous stories for those it found in its original. The agreement in order of stories is close throughout. The date of the prose text falls late in the twelfth century. It differs considerably from the rest of the Eastern group, but is nearer

[1] Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses Græce*, etc., I (Teubner), Leipzig, 1872.

[2] For the *Syntipas* in later literature, see Murko, "Die Geschichte v. d. Sieben Weisen b. d. Slaven," *Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., CXXII, No. X, p. 4 f.

[3] *Book of Sindibād*, pp. 73–164.

[4] This text has not yet been edited. An abstract of it was given by Falconer in the *Asiatic Journal*, XXXV, p. 169 f. and XXXVI, pp. 4 f., 99 f.; a complete translation into English appears in Clouston's *Book of Sindibād*.

[5] *Athenaeum* for Sept. 12, 1891, p. 355.

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to the Syriac, Greek and Spanish versions than to the Hebrew. There appears to be no evidence to support Clouston's suggestion that it represents the Sanskrit prototype more faithfully than any other known version; neither is Modi's contention for a close relation with the story of *Kaus, Sondābeh, and Siāvash*[1] by any means convincing; but the tradition which makes its origin in the Arabic text is doubtless well founded.

Under the head of the *Seven Vezirs* fall three versions which have been introduced into the frame of the *Arabian Nights*. These are the texts of Habicht and Scott, and the Boulaq edition.[2] They are of late composition, and of comparatively slight value for the present purpose.

The text contained in the eighth night of Nachshebī[3] is one of the most interesting of the Eastern group, and has given rise to much speculation. It differs considerably from all other related versions, having but six stories, only five of which appear elsewhere in the Eastern group. All five of these in the fuller versions are second vezir's tales, and as they were also found originally in the *Sukasaptatī* (though not connected as with Nachshebī), it has been conjectured by Comparetti that they were first introduced into the *Sindibād* after leaving India, and that Nachshebī, observing this, again inserted them in his free translation of the *Tūtī-nāmeh*, and practically in the same form in which he found them in the *Sindibād*.[4] Comparetti would further identify the collection before and after this addition with the 'Greater' and 'Lesser' *Sindibād* referred to by the tenth century Mohammed Ibn el Warrak. A radically different theory has been advanced by Nöldeke, who maintains that the 'Greater' *Sindibād* has been lost.[5] As for the version of the *Sindibād* whence Nachshebī

[1] Modi, *Dante and Viraf and Gardis and Kaus*, Bombay, 1892.

[2] *1001 Nights*, Breslau, 1840, xv, pp. 102–172; Scott, *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters*, Shrewsbury, 1800, p. 38 f.; *1001 Nights*, Boulaq, 1863, III, pp. 75–124.

[3] Brockhaus, *Nachshebī's S. W. M.*, Leipzig, 1845; translated by Teza, D'Ancona ed. of *Sette Savj.*, p. XXXVII f.

[4] *Book of Sindibād*, p. 37 f.

[5] *Zeitschr. d. d. Morg. Gesellschaft*, XXXIII, p. 521 f.

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drew, both Comparetti and Nöldeke concur in the belief that it was the text on which the *Sindibād-nāmeh* was based, or that of As-Samarquandī. The date of the Nachshebī version is late, as its author died in 1329.

Besides the ten versions catalogued above, the existence of certain others which have been lost is proved by sundry references from oriental writers. A Persian text is attributed to Azrakī by Daulat Shāh, and there are several references from the ninth and tenth centuries to works which do not seem to be identical with anything which has been preserved. The best-known of these, probably, is Masūdī's (943) statement that in the reign of Kūrūsh "lived es-Sondbad, who is the author of the book of the seven vezirs, the teacher and boy, and the wife of the king. This is the book which bears the name *Kitāb-es-Sindbād.*"[1] A still earlier reference is that of Al-Yaqūbī (880). Both of these may refer to the Arabic text of Musa, though this is by no means certain. Most perplexing of all is the reference, already mentioned, to a 'Greater' and a 'Lesser' *Book of Sindibād.*

Doubtless many more versions have been lost than this would indicate; but since nearly a third of the known texts have been revealed only within the last generation, it may be hoped that the near future has in store many revelations which will materially serve to dispel the mist which now surrounds almost the entire question of relations in the East.

I (*b*). *Transmission of the Romance to the Occident.*

The Greek *Syntipas* and the Old Spanish *Libro de los Engannos* are the only representatives of the Eastern group which have arisen on European territory. Neither one of these, however, can be considered a connecting link in the chain of transmission; nor can, in fact, with all certainty, any one member of the Eastern group claim this distinction.

[1] Masūdī, *Meadows of Gold*, translated by Sprenger, London, 1841, p. 175. Masūdī was not well acquainted with the romance, as follows from the fact that he attributes its authorship to Sindibād.

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The question of transmission is, and must doubtless always remain, very much shrouded in darkness. The two groups, having in common only four stories and the framework, and having in these, also, many radical differences, cannot be thought of as connected through free or literal translation, nor by intermediate redactions; the only valid explanation of the enormous gap existing between them must repose in the assumption of a basis for the western original in popular tradition. This alone can explain the difference between the two groups.

But this assumption should not carry with it (as with Comparetti apparently; *l. c.*, p. 2) the further assumption that, since the medium of transmission was oral, all possibility of ever determining the specific original of the Western group is thereby done away with. This need not follow at all. The oral tradition on which the western parent version had its basis, must itself have had some basis, and this cannot have been the entire Eastern group, nor with any degree of probability any two of its members; it was some one member of the Eastern group. Accordingly it is legitimate to endeavor to determine which one of the Eastern versions is the original, or the closest representative of the original, of the Western group.

Modern scholars in general have refrained from any investigation of this stage of the history of the romance. With a single exception, the only judgments upon the problem date from the earlier part of the century. Dacier, Keller, Deslongchamps, Wright, D'Ancona, and others put forth claims for one or another of the Eastern group (some for the Greek, others for the Hebrew), as the original of the western type. But all these claims were unsustained by any evidence adduced, and were in every case scarcely more than conjectures. The modern scholar who alone has put himself on record here is Landau;[1] and he is, at the same time the only one of the

[1] Marcus Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1884.

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whole number who has made a serious effort to sustain his position. At the basis of Landau's work, however, lies the assumption that the Latin prose *Historia Septem Sapientum* (*H*) is the parent version of the Western group,—an assumption which is entirely gratuitous, for surely Gaston Paris has succeeded in demonstrating that *H* is not the original western text; while the majority of Landau's arguments therefore hold also in a comparison of the oldest texts with the Eastern group, it is in view of this fundamental misconception on his part that he has in reality proved nothing more than that the fourteenth century *Historia* is nearer the Hebrew than to any other eastern version.

With the proof of the unoriginality of *H*, the question as to the nearness of the various sub-types of the western group to the parent version has been left open. The oldest text preserved is the *Dolopathos;* but this is a unique version, and, as will be shown in the next chapter, cannot with the slightest probability be looked upon as the western original, though it is assuredly connected in some way with the prevailing type of the Western group, the *Seven Sages of Rome.* Next to the *Dolopathos* the *Scala Coeli* (*S*) and Keller (*K*) texts have been treated as the oldest by the latest and best authorities; to these, in view of its prime importance and the uncertainty as to its relations, we should like to add the type *A**.[1] No proof of the priority of any one of these has yet been brought forward; moreover, the earliest dating proposed for any of them is the first half of the thirteenth century. We may begin, then, with the assumption that the immediate parent version of the Western group has been lost. At the same time, since the *Dolopathos*, which dates from the last quarter of the twelfth century, is evidently based on some version of the prevailing western type, we may assume for

[1] The Old French versions *A*, *C*, *D* of Paris (*Deux Rédactions*) have been "starred" throughout in order to avoid confusion with the Middle English (M. E.) versions *A*, *C*, *D*.

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this lost original a date not later than the middle of the twelfth century.

A twelfth century original having been assumed for the Western group, the *Libro de los Engannos* (XIII cent.), the *Sindibād-nāmeh* (XIV cent.), and the *Seven Vezirs* (very late) may be eliminated from the investigation; likewise the unique text of Nachshebī for reasons that are obvious. There remain the *Mischle Sindbad*, the *Sindban*, and the *Syntipas*, no one of which can be dated later than the eleventh century, if we accept Cassel's view as to the comparative antiquity of the Hebrew text. Further, since the western original of the Western group has been lost, comparison can be made with the latter only on the basis of the constant elements appearing in its most ancient versions,—*S*, *K*, *A*.* Accordingly, the comparison must be instituted between the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek versions, on the one hand, and *S*, *K*, *A** on the other.

The framework of the romance has undergone a radical change in the course of its transmission westward. There is no longer mention of a philosopher Sindibād, but the seven sages of Rome become the central figures, and play the double rôle of instructors and defenders of the prince. Sundry other characteristic features of the Eastern group, such as the prince's early stupidity, the multiplicity of the king's wives, etc., have been lost; but the most far-reaching change consists in the curtailment of stories, each sage telling only one story in the Western group as against the prevailing number of two in the Eastern.

In these variations the Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac versions present essential agreement; but there are several features in which these three texts do not agree, and it is significant here that where the Western group preserves any of these features, it is always in agreement with the Hebrew, and in no single instance with the Greek or the Syriac.

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The following features peculiar to the Hebrew text as compared with the rest of the Eastern group reappear in the oldest western versions:[1]

(1). The seven sages are not referred to simply as such, but are mentioned *by name*[2] (Landau, p. 48).

(2). They vie in their efforts to secure the office of instructor of the prince[3] (Landau, p. 48).

(3). These sages, and not the vezirs or counsellors of the king as with the rest of the Eastern group, relate the stories which preserve the prince's life[4] (Landau, p. 48).

The mode of punishment of the guilty queen offers nothing determining. The eastern texts have little in common here

[1] All these several bits of argument adduced here and on the following pages, with the exception of those under the story *avis*, have been advanced by Landau (pp. 47-50); in addition to these, owing to his false hypothesis of the originality of *H*, Landau has made use of two other features in which *H* agrees with the Hebrew text versus the remainder of the Eastern group, but which must be cancelled, since they are also peculiar to *H*. These are (1) the disguised-youth incident of *H*, which Landau (p. 48 f.) inclines to trace back to the seventeenth story of the *Mischle Sindbad*, and (2) *amatores*, the twelfth story of the *Historia*, which is ultimately the same as the Hebrew story of the *Hunchbacks* (*M. S.* 18; see Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1893, p. 201 f.). Neither of these appears in any other western version, whence the only legitimate inference that they were not in the lost western original, but are late incorporations on the part of *H* into the frame of the collection.

[2] This, a characteristic feature of the Western group, appears in all western texts save those (as *S*) which have been abridged. The names of the sages in the *Mischle Sindbad* are Sindibād, Hippocrates, Apuleius, Lucian, Aristotle, Pindar, and Homer (Cassel, p. 253); in the Western group, Bancillas, Ancilles, Malquidras, Lentulus, Caton, Jesse, and Meros. For variants of these, see Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 60 n.

[3] In the Hebrew (see Cassel, p. 255 f.) one proposes to instruct him in five years, another in two years, a third in one year,—and finally Sindibād offers to make him wisest of all men in six months. The term of years proposed by the sages in the western versions varies from seven to one.

[4] Carmoly (p. 65) states expressly that these were the king's counsellors, and not the sages, who, he says, were now in hiding to avoid the king's anger; but, as Landau (p. 48) points out, the sage Aristotle is referred to by name at the end of the third story as having saved the prince's life by his stories on the preceding day (Cassel, p. 267); accordingly, although there is a slight confusion, it is evident that Carmoly is in error.

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beyond the bare outline. In the Greek and As-Samarquandī texts, the woman is condemned to wander through the streets on an ass, with her head shaved and her face soiled, and with two criers proclaiming her shame. In the Hebrew text, she is, at the prince's request, pardoned unconditionally. The Syriac text is fragmentary here. Of the western feature of condemning the queen to die the death prepared for the prince, there seems to be no hint in the eastern versions.

A comparison of the four stories (*canis*, *aper*, *avis*, and *senescalcus*) common to the two main groups also shows many variations, but here, too, where the *Mischle Sindbad* differs from the *Syntipas* and other versions of the Eastern group, it will be seen to accord in several particulars with the Western group.

(1). *Canis.* The story *canis*, the only one found in all versions of the *Seven Sages*, both eastern and western, exhibits in the earliest western versions no noteworthy variations from the prevailing type of the story in the East. In the *Sindibād-nāmeh* it is a weasel or ichneumon which attacks the sleeping child; in all other versions it is a snake. The child is left in charge of nurses in the western versions, a feature entirely foreign to the Eastern group. The derivative types, *Dolopathos* and *Historia*, introduce a bird (*Dolop.*, a goshawk; *H*, a falcon) which wakes the child on the snake's approach. This and several other additions, especially to the *Dolopathos*, are not found in the types *S*, *K*, and *A**, a circumstance which well warrants the inference that they were not in the western parent version.

(2). *Aper.* This story, like *canis*, has been subjected to considerable alteration in the course of transmission,—*e. g.*, in the East, the boar comes to his death as the result of holding up his head in the expectation of more fruit (the sinews drying up); in the West, he is slain by the shepherd, who, descending the tree until in reach of him, "claws" him on the back until he falls asleep, and then dispatches him with his knife. But

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the special value in the collation of this story lies in the fact that the Hebrew text coincides with the Western group in having a *man* chased up the tree, while in the remaining eastern versions it is a *monkey* who thus flees from the boar. This coincidence, first noted by Deslongchamps (*l. c.*, p. 110 n.), is one of the most striking agreements of the Hebrew text with the Western group.

(3). *Senescalcus.* A comparison of the various versions of *senescalcus* reveals no eastern motive reproduced in the West which is not common to the entire Eastern group. The western version of the story agrees in general outline with the eastern, but is distinguished from it by the introduction of even more objectionable details than those which characterize its oriental original. The western texts vary in the method of punishing the seneschal: in *S* he is hanged; in *K*, *A**, and the prevailing sub-groups, he is banished by the king on pain of death in case he return. In the East the bathman (= seneschal) dies by his own hand.

(4). *Avis.* The essential features of this famous story have been preserved remarkably intact thoughout all versions. There are, however, two features which occur in the East only in the *Mischle Sindbad* which have been preserved in the western texts. These are (1) that the wife goes *on the house-top* in order to sprinkle water over the bird's cage, and (2) that she is aided and abetted in her efforts to deceive the bird *by her maid.* Of the first of these we have in no other eastern version any hint; likewise, for the second, there is no real suggestion in any of the Eastern group besides the *Mischle Sindbad,* for, although there is mention elsewhere of the maid, it is only as having been suspected of informing on her mistress, and never in the rôle assigned her in the Hebrew and the western versions.[1]

[1] The arguments made by Landau under *avis* are not valid. That the bird speaks Hebrew as well as Latin, is not true of any of the oldest western versions, but appears to be peculiar to *H;* while the argument from the killing of the bird in *H* and the Hebrew text is altogether in-

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To recapitulate then, the features peculiar to the Hebrew and the oldest western texts are as follows:

(1). The seven sages are mentioned by name.

(2). There is a rivalry between the sages in their efforts to secure the tutelage of the prince.

(3). The sages, not the king's counsellors, defend the prince.

(4). In *aper*, the adventure happens not to an ape, but to a man.

(5). In *avis*, (a) the deception is practised on the bird through an opening in the house-top, and (b) the maid appears as an assistant of the faithless wife.

A comparison with the *Syntipas* fails to bring out any feature exclusively common to it and the Western group. The same holds for the Syriac and later versions. The question is then narrowed down to the significance of the agreements between the Hebrew and the western texts. Are they only accidental, or have they a real significance? Certainly they do not prove a direct relationship between the Hebrew and any western version, as Deslongchamps and Landau have maintained; nor are they sufficient to justify the thought of a connection of the Eastern and Western groups through intermediate literary stages; indeed, they yield no *conclusive* proof of anything with regard to the problem of relationship. Nevertheless, they are in a measure significant; though *some* of them are in all probability accidental, yet it does not seem possible that all of them can be mere coincidences. They justify, at least, the negative conclusion that neither the *Syntipas* (nor the *Sindban*) was the eastern original whence sprang the tradition which culminated in the parent version of the Western group. And while they do not prove the Hebrew text to represent this eastern original, they do, nevertheless, establish this as a probability, with the only other alternative in the supposition that the eastern original of the Western group has been lost.

valid, since the same feature is found in all eastern versions save the *Syntipas*, and would be in any case of little value for the purpose to which Landau would put it, since it is a simple and natural variation.

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I (c). *The Romance in France and Italy.*

Between the eastern and western types of the *Seven Sages*, as has been seen, there is a very wide difference. Four of the original stories and the main outline of the eastern framework have been preserved in the western versions, but, as Comparetti has aptly said, "there is no eastern version which differs so much from the others as the whole Western group differs from the Eastern, whether it be in the form of the fundamental story or in the tales which are inserted in it." In explanation of this wide difference a basis has been assumed for the Western group in oral accounts.

Where these oral accounts first took literary form has not been, and probably never will be, satisfactorily determined. Some have maintained an origin on Latin territory; but the probabilities favor a French origin, though it is more than possible that the parent version was written in the Latin language.

The oldest form, apparently, under which the western type has come down to us is the *Dolopathos*. There can be little doubt, however, that the more widely known *Sept Sages de Rome*, of which there survive many manuscripts dating from a period but a little later than that of the earliest version of the *Dolopathos*, preserves more nearly the form and contents of the western parent version. And it is under this form that the romance has acquired its marvellous popularity in France, whence it has penetrated into nearly every other country of Europe.

With regard to the relationship of these two forms or groups under which the romance appears in the West, early scholars were very much in error. For a long time it was believed that the poetical version of the *Dolopathos* found its source in the Latin prose *Historia Septem Sapientum*;[1] again, it was always assumed as fundamental that the *Historia* antedated

[1] The most widely known of all versions of our romance; see below.

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and was the ultimate western original of the entire Western group,—these two misconceptions pervaded the entire literature on the romance during the first half of this century. The error of the first was first shown by Montaiglon in 1856,[1] and its utter absurdity was conclusively proved a few years later by Oesterley's discovery of the *Dolopathos* of Johannes, from which Herbert had made his poem.[2] The second was current even until the appearance of Gaston Paris's *Deux Rédactions*[3] in 1876, in which the comparatively recent date of the *Historia*, and its immediate dependence on *A**, has been placed beyond question.

1. The *Dolopathos*.—The *Dolopathos* exists in two versions, the Latin prose of Johannes de Alta Silva and the Old French poem of Herbert. The latter is preserved, so far as is known, in but three manuscripts;[4] of the former, there are known, besides the original manuscript discovered by Oesterley, three late copies pointed out by Mussafia,[5] an Innsbruck,[6] and a British Museum MS.[7]

[1] In the preface to his edition of the Herbert version: *Li Romans de Dolopathos*, ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, Paris, 1856.

[2] This manuscript was discovered by Oesterley in 1873, and was published by him in the same year: *Johannis de Alta Silva Dolopathos . . .*, Strasburg. See reviews by Paris, *Romania*, II, p. 481 f.; by Studemund, *Z. f. d. A.*, XVII, p. 415 f. and XVIII, p. 221 f.; and by Köhler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, XIII, p. 328 f. Several manuscripts discovered by Mussafia (*Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., XLVIII, p. 246 f., 1864) prior to this, and at first supposed to be original, were soon shown to be fifteenth century copies of the older manuscript.

[3] Published in the *Soc. d. Anc. Textes fr.* for 1876. For the *Historia*, see pp. XXVIII–XLIII.

[4] See Paris in *Romania*, II, p. 503. A leaf of a fourteenth century MS. of the Herbert version has been lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale —*Nouv. Acq. fr.* 934, No. 6 (*Bulletin de la Soc. d. Anc. Textes fr.*, for 1896, p. 71 f.). See also Haupt's *Altd. Blätter*, I, p. 119 f., for a German version of six stories of the *Dolopathos*.

[5] See *Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., XLVIII, p. 246 f.

[6] Also brought to light by Oesterley.

[7] Usually overlooked; see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, London, 1893, II, p. 228 f.

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Johannes de Alta Silva, the author of the Latin original, was a Cistercian monk of the monastery of Haute Seille. His work bears the title *Dolopathos, sive Opusculum de rege et septem Sapientibus.* It was dedicated to Bishop Bertrand of Metz, who had jurisdiction over the monastery of Haute Seille from 1184 (when it was transferred from the see of Toul to the see of Metz) to 1212, during which period, since Johannes would naturally dedicate to his own bishop, we may safely place the composition of his work. Paris favors a dating between 1207 and 1212 (*Romania*, II, p. 501).

The Old French poem of Herbert was made from the Latin prose text of Johannes toward the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Montaiglon, 1223–1226; Paris, before 1223).

This type of the romance differs from all other western types in having only one instructor for the prince. For this reason it has been conjectured that it was founded on some oriental original, but there is no real evidence in support of this. In the suppression of the queen's stories, a feature in which it agrees with the Nachshebī version, equally as little indication of an immediate eastern original is to be found.

The *Dolopathos* has only one story (*canis*) in common with the Eastern group, and inasmuch as this, together with three other of its stories (*gaza*, *puteus*, and *inclusa*), is also found in the *Sept Sages de Rome*, it is reasonably certain that the monk Johannes was acquainted with some version of the latter type.[1] There is only one alternative supposition, viz. that both types grew up independently of each other and almost contemporaneously, the one drawing only one story from the traditions brought from the East, while the other drew this and three others in addition,—with the further coincidence that both receive, as the result of like influence and environment, three stories (*gaza*, *puteus*, and *inclusa*) in common which were not

[1] See Comparetti to the contrary; *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, translated by Benecke, London, 1895, p. 234 f.

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in the eastern framework. That such was the case is, to say the least, very improbable.

But, in any case, the prose *Dolopathos* was made not from written, but from oral sources. This is expressly stated by its author—who says he wrote *non ut visa, sed ut audita*—and is borne out by the introduction of the *Lohengrin* story, which appears here for the first time,[1] as well as by the variations to which both framework and stories have been subjected.

The poetical version of Herbert is based directly on the Latin prose version of Johannes. It contains many details and several important episodes which do not appear in the text discovered by Oesterley, chief among which additions are (1) the story *inclusa*, which has been fused with *puteus* in the poem, and (2) a very interesting episode with which *gaza* has been supplemented. Gaston Paris[2] thinks that these were contained in Herbert's original, which he believes to have been an enlarged copy of the first draft of the work as seen in the Oesterley manuscript; but whether they are to be thus explained, or are to be attributed to the independence of the poet, has not yet been definitely settled.

The Herbert version is very long, containing nearly 13,000 lines. In both length and style it stands in striking contrast to the Keller metrical version of the *Sept Sages de Rome* (*K*),[3] which, although it has nearly twice as many stories, has only 5,060 lines. The *Dolopathos* has an introduction of about 4,800 lines where *K* has but 68.

The king in this branch of the Western group bears the name Dolopathos, and rules over the island of Sicily. The prince is called Lucinius. Before his birth it is predicted that he will become very wise, but will undergo many hardships, and will ultimately become a worshipper of the true God.

[1] See Todd, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, Introduction, p. III f., in *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, vol. IV, 1889. See also Paris's review in *Romania*, XIX, p. 314 f.

[2] *Romania*, II, p. 500.

[3] See the dissertation of Ehret, *Der Verfasser des Roman des Sept Sages und Herberz*, Heidelberg, 1886.

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The prince's instruction begins when he has reached the age of seven. He is sent to Rome, and put under the care of the poet Vergil, whose figure is supreme throughout the romance, and gives to it one of its strongest claims upon our interest.[1] The sages, who are, owing to Vergil's prominence, placed somewhat in the background, come up as in the other western versions, one each day and in a most mysterious fashion,—always just in time to save the prince's life. The prince relates no story at all, but Vergil tells the eighth and last. The order of stories is as follows: (1) *canis* (*Dog and Snake*), (2) *gaza* (*King's Treasury*), (3) *senes* (*Best Friend*), (4) *creditor* (the *Pound of Flesh* episode of the *Merchant of Venice*),[2] (5) *viduae filius* (*Widow's Son*), (6) *latronis filius* (*Master-Thief*), (7) *cygni eques* (the fabled origin of Godfrey de Bouillon), (8) *inclusa-puteus* (*Two Dreams* and *Husband Shut Out*).[3]

2. *The Sept Sages de Rome.*—*The Sept Sages de Rome*, in contradistinction to the *Dolopathos*, comprises a very large number of more or less closely related versions. Probably one hundred manuscripts of its type are already known, and many others, we may be sure, remain to be revealed by further research. The immediate source whence these have sprung has not come down to us. The date, too, of the parent version is uncertain, but, in view of its influence on the *Dolopathos* and the comparatively large number of thirteenth century versions, it must be placed as early as 1150, and it may fall in a time considerably anterior to this.

The normal number of stories in this branch is fifteen; of these the queen relates seven, the seven sages one each, and

[1] See Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 232 f.

[2] Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 122, makes the slight oversight of asserting that the casket-episode of the *Merchant of Venice* is also introduced into the *Dolopathos*.

[3] These stories have had a wide currency, and, in several instances, a most interesting history. For the fullest collections of analogues to them, see the editions of Montaiglon-Brunet and Oesterley, and the appendix to the latter's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*.

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the prince the fifteenth. The scene of action is prevailingly Rome, though in two instances—*K* and *D*—it is Constantinople.[1] The emperor's name is Diocletian.[2]

The interrelation of the various sub-types into which the *Sept Sages* falls has been the subject of almost continuous investigation for more than half a century. The first serious attempt at an orderly classification was made by Goedeke in 1866 (*Orient und Occident*, III, p. 402 f.). He was followed two years later by Mussafia,[3] in a study which possesses great merit, and which served very much to clear the way for subsequent investigation. But it is to Gaston Paris above all that credit is due here for bringing order out of chaos. The *Préface* to his *Deux Rédactions* is by far the most significant contribution to the study of the *Seven Sages* which has yet been made, and leaves but the one regret that he has not extended his investigations so as to include the problems of the origin and propagation of the romance. It goes without saying that the excellence of Paris's work has been recognized on all sides, and that his conclusions have been almost universally adopted.

Paris classifies in five sub-groups, as follows:

1. *S.* The *Scala Coeli* abridgment published by Goedeke.
2. *K.* The well known metrical version of Keller.
3. *H.* The very large group, of which the *Historia* is the type.
4. *I.* The *Versio Italica.*
5. French prose versions (other than *H*), including *A**, *L*, *D** (*V*), and *M.*

1. *S.* The first of these, the text contained in the *Scala Coeli*, a compilation of the early fourteenth century by the Dominican Johannes Junior, is a Latin prose abridgment of a lost *Liber de Septem Sapientibus.* For the latter, Goedeke

[1] This is only partly true of *D*; see Paris, *Deux Rédactions*, p. 1.

[2] There are several exceptions to this: in *K* he is called Vespasian; in *D**, Marcomeris, son of Priam (!); in *H*, Pontianus,—the name Diocletian being transferred to the prince.

[3] *Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., LVII, p. 37 f.

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(who has published the text according to the *Scala Coeli* in *Orient u. Occident*, III, p. 402 f.) conjectures a date in the first half of the thirteenth century. An extract in the *Summa Recreatorum* (XV cent.), which agrees very closely with *S*, has been pointed out by Mussafia (*Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., LVII, p. 83 f.).

S differs materially from *H*, and is almost as far from *K* and *D**. It stands nearest to *L*, having in common with it the two stories *filia* and *noverca* in the place of *Roma* and *inclusa* of the remaining types. The agreement with *D**, in that the queen is defended on the last day by a champion, is doubtless a mere coincidence (Paris, *l. c.*, p. VIII). Its only influence seems to have been that exercised on *L*. For Goedeke's claim that it is the closest extant representative of the western original no sustaining argument has yet been brought forward.[1]

2. *H*. The type of the second group is the well-known *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*. Buchner[2] enumerates sixteen manuscripts in which the *Historia* has been preserved. Its first edition appeared at Cologne in 1472, and the bibliographers report many of subsequent date. The latest edition, and only nineteenth century reprint, is that of Buchner.[3] An Old French translation, printed at Geneva in 1492, has recently been republished by Paris as the second text of his *Deux Rédactions* (pp. 55–205). The *Historia Calumnia Novercali* (Antwerp, 1496) differs from it mainly in the omission of all Christian features.

The *Historia* is by far the most widely known of all western versions, having had equally as great a vogue in some other European countries—Germany for instance—as in France. In English the Wynkyn de Worde text (to which

[1] Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 200, erroneously states that Paris upholds Goedeke here.

[2] *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, V, p. 1. Of these six were first pointed out by Paris, *l. c.*, p. XXXIX,—eight by Varnhagen, *Eine Ital. Prosaversion d. Sieben Weisen*, p. XV.

[3] *Erlang. Beitr.*, V, pp. 7–90. An Innsbruck MS. which dates from 1342.

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the many English chap-book versions owe their origin), the Copland, and the Rolland versions found in it their ultimate original. With the Germans the *Historia* type is practically the only one which has found acceptance, and the number of versions, either in Latin or German, which are contained in their libraries is very large.[1] It is under this form, also, that the romance has acquired its popularity in other Germanic and in the Slavonic languages.[2]

The history of opinion with regard to this type of the romance possesses much interest. Until quite recently, as has been seen, *H* was supposed to be the oldest member of the Western group. Goedeke, in 1866, was the first to break with this tradition, but without showing why. Paulin Paris followed in 1869, throwing the question open.[3] Comparetti, also, in the same year, expressed the opinion that *H* was far from representing the western original.[4] The matter was not satisfactorily cleared up until the appearance of Gaston Paris's book in 1876. The results of Paris's investigation (*l. c.*, p. XXVIII f.) are to entirely dethrone *H* from the position which had been traditionally accorded it, and to establish for it a date in the first half of the fourteenth century, and an immediate basis on type *A**.[5]

The distinguishing features of *H*, aside from its slight difference from *A** in the order of stories, are the introduction

[1] For the first general discussion of the romance in Germany, see the preface to Keller's *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, Tübingen, 1837. A more comprehensive discussion of the German versions accompanies his edition of the Hans von Bühel metrical version, *Diocletianus Leben* (Quedlinburg, 1841).

[2] Keller enumerates versions, either in manuscript or in print, in Dutch, Welsh, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, and Armenian; see the prefaces to his two editions cited above. See, also, Murko, "Die Geschichte v. d. Sieben Weisen b. d. Slaven" in *Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., CXXII, 1890, and "Beitr. zur Textgesch. d. H. S. S." in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Lit.-gesch.*, pp. 1–34, 1892.

[3] *Biblioph. Français*, IV, p. 69 f. [4] *Book of Sindibād*, p. 47.

[5] It is hard to see how Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, 2d ed., p. 51 f., and a few others, can still persist in their adherence to the old view.

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of the stories *amatores* and *amici* (the latter appended to *vaticinium*), the fusion of *senescalcus* and *Roma*, and its unusual mass of details.

3. *K*. The Old French metrical version, *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, was published by Keller, at Tübingen, in 1836. Of this version there exists only one complete manuscript, to which its editor gives a date in the late thirteenth century. A fragment of a metrical text agreeing closely with it in content, but differing slightly in order of stories, is preserved in MS. 620 of the Library of Chartres.[1] An edition of this has been promised by Paris.

K has the same stories as *D** and *A**, but in a different order. The agreement in order, as also in incident, is, as a rule, closest with *D**; in the stories *vidua*, *Roma*, *inclusa*, and *vaticinium*, however, *K* exhibits a very close, at times even verbal, agreement with *A**. In explanation of this, the possibility of an influence of *K* on *A** is precluded by the fact that the former is of earlier date; hence it is necessary to posit for *A** and *K* a common source, designated by Paris as *V*.

4. *I*. The *Versio Italica* was first so styled by Mussafia in his study of the Italian versions, in *Jahrb. f. rom. u. englische Lit.*, IV, p. 166 f., 1862. This group consists of six versions, three of which are in Latin. One of the latter has been brought to light only within the last few years;[2] one was published by Mussafia (*Wiener Akad. Sitzungsb.*, Ph. Hist. Cl., LVII, p. 94 f.) in 1868, and is well known; and the third is the British Museum MS. Addl. 15685.[3] Of the Italian versions one is in verse,[4] but of late date,—Rajna in his description (*Romania*, VII, pp. 22 f., 369 f.; X, p. 1 f.) plac-

[1] See Paris, *l. c.*, p. III n., and Paul Meyer in the *Bulletin d. l. Soc. des Anc. Textes français*, 1894, p. 40 f. The order of stories here is—*tentamina*, *Roma*, *avis*, *sapientes*, *vidua*, *Virgilius*, *inclusa*, *vaticinium*. For the order in *K* and other versions, see the comparative table, p. 35.

[2] By Murko; see *Romania*, XX, p. 373.

[3] Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 207 f. Hitherto unnoticed in this connection.

[4] Edited by Rajna, *Storia di Stefano*, Bologna, 1881.

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ing it between 1440 and 1480. The two remaining Italian versions early underwent publication, one in 1832 by Della Lucia,[1] the other by Cappelli in 1865.[2]

The order of stories in *I* is materially different from that in any other group or version. The queen in this group, instead of relating the first story, follows in each instance the sage, thus reversing the order,—2 becoming 1, 4–3, and so on. In consequence of this innovation, the number of stories is reduced to fourteen, the seventh being crowded out.[3]

In the absence of the *filia-noverca* and *amatores-amici* features, *I* groups itself with *K*, *D**, and *A**. Its closest agreement in incident is with *A**, in which recent scholars believe it to have had its source.[4]

The modern Italian *Erasto*, which at one time was placed by itself as representing a free adaptation of the romance, and as bearing a somewhat similar relation to the remaining Italian versions as the *Dolopathos* to the prevailing French type, is now universally acknowledged to be an offspring of the *Versio Italica*. The *Erasto* has been very popular in its own country, and has been translated into other languages. The first edition of it appeared at Venice in 1542, the last in 1841. An English translation was made by Frances Kirkman in 1674.

5. French Prose Redactions. The number of French prose redactions is very large. Paris already in 1876 knew of nineteen manuscripts in Paris, besides the four in Brussels, and one in the Cambridge University Library. A number of others have been since pointed out.[5]

[1] Della Lucia, *Novella antica scritta nel buon sec. d. lingua*, Venice, 1832.

[2] Cappelli, *Il libro dei sette savi di Roma*, Bologna, 1865.

[3] It is interesting to note here that the story thus discarded is *senescalcus*,—a feature in which the *Versio Italica* has anticipated one of the English versions—Cambridge Ff, II, 38 (*F*).

[4] See, for the most recent opinion, Rajna in *Romania*, VII, p. 369 f.

[5] These are mentioned under the discussion of the various groups into which they fall.

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(1). Paris classifies under the sub-groups D^* (V), L, A^*, and M. Of these M—the *Male Marastre*—is of little interest other than as showing the immense popularity of the romance in the thirteenth century. Only three manuscripts of it have so far been brought to light. In all these the emperor is Diocletian and the prince, Fiseus; Marcus, son of Cato, is given prominence; and, a feature which distinguishes this sharply from all other groups, *six new stories* are substituted for a corresponding number of those in the prevailing types. The original of M is believed to have been made on a very mutilated manuscript of the A^*-type. The new stories, which are of a much lower order than those they displace, are probably the invention of the author.[1]

(2). With M may be associated the numerous 'continuations'[2] of the *Sept Sages* in French, of which the most important is the *Marques de Rome*. This type originated in Picardy in the thirteenth century. A version of it has been recently published by Alton (*Li Romans de Marques de Rome*, Tübingen, 1889). In the introduction to this edition, the editor states that the romance was certainly not written later than 1277, and probably even forty years earlier (Alton, p. XIV). It seems to have met with considerable popularity, as Alton describes ten manuscripts which still survive. It doubtless had its ultimate basis in A^*—Alton thinks with M as an intervening stage, but Paris (*Romania*, XIX, p. 493) denies this, maintaining that M is posterior to the *Marques*.

(3). D^*. The *Version Dérimée*, a unique prose manuscript published by Paris as the first text of his *Deux Rédactions* (pp. 1–55), is thus called on account of the numerous instances of rime still discernible in the text, and which prove beyond doubt a metrical original.[3]

[1] See Paris, *l. c.*, p. XXIII f.

[2] For these compare P. Paris, *Les MSS. français de la Bibl. du Roi*, Paris, 1836, I, p. 109 f. More accessible in Leroux de Lincy, *l. c.*, p. X f.

[3] This was first shown by Paris, *Deux Rédactions*, p. V f.

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*D** agrees more closely with *K* than with any other known version. It cannot have been based on *K*, however, as Paris has shown, but the two doubtless flow from a common source, which Paris designates as *V*. From this *V*, also, the Chartres manuscript was in all probability made (Paris, *l. c.*, p. x.)

(4). There remain the two families *L* and *A**. The first of these comprises all versions of the type of the first Leroux de Lincy print,[1] in which the order of stories is *arbor*, *canis*, *aper*, *medicus*, *gaza*, *puteus*, *senescalcus*, *tentamina*, *Virgilius*, *avis*, *sapientes*, *noverca*, *filia*. Only six manuscripts (four strictly according to *L*, and two slightly influenced by *A**) were known to Paris (*l. c.*, p. 10 f.). To these must be added the Catalan version in *ottava rima*, edited by Mussafia (*Wiener Akad. Denkschr.*, XXV, p. 185 f., 1876), and five Old French prose manuscripts, partly fragmentary, enumerated by Paul Meyer in *Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.* for 1894, p. 38 f.[2]

In its employment of the stories *filia* and *noverca*, *L* at once groups itself with *S*. This, however, is not the only feature which the two types have in common. A general comparison with the rest of the Western group serves to show that (if we may except *A** for the time being) *S* is also nearest to *L* in motive (Paris, *l. c.*, p. XII). In order of stories, too, *S* and *L* fall together, the only differences being the reversal on the part of *L* of *tentamina* and *puteus*, and the suppression of *vidua* and *vaticinium*. Paris has therefore concluded that *L* was made on a manuscript of *S* which was mutilated toward the end, and that the scribe has in consequence had to trust to his memory for his last stories (*l. c.*, p. XIII).

[1] Leroux de Lincy, *Romans des Sept Sages*, Paris, 1838, pp. 1–76.

[2] Meyer does not express himself definitely as to the class of but one of these—the Chartres MS., which he groups with *L*. He implies, however, in his statement that the Bib. Nat. fragment (p. 39, n. 2) belongs to *A**, that all the rest belong to *L*. Nevertheless, his notices leave the impression that some of these manuscripts (possibly all except the two just mentioned) have not been handled, and that a part of them may yet be found to belong to the larger group *A**.

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(5). A^*, the largest and most important of all French groups, has been reserved for the last place. To this family pertain, besides its immediate members, the groups *Marques*, *M*, *I*, and *H;* it is, then, the original, either directly or indirectly, of four-fifths of the manuscripts and prints of the romance which survive. It is not only the ultimate source of all Italian versions,—whether direct, as with the D'Ancona edition, or indirect through *I*, but it is also, through *H*, the parent of almost all the manifold versions of the *Sept Sages* outside of Romance. And, what is of prime interest and importance to the English student, it was some manuscript of this group which furnished the immediate original of the Middle English versions.

Under group A^* Paris includes all manuscripts of the type of the Italian version published by D'Ancona.[1] He enumerates in his preface (p. XVI f.), in addition to the Italian version whence the group is named, fourteen manuscripts in Old French,[2] several of which date from the thirteenth century. Four other manuscripts, pointed out since the appearance of Paris's work (Brit. Mus. Harl. 3860 [XIV cent.], St. Jno. Bapt. Coll., Oxf., 102 [XIV cent.],[3] Cambr. Univy. Liby. Gg. 6, 28,[4] and a fragment in the Bib. Nat.-Nouv. Acq. fr. 1263 [XIII cent.]),[5] increase the number of French versions to eighteen. To this family, also, belongs the British Museum Italian prose version published by Varnhagen.[6]

The text of A^*[7] falls into two parts,—the first eleven stories (A_1^*) being textually very close to *L*, while the last four (A_2^*), as Paris has shown, agree very closely with *K*.

[1] *Il Libro dei Sette Savj di Roma*, Pisa, 1864.

[2] One of these is the manuscript 2137 of the Bib. Nat., published in part by Leroux de Lincy, pp. 79–110.

[3] For these two, cf. Varnhagen, *Z. f. rom. Ph.*, I, p. 555 f. See also for the first, Ward, *l. c.*, II, p. 199 f.

[4] *Romania*, XV, p. 348.

[5] Delisle, *MSS. lat. et fr. ajoutées aux Fondes*, etc., Paris, 1891, I, p. 259.

[6] *Eine Ital. Prosaversion der Sieben Weisen*, Berlin, 1881.

[7] By this is meant the second Leroux de Lincy redaction. Other versions of this type, as, *e. g.*, MS. 6849 (new No. 189), are not so close to *L*.

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The composite nature of the text Paris explains as due to the fact that the scribe primarily employed a fragment of *L* containing only eleven tales, and that *K*, or its source, *V*, has been used for the remaining four tales.[1] And this seems to be borne out by internal evidence; for A_2* not only falls in with *K* as regards incident, but, as in the case of *D**, there is often even a textual agreement in which entire lines that appear in *K* are reproduced.[2] Yet, as already observed, this metrical original of A_2* cannot have been *K*, since there are a number of *A**-manuscripts which antedate the latter, especially if we may accept Keller, who despite his maintenance of the priority of *K*, ventured a date no earlier than 1284, or later in all probability than the composition of the English parent text. Moreover, a comparison of A_2* with *K* and *D** will show that each of the latter possesses features in common with *A** which are not found in the other. The original of A_2* must therefore be sought in some other version than *K*,—probably, as Paris assumes, in *V*.[3]

[1] *Deux Rédactions*, p. XVIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. XIX, for a citation of parallel passages from A_2* and *K*. Almost as noteworthy agreement will be found in some of the remaining stories.

[3] But can this be final? Is it not possible, however improbable it may seem, that the manuscripts of *A** which have survived were ultimately based on a metrical text which preserved the *A**-order of stories (or, at least, was nearer the *A**-order than the *K*-, *C**- or *D**-order), and which was closely related with *V*? In this case, of course, *L* (the first eleven stories), would have to be explained as based on *A** (rather than the reverse, as with Paris), and A_2* as representing a prosing of a portion of the metrical *A**, to which *K* has very nearly approached. Against this view would be the strong evidence submitted by Paris. In favor of it, however, are the considerations (1) that this would better account for the popularity of the *A**-type during the first half of the thirteenth century; (2) that the Middle English versions both favor a metrical original and were based on a text nearer to *K* in many details than is the De Lincy print of *A**; (3) that to base *A** on *L*, and consequently, as Paris maintains, ultimately on *S*, is to connect it with a different line of tradition from that which it seems to follow (cf. certain textual agreements with *K* which *A**, *L* exhibit: p. 16: "comme il fist au cheualier de son leureier" = *K* 1141-2: "Comme il fist au cheualier, Ki atort occist son leurier;" p. 39: "Il apela son seneschal" = *K* 1509: "Lors apiela son seneschal;" p. 40: "Vos gerrez auec le

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Resumé. Looked at externally the Western group falls into two main sub-groups, the *Dolopathos* and the *Sept Sages de Rome*. The *Dolopathos*, however, did not develop from the Eastern group independently, but must have had an ultimate basis (doubtless through an oral medium) on some version of the larger group.

The *Sept Sages de Rome*, as regards order and content of stories, also falls into two groups,—one represented by *S* and *L*, the other by *K*, *D**, *C**, (*V*), and *A** and its variants, *I*, *H*, *M*, and *Marques*. Peculiar to the former group (*S*, *L*) are the stories *filia* and *noverca*, to the latter the stories *Roma* and *inclusa*.

Which of these groups represents most faithfully the lost western original is, at the present stage of our knowledge, impossible to determine, but the fact that the *Dolopathos* of Herbert contains the story *inclusa* seems to point to the priority of the *K*-, *D**-, *A**-group.[1]

With respect to the separate sub-groups, *L* may have been based on *A** and *S*, though the view of Paris, that it had its basis in *S* alone, carries with it greater probability. Either explanation leaves the origin of *S* unexplained. *K*, *D**, *C** go back to the same lost metrical original, *V*. *A** is probably to be explained with Paris as having its source in *L* and *V*, though this, as yet, has been by no means established. It is not improbable that a metrical version of *A** existed at some time.

roi"= *K* 1531: "Auoeques le roi vous girois;" p. 50: "Qui me ferra, je trerai jà"= *K* 3938: "Ki me ferra, je trairai ia"); (4) that we may still find in *A**, what appear to be reflections of a versified original; thus, p. 15: "Celz que je mout amoie et en qui je me fioie;" p. 23: "Li sangliers vint vers l'alier, si commença à mengier," and "quant il vit le sanglier, si s'en volt aler;" p. 33: "Quant eles virent lor père trainer, si commencièrent (à brère et) à crier;" p. 50: "Sire, il ot en ceste vile un clerc qui ot non Vergile." When all this is said, however, the case is by no means strong, and we would not presume to insist on this theory as presenting the probability, by any means, which attaches to the view set forth by Paris; it is merely suggested as an alternate possibility, which has not yet been disposed of.

[1] See also, Paris, *Romania*, IV, p. 128, for the additional evidence in support of this view drawn from the story *Roma*.

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Table of Stories in the Western Versions.[1]

*A**	*L*	*S*	*K*	*D**	*H*	*I*	*M*	*Dolopathos.*
arbor	arbor	arbor	arbor	arbor	arbor	———	arbor	———
canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis
aper	aper	aper	senesc.	senesc.	aper	arbor	aper	———
medicus	medicus	medicus	medicus	medicus	puteus	medicus	medicus	gaza
gaza	gaza	gaza	aper	aper	gaza	aper	gaza	———
puteus	puteus	tentam.	puteus	puteus	avis	tentam.	avis	senes
senescalcus	senesc.	senesc.	sapient.	sapient.	sapient.	sapient.	filius	———
tentamina	tentam.	puteus	tentam.	tentam.	tentam.	avis	vidua	creditor
Virgilius	Virgil.	Virgil.	Roma.	Roma.	Virgil.	gaza	nutrix	———
avis	avis.	avis.	avis	avis	medicus	inclusa	Antenor	vid.—fil.
sapientes	sapient.	sapient.	gaza	gaza	sen.—Rom.	Roma	spurius	———
vidua	noverca	vidua	vidua	vidua	amatores	vidua	cardamum	latro.—fil.
Roma	filia	filia	Virgil.	Virgil.	inclusa	Virgil.	assass.	———
inclusa	———	noverca	inclusa	inclusa	vidua	puteus	inclusa	cyg.—eq.
vaticinium	———	vaticin.	vaticin.	vatic. +	vat.—amici.	vaticin.	vaticin.	incl.—put.

II. The Romance in England.

The enormous popularity of the *Seven Sages* in French found but a faint reflection in early English. So far, only eight Middle English versions have been brought to light, and as at least seven of these go back to the same lost original, it appears that the romance did not at first take a very firm root in English soil. Nor has it in more recent times acquired the popularity in England that it enjoyed in other countries of Europe; for, besides the numerous chap-book versions, all which are of a low order of excellence, there have survived only two versions belonging to the Modern English period.

Yet, despite this comparatively small popularity of the romance in England, it is very evident that the English

[1] The order of the fragmentary Old French metrical version *C** is as follows:—*tentamina, Roma, avis, sapientes, vidua, Virgilius, inclusa, vaticinium.* In the Varnhagen Italian prose version, *puteus* has been supplanted by a new story, which V. calls *mercator.* All the Middle English versions save *F* (for which see p. 62 of this study) follow the *A**-order. The later English versions belong to group *H.*

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versions have not received attention commensurate with their importance. Indeed, there is no department of the study of the *Seven Sages*, much neglected though all have unfortunately been, which has been more neglected than the English. Weber, the first in the field, offered with his edition of the Auchinleck text practically no introduction at all.[1] Likewise Wright, in the essay which accompanied the Cambridge text (Dd, I, 17), while he presented an abstract of the *Historia*, confined the discussion of his own text, singularly enough, to less than two pages.[2] Besides these, Ellis in his *Specimens*,[3] Clouston in his *Book of Sindibād*,[4] and Gomme in the preface to his reprint of the Wynkyn de Worde edition[5] have submitted analyses of the Weber, Wright, and Wynkyn de Worde editions respectively, and sundry others have made incidental references; but there has so far appeared only one detailed and serious investigation of the problems which the English versions present—the dissertation *Ueber die mittelenglischen Fassungen der Sage von den sieben weisen Meistern*, Breslau, 1885, by Paul Petras. This scholar, in dealing with the source and inter-connection of the English versions, has arrived at some very gratifying results, but his work leaves much to be desired. Three of the eight Middle English versions have escaped notice at his hands, as also, for some unaccountable reason, the well-known edition of Wynkyn de Worde,—and a good half of his conclusions may be overthrown by a more thorough investigation. In view, then, of this manifest neglect of the English versions another detailed study of them—especially of the relations of the Middle

[1] *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810, I, p. LV and III, pp. 1–153.

[2] *The Seven Sages*, Percy Society Publications, vol. XVI, p. LXVIII, London, 1845; also in Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, London, 1871, I, p. 305 f.

[3] *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, London, 1811, III, pp. 1–101.

[4] *Book of Sindibād* [Glasgow], 1884, p. 327 f.

[5] *The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, published for the Villon Society, London, 1885.

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English manuscripts—will not, it is believed, be deemed untimely.

II (*a*). *The Middle English Versions.*

The Middle English group comprises eight known versions, in as many different manuscripts. All these are in verse, and in the octosyllabic or four-stressed couplet.

They are as follows: Auchinleck (*A*), Arundel 140 (*Ar*), Egerton 1995 (*E*), Balliol College 354 (*B*), Cambridge Ff, II, 38 (*F*), Cotton Galba E, IX (*C*), Cambridge Dd, I, 17 (*D*), and Asloan (*As*).[1]

1. *Description of the Manuscripts.*

A.—The Auchinleck MS. of the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, denoted throughout as *A*. For a general description of this manuscript, see Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, VII, p. 185 f. The text of the *Seven Sages* occupies ff. 85a–99d, and is fragmentary at both beginning and end, only 2645 lines remaining. It has been published by Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810, III, pp. 1–153, where it comprises lines 135–2779, the Cotton MS. (*C*) having been used for the remainder. For a collation of this edition with the manuscript, see Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, VI, p. 443 f. Copious extracts with an analysis may be found in Ellis's *Specimens*, London, 1811, III, pp. 1–101. With regard to date of composition there is no internal evidence other than linguistic; since, however, the Auchinleck MS. dates from about 1330, the composition of *A* must fall before that time.[2] The form

[1] I have handled and made transcripts of all these manuscripts save those which have been printed and the Asloan. Five of them (*A*, *E*, *C*, *F*, and *D*) have been studied either in whole or in part by Petras, and the Asloan MS. was also known to him through Laing's very incomplete description of it in the preface to his edition of the Rolland text, p. XII. Of the Arundel and Balliol manuscripts Petras was apparently unaware.

[2] Cf. Morsbach, *M. E. Grammatik*, Halle, 1896, p. XI, and Brandl in *Paul's Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 635.

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hardly justifies a dating earlier than 1300. In text and metre *A* is, as a rule, very good, though in both there are occasional imperfections and corruptions.[1] The dialect is Kentish, though not of the strict type.[2]

Ar.—MS. Arundel 140 of the British Museum,—cited as *Ar*. Paper, dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. For general description, see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 224. This text occupies ff. 152–165b, and is fragmentary, beginning with the conclusion of *aper* (3) and ending with the 21st line of *vaticinium* (15); 2565 lines remain. It is very much faded, and in many cases illegible, especially at the end of the b- and at the beginning of the c-columns. With regard to initial capitalization, it is very irregular. A line has been lost after l. 618; after l. 919 an extra line has been introduced with no corresponding rime. The text is metrically very poor, and many final *e*'s have to be inserted in order to secure the required four stresses; there are also a number of imperfect rimes (such as *yspede*: *saue*, 243–4) and other textual irregularities; nevertheless, *Ar*, as is shown below, is the closest representative of the lost M. E. original. The dialect is Kentish.[3] The text has not been published.

[1] There are many emendations which lie on the surface and which are sustained by the closely related versions *Ar*, *E*, etc. Some of these are: (1) for *schild* 1016 read *schuld(e)*—cf. *F* 1487, *Ar*, *B*, *E*; (2) for *swich* 1031 read *syke* or *seke*—cf. *Ar* 91, etc.; (3) for *tol of* 2050 read *to lof*—cf. *E* 2082, etc.; (4) for *to-delue* 2417 read *go delue*—cf. *B* 2509, etc.; (5) after *He* 2657, insert *þoust*—cf. *Ar* 1782, etc.

[2] A. S. *y* is regularly represented by the *e*-sound, though this may not always be graphic. Of the 27 determining rimes, 22, or 81 per cent., have the *e*-coloring. There is nothing in other developments to contradict this result. The only Northern forms in the rime are a pres. part. in *-and*, 1977–8, and two instances of the third pers. sing. of the present tense in *s*, 615–6 and 937–8.

[3] To the development of A. S. *y* (stable or unstable, long or short) into *e*, there is only one certain exception: *wyne*: *syne*, 691–2. Elsewhere we find only the *e*-quality; cf. *nede*: *hyde*, 383–4; *ifet*: *iknet*, 601–2; *gardyner*: *fyr*, 863–4, 872–3; also 892–3, 939–40, 979–80, 1433–4, 1515–6, 1535–6, 1541–2, 1583–4, 1761–2, 1847–8, 2059–60. The additional rime-evidence is altogether confirmatory of a Southern scribe: A. S. $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ unexceptionally, the

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E.—MS. Egerton 1995 of the British Museum,[1]—cited throughout as *E.* Ff. 3–54b. Paper, dating from the fifteenth century,—probably the second half.[2] Written in single columns, with initials in red. Very regular as regards capitalization. Complete, containing 3588 lines, and bearing the title *Seven Sages of Rome*, with the colophon *Expliciunt Septem Sapientes*. Before the first story, *arbor*, stands the simple rubric, "He[re] begynnythe the fyrste tale of the Emperasse;" before nine others, there is substituted for this a couplet indicating the contents of the story which follows, as *e. g.*, *canis* (695–6):

> 'Here begynnythe the tale of a knyght
> That cylde hys grehounde with unryght.'

The stories *avis*, *vidua*, *Roma*, *inclusa*, and *vaticinium* have nothing corresponding to this. The dialect is Kentish, though less strongly marked than in *Ar.*[3] No edition of *E* has yet appeared. An extract, including ll. 2251–2358, accompanies the monograph of Petras, "Anhang," p. 54 f.

B.—MS. No. 354 of Balliol College Library, Oxford,—denoted as *B.*[4] Ff. 18a–54b. Paper, belonging to the early

pres. part. (except *buland: blynd*, 1589–90) ends in *-ng*, the verb is Southern (save *cryén: mene*, 2556–7, where we have a Midland form), the past part. preserves, as a rule, the prefix, and rejects (in the case of the strong verb) the ending, etc. Within the line, however, there are occasional Northern forms, particularly of the pres. part., as *buland*, 1588, 1591, 1599, *brynand*, 1922; but these are by no means the rule, the Southern form being in general preserved as well within the line as in the rime.

[1] For a general description of this manuscript, see Ward's *Catalogue*, II, p. 218 f.

[2] See the sixth article: "Gregory Skinner's Chronicle of the Mayors of London, ending in 1469," ff. 113–122b.

[3] The usual development of A. S. *y* is *e*, or the *e*-quality,—see the rimes of ll. 245–6, 577–8, 783–4, 845–6, 1323–4, 1545–6, 1799–1800, 1821–1822; but occasionally *y*,—cf. *kynne: lynne* (O.N. *linna*), 1317–8 and *wynne: syne*, 1635–6. The evidence is otherwise strongly indicative of a Southern scribe, though a few Northern forms are borne out by the rime; cf. *hondys: stondys* (3d sing.), 439–40, also *kynge: yonge*, 93–4, and *yonge: connynge*, 3581–2.

[4] The existence of this version of the *Seven Sages* was first pointed out by Varnhagen, in his *Eine Ital. Prosav. d. Sieben Weisen*, Berlin, 1881, p. XI; see in the same connection his review of Petras, *Eng. Stud.*, X, p. 279 f.

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sixteenth century.[1] In single columns; irregular in capitalization. Described in Coxe's *Catalogus*, I, p. 110, as in the hand of John Hyde. The text is complete, containing 3708 lines. The first rubric, which contains the title, reads as follows: "Here begynneth þe prologes of the VII. sagis or VII. wise masters which were named as here-after ffollowing." Each story has a heading or title, as *e. g., arbor:* "The empresse tale off the pynote tree." At the end of the text stands the colophon: "Thus endith of the VII. sages of Rome, which was drawen owt of crownycles *and* owt of wrytyng of old men, *and* many a notable tale is ther-in, as ys beffore sayde. Quod Richard Hill." This manuscript contains very few abbreviations, and the language is much modernized. In line 1761: "On the ffall suche as fell to a old man by his wif," we have two lines in one. The rime is, if anything, slightly better than in *A*, *Ar*, and *E*, but is, nevertheless, occasionally imperfect, cf. *visage: noyse*, 459–60; assonance, as in all other related M. E. texts, abounds; often four lines rime together, and occasionally six, cf. 2583–8. The dialect is Southern.[2] No edition of the text has yet appeared, but the E. E. T. S. has for some time been advertising the entire manuscript as needing editing.

F.—MS. Ff, II, 38 (formerly marked *More 690*) of the Cambridge University Library,—denoted as *F*.[3] Ff. 134a–156d. Paper, dating from about the middle of the fifteenth century. Written in double columns of about 40 ll. to the column. Handwriting uniform; irregular as to capitalization, though most lines begin with a capital. The beginnings of stories indicated merely by large initial capitals in red.

[1] Cf. Art. 31, "Memoranda of Richard Hill," and Art. 98, "Names of Mayors (of London)."

[2] Southern forms are sustained by the rime almost without exception. A. S. *y* is represented by both *y* and *e*, in about equal proportion; the rimes in *e* are probably to be explained, however, as reminiscences of a Kentish original.

[3] Cf. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, Camden Society, vol. XXX, p. XXXVI f., and the Cambridge Univ. Lib. *Catalogue of MSS.*, II, p. 408.

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The text is fragmentary; ff. 141 and 144 (or less than 400 ll.) have been lost, and fol. 135 is in a mutilated condition;[1] 2555 ll. remain. Criteria for determining the dialect are not abundant, as the manuscript is late and the forms are somewhat mixed; but the bulk of the evidence favors a Southern dialect.[2] The text has not been edited, although, in view of its uniqueness, it is not uninteresting, and in its last four stories is of considerable value. Extracts are given by Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, p. XLIII f., Wright, *The Seven Sages*, p. LXX f., and Petras, *l. c.*, p. 60 f.

C.—MS. Cotton Galba E, IX, of the British Museum,—denoted as *C*.[3] Ff. 25b–48b. Vellum; in double columns, with initials in blue and red, and in a very plain hand of the first third of the fifteenth century. Complete, in 4328 ll. Bearing the title *þe Proces of þe Seuyn Sages*. Each prolog and each story marked off by rubrics: in the case of the former, such as "Here bigins þe fyrst proces" (called "prolong" after the fourth story), with the latter, "Here bygins þe first tale of þe whyfe," etc., the number being given in each instance, and, in the case of the masters' stories, their names also. The dialect is Northern. Both text and metre are very pure;[4] the rime, especially, stands in marked contrast to the Southern versions, being almost free of assonance and the im-

[1] The Cambridge *Catalogue* fails to specify the leaves which have been lost. Petras (p. 8) and others go to the other extreme in asserting that the text is very incomplete.

[2] A. S. $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, and the forms of the verb, with the exception of the strong past part., where *-en* is the usual ending, are Southern. The scribe, however, probably belonged rather to the middle or western South than to Kent, or its neighborhood; cf. the rimes in *y* where the *ü*-quality prevails: *tyme: kynne*, 813–4; *wytte: pytte*, 845–6; *hym: kynne*, 871–2; 1348–9, 1636–7, etc. The rimes *bedd: hydd*, 200–1, and *kende: sende*, 1890–1, are probably to be traced to the Kentish original.

[3] Cf. Ward's *Catalogue*, II, p. 213 f., for a general description of this manuscript.

[4] There are very few verses that are too short (among these are 84, 443, 911, 1868, 1901, 1918, 2973), and almost none that are too full (cf. 843). Among the few inexact rimes are *sages: message*, 355–6; *brend: assent*, 2321–2; *hew: mowe*, 2842–3.

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perfections in which the latter abound. No complete edition of *C* has so far appeared; but lines 1–134 and 3108–4328 are printed in Weber, *Metr. Rom.*, III, pp. 1 f. and 108 f., where this text has been employed to supplement *A*. The story *avis*, comprising lines 2411–2548, appears in the "Anhang" to Petras's monograph, p. 56 f.[1]

D.—MS. Dd, I, 17 of the Cambridge University Library,—cited as *D*.[2] Ff. 54a, col. 1—63a, col. 3. Parchment; in treble columns; appears to belong to the end of the fourteenth century.[3] Textually very imperfect, and plainly the work of a careless scribe. Thirteen lines have apparently been lost,—after 1312, 1417, 1696, 1719, 2094, 2293, 2695, 2840, 2960, 3057, 3134, 3365, 3395. Irregularities in rime are numerous, but in most cases easily emended.[4] The dialect is southeast Midland, with an intermixture of Northern forms.[5] The text has been edited by Wright (Percy Society for 1845, vol. XVI, pp. 1–118). For a collation of this edition with the manuscript, see Kölbing in *Englische Studien*, VI, p. 448 f. An analysis of the romance on the basis of this text appears in Clouston's *Book of Sindibād*, p. 327 f.

As.—MS. Asloan, in the possession of Lord Talbot de Malahide, Malahide Castle, Ireland,—denoted by *As*. For a general description of the manuscript (quoted from Chalmers),

[1] An edition of this manuscript by the lamented Dr. Robert Morris was announced by the E. E. T. S. many years ago; and an editor was advertised for for some time after Dr. Morris's death, but in the recent issues of the publications this advertisement no longer appears. It is the purpose of the present writer to prepare a critical edition of this text within the near future.

[2] For a general description of this manuscript, see the Cambridge *Catalogue*, I, p. 15 f.; Skeat, *Publications of E. E. T. S.*, vol. XXXVIII, p. XXIII f.; and Halliwell, *Manuscript Rarities of Cambridge*, p. 3.

[3] Morsbach, for some unknown reason, would place it earlier, "1300?"; see his *M. E. Grammatik*, p. 9.

[4] Lines 337–9 may be explained as a triplet, but it is better to suppose that a verse has been lost. A more probable example of the triplet in M. E. is found in *A*, 915–7.

[5] See Skeat, E. E. T. S., vol. XXXVIII, p. XXV, and Brandl, in *Paul's Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 635.

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see Schipper's *Poems of Dunbar*, Vienna, 1891, Pt. 1, p. 5 f.[1] The text of the *Seven Sages* occupies ff. 167–209, and bears the title *The Buke of the sevyne Sagis*. According to Laing[2] the text is incomplete, extending to only about 2800 lines, and the twelfth and thirteenth stories are wanting entirely. It begins,

'Ane Empriour in tymes bygane
In Rome callit Dioclesiane—'

and ends,

'Syne ȝeid till heuyn and sa do we
Sayis all Amen for cherite.'

Its dialect is Scottish.[3] A complete transcript, made by D. Laing in 1826, exists in the University Library, Edinburgh. An edition, long ago promised by Varnhagen, is expected to appear shortly in the *Scottish Text Society Publications*.

2. *Interrelation of the Middle English Versions.*

With regard to the relationship of the Middle English versions there has been a variety of opinions, and, as in the case of the French versions, there has existed no little ignorance and error. The general tendency has been to consider any and all versions of the M. E. period independent translations from the French. This has been nowhere better demonstrated than in Petras's dissertation, where it has been boldly maintained that at least four of the M. E. versions (*A, C, F, D*) are unrelated save through a common foreign original. And while others have been more conservative than Petras, the prevailing opinion seems to have been that a majority at least of the M. E. group are independent of each other. It will be one of the results of this study, however, it is believed, to show that seven of the eight M. E. versions

[1] A further description, together with an extract containing the story *avis*, has recently appeared in *Englische Studien* (XXV, p. 321 f.), through the kindness of Prof. Varnhagen.

[2] *The Seven Sages in Scottish Metre* (Rolland), Edinburgh, 1837, p. XII.

[3] Chalmers says of it: "Evidently written by a Scotish versifier in the reign of James IV, as a number of Scotish terms occur, which would not have been introduced by a Scotish transcriber of an English work."

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are ultimately related through a common M. E. parent version (x), and it is held not improbable that the eighth (As) is also thus related to x.

All the M. E. versions, however, do not represent the same line of tradition. One of the texts, D, as later shown, is a development from x, independent of the rest of the M. E. group, and Varnhagen holds that As was made directly from the Old French. The remaining versions fall together into one connected group, all related through a common original (y), which goes back to x, but which was not identical with it. This group will be designated as Y.

The close relationship of the texts which constitute this group Y is confirmed by evidence from all sides, but it can be no more effectively illustrated than by a comparative table of lines. For this purpose a line-for-line comparison of the section which the five most important texts of this group (A, Ar, E, B, C) have in common has been made, the comparison being restricted to identical lines and similar rimes, with the following results:[1]

(1) A = 1816 ll.

	Total ll.	*Ident. ll.*	*Sim. rimes.*
Ar	1916	234	722
E	1843	125	636
B	1934	154	537
C	2067	26	—[2]

(2) Ar = 1916 ll.

A	1816	234	722
E	1843	169	746
B	1931	137	646
C	2067	19	413

(3) E = 1843 ll.

A	1816	125	636
Ar	1916	169	746
B	1931	83	558
C	2067	11	352

(4) B = 1931 ll.

A	1816	154	537
Ar	1916	137	646
E	1843	83	558
C	2067	13	281

(5) C = 2067 ll.

A	1816	26	—[2]
Ar	1916	19	413
E	1843	11	352
B	1931	13	281

[1] An illustration of the method by which these figures have been arrived at may be found in the appendix to this study. F, owing to special features which are discussed below, is excluded from this comparison.

[2] Petras, p. 11, finds A and C, the entire texts being compared, to have 1096 similar rimes.

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But this comparison, while valuable as far as it goes, serves only to show a connection between the texts compared; it does not suffice to show the nature of this connection. Accordingly, in addition to this, a comparison of motive or incident—as a safer basis for classification—has been made for the entire Middle English group; and it is by means of this, in the main, that our results as to the interrelation of the M. E. versions have been reached. The limits of this publication, however, preclude the submitting this except in part, so that only the tabulation for the story *vidua* (*Matron of Ephesus*) appears here.

(1) A certain knight had a wife. (*A*, *Ar*, *B*, *D* state that he was a *sheriff*.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A** 80, "un vicomte en Loherainne."
(2) They loved each other exceedingly. (*Ar* only relates that he loved her. In *F*, he will not permit her to go half a mile from him, "neither to church nor to cheping.")	*A*	(*Ar*)	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*		*A**
(3) A new sharp knife is given them.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A**
(4) While playing with this, he cuts her { in the thumb.			*E*	*B*				
in the womb.	*A*	*Ar*						*A**, "el pouce."
(*C*, in the finger; *F*, in the hand; *D* is silent as to part. *F* adds that the wife was paring a pear.)								
(5) For dole he dies on the morrow. (*F* adds that he asks for a priest before he dies.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*		*C*		*D*	*A**
(6) This was great folly.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*				*A**

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(7) He was richly buried on the morrow. (*B* does not specify that it was on the morrow. *E*, *B*, *C* state that this occurs after a mass. *D* adds that the place of burial was outside the city, since there were objections to his being buried within the city.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	(*B*)	*C*		(*D*)	*A**
(8) The wife refuses to leave the grave.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**
(9) Her friends try to comfort her.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*		*D*	*A**, "ses lignages."
(10) They suggest that she is young, and may marry again, and beget children.	*A*	*Ar*		*B*	*C*			(*A**), "jueneet bele." (No mention of marrying in *A**, but see *K* and the D'Ancona text.)
(11) She rejects their suggestions, assuring them that she will die on his grave. They are sorry.	*A*	*Ar*		*B*	*C*			*A** 81.
(12) They make for her a "logge" on the grave.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A**, "une loge."
(13) Also, a fire. (*D*, she makes the fire herself. An addition of *D* is that she sends for her clothes.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*		*C*		(*D*)	*A**
(14) Her friends leave her; she moans.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*		*D*	*A**
(15) On the same day three thieves have been taken. (*E*, on a day before; *B*, silent; *F*, one thief.)	*A*	*Ar*	(*E*)	(*B*)	*C*	(*F*)	*D*	*A**, "à celui jour."
(16) They were knights who had wasted the country, and had been hanged as soon as captured.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A**

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(17) A certain knight was to guard the bodies for the first night. (*A* adds that he was to watch for three nights.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**,"un chevalier—la première nuit."
(18) Becoming cold, he spies the fire in the "churchhaw," goes thither, and finds the lady.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**, "cimetière."
(19) He asks to be let in.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*		*F*		*A** 82.
(20) She refuses his request. In *A* she swears by St. (John,—in *Ar*, *E*, *B*, by "St. Austyn.")	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A**
(21) He assures her that he will do her no harm, and that he is a knight.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A** (*K* 3768, "Je sui Gerart le fil Guion;" also *D** 37.)
(22) She lets him in; he warms by the fire. (In *D* there is no mention of the wife's refusing to permit the knight to enter.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**
(23) He sees her making dole, and tells her she is foolish to do so,—that she may yet marry some knight. She replies that he was so kind that she may not love any other. (*D* adds that she begins to love him when she finds him to be a knight; and that he lies with her.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A**
(24) By and by he thinks of his charge.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			(*A**)
(25) And fearing guile, he rides fast to the gallows, only to find one of the bodies stolen. (*A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, he rides on a foal.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A** 83.

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(26) He fears he will lose his advancement if unable to recover the body.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*		*D*	*A**
(27) Bethinks himself that "wimmen coube red."	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			*A** (the order of 26–7 reversed in the French.)
(28) So going to the widow, he asks counsel of her.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A** (cf. *K*, 3817).
(29) She agrees to help him if he will marry her. (*B*, *E*, she proposes only that he be her "leman,"—he suggests matrimony. In *C*, she asks if he has a wife.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*		*A**
(30) This being agreed to, she advises that they dig up the body of her husband, which is done.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**
(31) But the knight objects to hanging up the body.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*		*C*	*F*		*A**
(32) The lady puts a rope round the neck of the corpse. (*E*, the knight does it.)	*A*	*Ar*	(*E*)	*B*	*C*	*F*		*A**
(33) She draws the body up, and hangs it fast.	*A*	*Ar*			*C*	*F*		*A**
(34) The knight is aghast at this.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*				
(35) The knight recalls that the thief had a wound in his head, and fears that the "guile may be perceived" unless the husband have a similar one; this the wife advises him to make with his sword.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A** 84, "une plaie en la teste."
(36) He declines to do it.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	(*B*)	(*C*)		*D*	
(37) She asks for his sword, proposing to do it herself.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*		*A**

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(38) She smites with all her strength "amid the brayn." (In *D*, she wounds him with a knife.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	(*C*)	*F*	*D*	*A**
(39) The knight now knows her to be false.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*			
(40) He remembers that the thief's fore-teeth had been broken out. (*D*, *F*, in agreement with *A**, *K*, have *two* teeth; but see *D** 39, *toutes les dens.*)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	(*F*)	(*D*)	*A**
(41) She proposes that he disfigure her husband in like manner, but he refuses.	*A*	*Ar*			*C*		*D*	(*A**)
(42) She does it herself with a stone. (In *A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *F*, she knocks out *all* his teeth; in *D*, only *two*. *F* inserts here another disfiguration—the loss of two fingers. In *D*, the body is not hung up till after the mutilation.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**
(43) The wife states that she has now won his love, which he denies, adding that he would marry her for no treasure, lest she serve him as she has served her lord.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*		(*A**)
(44) The sage wishes Diocletian such fortune if he do not respite the prince.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A** 85.
(45) He asks that judgment be suspended till the morrow, when the prince will speak for himself.	*A*	*Ar*	(*E*)	*B*	*C*			*A**
(46) The emperor agrees to this, and the crowds disperse.	*A*	*Ar*		*B*	*C*		*D*	*A**

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(47) The emperor goes to his bower; the empress "lours" on him. (*A*, *Ar* add that his "sergeants make solace" with him.)	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*	*D*	*A**
(48) The emperor is brought abed *with riche baudekines.*	*A*	*Ar*						
(49) The empress is silent till the morrow.	*A*	*Ar*	*E*	*B*	*C*		*D*	
(50) When she asks if he has heard the "geste," etc., why men made a *feast of fools.*[1] (*Ar*, "How Rome was in great dread." *D* likewise makes no mention of the feast of fools.)	*A*	(*Ar*)	*E*	*B*	*C*		(*D*)	*A**, *K* 2347, "feste aus fox."

A.—*A* is naturally the most valuable of all Middle English versions, since it is found in the oldest manuscript which has come down to us, and doubtless in many respects best preserves the original. In view of its age one would at least hope to find in it either the parent English text or the closest representative of it, but a close collation with the remaining manuscripts shows that it is neither the one nor the other. It is not even a link in any one of the chains of development. This is established by the fact that *A* often abridges where all the other texts of *Y* are true to the French.[2]

There are, however, some features in which *A* appears to reflect the original more faithfully than any other member of its group. Thus, we find in *A* 666, "Deu vous doint bonjour" = *L* 15, "Diex vos doint bon jor," where none approximate *A* save *B* 652, "And sayde, deux vous garde bonjour;" or, in *A* 743, "The levedi stod *in pount tournis*" =

[1] For the origin of this feature, see Paris, *Romania*, IV, 128.

[2] This phenomenon does not seem to be confined to our text, but appears also in other poems of the Auchinleck MS., as has been already observed by Kölbing; cf. his *Arthour and Merlin*, IV, p. CLIII, and his *Bevis of Hamtoun*, E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser., LXV, p. XLI.

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L 17, "sur le pont torneiz," where *C* reads "on a vice," and *E*, *B*, "in the castle on high." And there are sundry details of the original which *A* reproduces in common with only one other text; but these are easily explained by the circumstance of *A*'s closer proximity in time to the parent text, in consequence of which it has suffered less from the ravages of time, or at the hand of the modernizer, than have some of the later texts.

The abridgments of the original which characterize *A* fall chiefly in the conclusions of certain stories. In fact it is a noticeable feature—due probably to the desire to avoid repetition—that it is almost entirely in the 'epilogaciouns' (as some of the *H*-texts name them) that *A* has made any serious alterations, while there is a very marked agreement, and only occasional freedom, exhibited in the body of its stories.

This tendency to abridge is manifest throughout the *A*-text. It is most violent, however, in the stories *aper*, *gaza*, *Virgilius*, and *avis*. Chief among the passages in other versions which find nothing corresponding in *A*, are the following: (1) *aper*, *Ar*, 1–20 = *E* 949–968 = *B* 933–948 = *C* 1041–1058 = *L*, p. 25; (2) *Virgilius*, *Ar* 1280–1288 = *E* 2204–2212 = *B* 2244–2252 = *C* 2370–2376 = *L*, p. 55; (3) *avis*, *Ar* 1433–1446 = *E* 2367–2372 = *B* 2401–2414 = *L*, p. 59.

There is, in addition to these, in the conclusion of *gaza*, a fourth passage which *A* abridges radically, and which, since it is a comparatively close paraphrase of the Old French, may be cited here as giving a graphic illustration of this peculiarity of *A*, and, at the same time, as showing once for all its unoriginality, and its subordinate importance in settling the question of the interrelation of the English versions. This passage is, in *Ar*, ll. 456–479; the corresponding lines are, in *E* 1401–1426, *B* 1393–1420, and *C* 1472–1490. Citation is made from *Ar* as best representing the lost text *Y*.

Ar 456 'Loude þei gonne on hym to crye,
And saide, lentylyon kyþe þy mastry,
Helpe þy disciple at þis nede.
Þe master a-lygt þo of his stede,

L 34. 'Chascun li escria: Ha! mestre, or pansez de vostre deciple.'
. . . 'et descent de son cheval.'

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And grete þe Emperour on his kne.
Unneþe wold he hym see.
þe Emperour saide, þou fals man,
Be hym þat al men-kynde wan,
þou art fekell and fatour,
Losenger and eke traytour.
A, why syr leue lord?
So nas I neuer, saue þy word.
Syr, þy gentyll wyue late us her,
And with goddes helpe we schull us skor.
I ȝow toke my soñ to loke
And for to tech hym on boke,
And þou first bygan to tech,
By-nome his tong *and* his spech,
And taugt hym sith with mor stryf,
Ffor to nyme forth my wyf.
ȝe schull wite þeir-of nougt;
Bot when he is to deþe brougt,
I schull dampne þe *and* þy feren
To drawe *and* honge by þe swyren.'

'. . . et s'en vient devant l'emperèeur, si le salue: . . Li emperères respont au salu qui li a dit: Ja dex ne vos beneie.'

'Avoi! fet messires Lantules, pourcoi dites vos ce?
'Ge le vos dirai, fait li emperères, je vos avoie baillie mon fil à aprendre et à endoctriner, et la première doctrine que li avez faite, si est que vos li avez la parole tolue; l'autre qui veult prendre ma fame à force. Mes ja Dex ne vos en doint joir; et bien sachiez que tantost comme il sera morz, vos morroiz apres, et seroiz destruit ensement.'

As against this *A* has only the following lines (1387–92):

'And th' emperour wel sone he fond:
He gret him faire, ich understond. (= *Ar* 460)
Th' emperour saide, so God me spede, (= *Ar* 462)
Traitour, the schal be quit thi mede!
For mi sones mislerning,
Ye schulle habbe evil ending!'

Other less important omissions occur in the conclusions to *aper* and *puteus*: *aper*—the people invoke the master to help his disciple (*L* 25, *C* 1064, *E*, *B*); *puteus*—the empress threatens, on learning of the respite of the prince, to leave on the morrow. *Ar* 624–5, "And saide scho wold away at morowe. Nai dame, he saide, ȝef God it wyll. . . ." = *L* 38, "je m'en irai le matin. Non ferois, dame . . . . se dieux plest." The same incident is omitted in the *A*-text of *avis*; cf. *L* 59, *Ar* 1440–1.

In the body of the stories, as already observed, this tendency is not nearly so marked. There is in fact no significant

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feature of the stories of the original which has been preserved in any other English version that does not appear also in *A*. The nearest approaches to such are the following, both from the story *Roma:* (1) An old wise man (= *A** 86, "un home viel et ancien. . . .") makes the proposition that the city be put in charge of seven sages, a bit of detail which is omitted by no other English version; (2) after these sages have kept the city for a month, the food supply is exhausted; cf. *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *C*, *F*, and *A** 86, "vitaille failli à ceuls." In addition to these there are certain other minor details in which one or more of the related English versions preserve the French more closely. For example, in *medicus* (*A* 1149), Ypocras pierces the ton in *1000* places, as against *Ar* (208), *E*, *B*, *F*, which agree with *L* 28, *-c- broches.* Likewise in *Virgilius*, *A* (1977–8) translates the O. F. "arc de coivre et une sajete, bien entesse" (*L* 50) as "arblast . . . . and quarel taisand," while the remaining members of group *Y* render more literally *bow* and *arrow;* in *sapientes*, *C*, *Ar*, *E*, *B* have the masters ask Merlin his name, in agreement with *L* 60, "et li demandèrent commant il avoit à non," where *A* abridges; to which add that *A* makes no mention of the divine service at the burial of the husband in *vidua*, where *E*, *B*, *C*, fall in with *A** 80, and that in the same story, *A* (2618) has the knight come to the gallows to watch *three* nights, while *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *C* fall together in their adherence to the French—*A** 81, "la première nuit," and we have the sum of *A*'s noteworthy variations within the body of its stories.

Additions in *A* are even less numerous. An occasional extra couplet (so far as the evidence of the remaining English versions goes) now and then crops out, as *e. g.*, 645–8, and we also find here and there additional details, such as (1) in *Virgilius*, where the poor, in addition to warming themselves at the magician's wonderful fire, are represented as also preparing their food by it (*A* 1973); and as (2) in *sapientes*, Herod is described as the richest man in Christendom (*A* 2340),—neither of which appears in any other text, whether English

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or Romance. But such additions are very few in number, and, in any case, too insignificant to play a prominent part in solving the problem in hand. They are, nevertheless, confirmatory of the evidence already adduced, with which they unite in demonstrating conclusively the unoriginality of *A*.

We have, then, in *A* a secondary development from the lost *y*. It cannot have been based on any manuscript of which any other text of *Y* is a close transcript, since it preserves the original in some places more faithfully than any other M. E. text. On the other hand, it cannot have been the source of any of the known M. E. manuscripts, since all these preserve features of the French which *A* omits.

Ar.—Nearest to *A* stands the fragmentary text from MS. Arundel 140. This version, while most important as representing in all probability the lost *y* more closely than any other known text, has been singularly neglected by former investigators. Petras makes no mention of it, whence we draw the inference that he was unacquainted with it. And apparently the only notice which has been accorded it, beyond Varnhagen's several references to it,[1] is that of Ward in his *Catalogue of Romances* (II, p. 224 f.). From a comparison of the introductory lines of *Ar* with the corresponding passages in *A*, *E*, *C*, Ward observed that its affinities seemed closest with *E*; and this indeed holds for the conclusions of several of the stories (Ward deals with a conclusion; cf. our parallelling of lines for *medicus*, in Appendix), where *A* has been seen to be often free, and where *Ar*, in consequence, frequently agrees more closely with any other text than with *A*. It does not hold, however, as regards the stories themselves, where *E* yields the first place to *A*.

Except in these conclusions, *Ar* agrees with *A* very closely. Their intimate relation is evident at once from our line-for-line statistics on p. 44. Of the 1916 lines of the *Ar*-section (= *A* 1816), 234 are identical with lines in *A*, and there are

[1] First referred to in his *Eine Ital. Prosaversion d. Sieben Weisen*, p. XI, and later in his review of Petras, *Eng. Stud.*, X, p. 279.

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722 similar rimes. Next comes *E* (1843 ll.) with 169 identical lines and 746 similar rimes,—a slightly larger percentage of rimes than for *A*, and an apparent discrepancy, which is, however, easily reconciled by the fact of *A*'s characteristic curtailments; *B* (1931 ll.) has 137 lines identical with *Ar* and 646 like rimes, and *C*, which comes last, has only 19 lines identical and 413 similar rimes.

But the closer relationship of *Ar* to *A* develops conclusively only from a comparison of details. Here, while a careful collation of *Ar* with all other members of *Y* reveals no noteworthy bit of detail in common with any other single text when contrasted with *A*, there are several interesting and significant agreements of *Ar* with *A* against the rest of *Y*. Among these are the following: (1) *A* 1462, "Ich wille bicome wod and wilde," which is identical with *Ar* 552; in *E* 1498, the empress (who is speaking here) seeks to slay herself (cf. *L* 36, "seroie-je morte"). (2) *A* 1580, "And he com als a leopard" = *Ar* 668, "þane cam he rynnyng as a lyvarde." (3) *A* 1588, "Bihote hem pans an handfolle" = *Ar* 676, "Behote heme pens a pours full." (4) *A* 2396, "Al to loude thou spak thi latin" = *Ar* 1518, "To loude þou spake þy latyn." (5) *A* 2744, "Withe riche baudekines i-spredde" = *Ar* 1868, "*With* rich clopes all byspred." None of these verses have anything corresponding in any other English text. Doubtless some of them are only accidental, but such cannot be the case with all. Their evidence is well supported by such further agreements as in *senescalcus*, where *A* and *Ar* unite in retaining the *twenty marks* of the original, other M. E. texts varying, or as in *vidua* where these two agree in that the wife is cut in the *womb*, while *E*, *B* preserve the French—in the *thumb* (*A** 80, *el pouce*), *C* states that the wounded part is a *finger*, *E* the *hand*, and *D* is indefinite. Of these agreements there can be only one explanation, namely in the assumption of a connection between the two texts. What the nature of this relation is, however, can be best

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determined after a collection of corresponding data for the other manuscripts.

In comparing the remaining texts with *Ar*, one is at once struck with the remarkable agreement of *B*, *E* with *A*, *Ar*. These four versions have a number of features in common which do not survive in *C*, *F*, or *D*. Thus (1) in *gaza*, the son stabs himself in the *thigh* (= *L* 33, *en la cuisse*), where *C*, *F* are free, the one reading *cheke*, the other *honde*. (2) In *senescalcus*, the king falls sick "by God's vengeance" (not in *L*; also omitted by *C*, *D*,—*F* omitting the entire story). (3) Again in the same story, the king offers *twenty marks* or *pounds* for a lady to lie with (= *L* 40, *xx mars*), where *C* reads *ten pounds*, and *D* simply "gold and silver." And this is still more apparent in a line-for-line collation, as is sufficiently demonstrated in the Appendix.

At the same time, also, one cannot but remark certain occasional agreements of *Ar* with *E*, *B* in opposition to *A*. For instance, (1) the king in *senescalcus*, with the former, has great delight in women, where *A* on the contrary, in agreement with the O. F., as also with *C*, *D*, describes him as disdaining women above all things (*L* 39, "Il desdaingnoit fame seur toutes riens"). And (2) in *sapientes*, the sages in *Ar*, *E*, *B* ask respite for *seven* days, where *A*, *C* give *fourteen* days, *F* 12, *L* 4–8, and *K* 15. Likewise (3) the servants of the king in *sapientes* dig under his bed "four feet or five" in *Ar*, *E*, *B*, while *A* makes no mention of the distance, but says ten or twelve men dig; so *L* 62, *xx homes*. To which is to be added (4) the agreement of *Ar*, *E*, *B* in having the husband in *vidua* (*Ar* 1756) swear by *St. Austyne*;—by *St. Johain* in *A* (2630). Nevertheless, these are not of such a nature as to contradict the classification of *Ar* with *A*, but merely indicate that in such cases, *Ar* best preserving the original, independence has been asserted by the poet of *A*.

But in view of these and of *A*'s frequent abridgments, we cannot look for the basis of *Ar* in *A*, nor—as it is hardly necessary to add, after the citation of textual agreements with

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A—in *E* or *B*,—and still less, for even more obvious reasons, in *C* or *F*. The marked agreement of *Ar* with *A*, however, begets the assumption of a development of the former, parallel with the latter, from a common source *r*, through which they both go back to *y*.

Certain agreements of *Ar* with *E* against all other versions including *A* (treated more at length under *E*) are not altogether easy to reconcile, but owing to *Ar*'s nearness to other texts—*A* in particular—as against *E*, it is impossible to consider *Ar* as derived from it; we are led rather to the converse assumption, of a partial connection, or contamination, of *E* with *Ar*, or, in more likelihood, with the latter's immediate source *r*.

That *Ar* so far as it goes, best preserves the lost M. E. original is borne out on all sides: (1) by its close agreement with the texts *A* and *E*, which otherwise best reproduce this source; (2) by the fact that *F* in the last four stories (in which we should expect a close adherence to its original) is closer to it than to any other text; and (3) that while *A*, especially, and *E*, *B*, in a less degree, often add or omit lines, *Ar* almost never adds, and in only rare cases abridges.[1]

However, that no manuscript which has survived was based on *Ar* follows from its occasional freedom, as *e. g.*, (1) its rimes to 171–2, 227–8, 463–4, etc., which are parallelled by no other text, and (2) in *Roma* the names of *Julius* and *July*, —where all other texts better preserve the *Genus* (Janus) and *January* of the French.

E.—With the exception of *Ar*, the Egerton MS. would be of most value in preparing a normalized text, since it next best preserves the original, and especially since it is complete.

The value of *E* is considerably impaired, however, by the fact that its author—or more probably its scribe—has made an unusual number of textual abridgments,—as a rule for

[1] The only addition in the first 1900 ll. is 1871–2:

'When day bygane to sprynge,
And þe foules mery to synge.'

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single couplets only, yet in a few cases for a half-dozen or more lines. Some of these are the following: (1) after 996 = *A* 991–2, (2) 1024 = *A* 1019–20, (3) 1216 = *A* 1211–2, (4) 1400 = *A* 1385–6, (5) 1500 = *A* 1465–6, (6) 1530 = *A* 1500–1, (7) 1558 = *A* 1529–30, (8) 1578 = *A* 1549–50, (9) 1646 = *A* 1615–6, (10) 1652 = *A* 1623–4, (11) 1662 = *A* 1633–4, (12) 1784 = *A* 1749–50, etc., and, most radical of all, (13) after 2472 = *A* 2424 f., where ten lines have been lost.[1] In consequence of this, *E* is somewhat shorter than either of the other complete texts, *B* and *C*. For the 2564 lines of the Arundel fragment, it has only 2365; and this number in reality should be reduced 18 lines, since the couplets with which *E* heads nine of its stories, and which have been included in this numbering, did not belong to the original, it is safe to assume, and should not, for purposes of comparison, be regarded as part of the text.

But beyond these slight abridgments, the author of *E* has, in the handling of his original, exhibited almost no independence. One looks in vain for such abridgments as characterize *A*, as also for significant additions such as are found in *F* and *C*. Excepting such occasional freedom as the assigning to the incident in *Roma* the date of the first of January, and the changing of the *barber* in *tentamina* into a *borowe*—a scribal error, doubtless—we shall find scarcely one other feature exclusively peculiar to *E*, until we have reached almost the end of the poem, when the poet for once appears to assert his independence, and we have in consequence the very interesting addition that—

> '—— whenne that his fadyr dede was,
> He lete make a nobylle plas,

[1] The additions are less numerous. Among those which are parallelled by no more than one other text, or are peculiar to *E*, are (1) 986–7 (after *A* 974), (2) 1015–6 (a. *A* 1012), (3) 1245–6 (a. *A* 1238), (4) 1621–2 = *A* 1591–2, (5) 1693–6 (a. *A* 1664), (6) 1761–2 (a. *A* 1726), (7) 1809–10 (a. *A* 1780), (8) 2097–2103 (a. *A* 2068), (9) 2291–4 (a. *A* 2246), and (10) 2349–51 (a. *A* 2298).

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And a fayre abbeye he lete begynne,
And VII. schore monkys brought thereyn,
And euyr more to rede and synge
For hys fadyr with-owte lesynge.' (3561–6)

All other important variations in *E* are repeated in some one or more of the related M. E. versions. The agreement here is closest with *B* and *Ar*. Its near relation to the latter has already been shown, and it has been pointed out that there are features in which the two are alone; and there are also cases in which the two are alone in textual abridgments: *e. g. Ar* 227–8 = *E* 1171–2. It has also been seen under *Ar*, that *B* in several instances falls in with *E*, *Ar*, as against *A*, *C*, *F*.

It remains to point out some of the motives common to *E*, *B* versus the remaining texts of *Y*. The most important of these are the following: (1) *arbor*—lords and ladies begin to weep when they see the prince led forth to be hanged; (2) *arbor*—Bancyllas assures the emperor that the prince will recover his speech; (3) *sapientes*—both omit the detail of *A*, *Ar*, *C* that Merlin declines the offer of money made by the man whose dream he has interpreted; (4) *vidua*—the wife is cut in the *thumb*, where other texts have variously *womb*, *finger*, and *hand*; as also (5) *vidua*—the knight's disregarding the widow's suggestion that he knock out her husband's teeth; (6) *Roma*—the sage who makes the proposition for saving Rome is called *Junyus* (*A*, *C*, *F*, *Gemes*; *Ar*, *Julius*; *D*, *Gynever*). In several of these, to wit 3, 4, 5, it will be observed, *E*, *B* are truest to the French.

Such evidence as this precludes the thought of a basis of *E* in *Ar*, but in view of the agreements between the two already noted, and, especially, of the fact that there is a greater number of *Ar*-lines than of *B*-lines identical with *E*'s (cf. p. 44), it does not seem improbable—though I am unable to prove it—that the author of *E* has known and been partly influenced by *Ar*.

On the other hand there is abundant evidence of an all but immediate connection between *B* and *E*: (1) in the agreements in details just cited, and (2) in the textual omissions

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and additions which the two have exclusively in common. Thus, of the thirteen *E*-omissions collected above, six (1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12) are also in *B*; and of the ten additions cited in the foot-note (p. 58), three (1, 8, 9) are common to *B*,—or a total of 9 out of 23—a remarkable showing when it is borne in mind that in ten of these cases *E* is alone, agreeing in only one case (abridgments—9) with any other text than *B*.

Despite these, however, *E* cannot have been based on *B*, since it preserves in agreement with other texts—notably *Ar*—features of the original which *B* omits.

In the next section it will be shown, also, that *B* was not based on *E*, and it will be further demonstrated that the two are related through a common source.

B.—The Balliol text, like *E*, is complete and of late composition. The analogy between the two does not stop here, however; there are many things which bind them together, not only when looked at externally, but also from an interior point of view. One of the most striking phenomena which they have in common, and which one cannot but remark in comparing them with *Ar* and the remaining *Y*-texts, is the tendency to reverse the order of words, or to substitute synonymous or analogous expressions,—in consequence of which the identity of the line and often the rime is destroyed. This is equally as prominent in *B* as in *E*, if not more so. In *B* especially, the change of epithet often flows, one feels, from a desire to modernize, rather than from a conscious effort, as might be supposed, to conceal the source.

In some other respects, however, *B* and *E* are very unlike. For instance, while it is characteristic of *E* to drop out one or more couplets for every column, *B* is exceptionally free from such slight curtailments, while its additional couplets are comparatively numerous.[1] Moreover, while *E* is at first

[1] In the first 1000 lines of the part selected for a line-for-line comparison (= *B* 933–1951), *B* has 16 couplets which do not appear in any other manuscript, and which were accordingly, in large part in all probability, its own additions. *E*, on the contrary, has only 4, or one-fourth as many (1015–6, 1245–6 and 1693–6).

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close to the original—more so by far in the first thousand lines than anywhere else—and becomes more and more free, *B* exhibits just the reverse tendency, and we find it in the last third of the poem textually almost as close to the original as is *E*.

As regards incident, *B* is usually more free than any one of the texts so far treated. Its chief variations—in the nature of additions largely—are the following: (1) *aper*—the herd fills both *arms* and *sleeves* (later *laps*) with the haws; *A, E, laps* = *L* 23, *girons; C, D, hood.* (2) *medicus*—the illegitimate father of the sick prince, called in the remaining members of *Y* either the *earl* or the *king of Naverne* (= *L* 27, *li quens de Namur*) is not named. (3) *puteus*—besides the feature peculiar to *Y*, viz. that the burgess would only marry some one from a distance, *B* adds that he also would marry no poor woman,—with the additional information that he already had had two wives. The feature of *A, E, Ar*, that he made a covenant with the bride's father, does not appear in *B*. (4) *senescalcus*—while in the remaining texts the steward is banished, in *B* he is put to death—and *by pouring molten silver and lead down his throat.* This incident, which constitutes the most violent freedom of *B*, is apparently borrowed from *Virgilius*, where Crassus dies a similar death. The punishment in either case is fitted to the crime. (5) *tentamina*—the wife wishes to love the *parish priest*, where *A, Ar, E, F, C* have simply *priest* = *L, provoire* (but see *D** 27, *Messire Guillaume le chappelain de la parroise*). (6) *sapientes*—they meet with the old man after *two days;* other texts not definite as to time. (7) *Roma*—the town is put in charge of *two* wise men; in other texts it is *seven.* (8) *inclusa*—the knight has travelled only *one* month before he comes into the land of his lady; according to other M. E. versions it is *three* months (*K, D**, *A** 89, *trois semaines;* but cf. Varnhagen's *Ital. Prosaversion*, p. 36, *tre mesi.* (9) *inclusa*—the wife's ring had been given her as a New Year's gift,—an invention of *B*.

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But while *B* has thus many features peculiar to itself, it possesses very few exclusively peculiar to itself and any one other text,—a circumstance which renders the problem of its relations somewhat difficult of solution. We may resort, however, to the verse-omissions or additions, and it is significant here that the evidence from motive-comparison (submitted already under *E*) which pointed to a relation with *E*, receives very strong confirmation. In almost every instance in which *B* agrees in an addition or omission with only one other text, this text is *E*. Thus, in the first thousand lines of the constant element in *Y* (= *B* 934 f.), there is a total of ten such variations, of which nine are in agreement with *E*—the tenth being with *C*, an agreement which can only be explained as a coincidence or, at least, as signifying nothing. The agreements with *E*, however, cannot well be accidental. They offer strong confutation of the evidence of the line-collation (p. 44), which seems to indicate a closer relationship with *A* or *Ar*.

That *B* was not based on either of the latter—*A*, *Ar*—follows from the fact that it preserves certain features of the original (cf. 3, 4, 5 of motive-agreements of *E*, *B*, p. 59) which they have either lost or altered.

And that both *B* and *E* go back to *y* independently of each other is rendered improbable in the highest degree by their agreements in omissions and additions. We are forced then to the assumption of the existence at some time of a manuscript—denoted by *s*—which served as the common source of *B* and *E*.

F.—There is no one of the M. E. texts of the *Seven Sages* which has been more imperfectly reported than that contained in the Cambridge University MS. Ff, II, 38. Wright as early as 1845 was acquainted with this version, and printed in the introduction (p. LXX) to his edition of *D* the opening lines, but vouchsafed no further description of the text than that it presented many different readings from *A* and was much mutilated. And Petras, on the basis of this description, and with the aid of about 190 lines of the text, has inclined to the

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view that *F* is nearer to *C* than to any other M. E. version.[1] Neither Wright nor Petras, however, has made reference to the description of Halliwell in his *Thornton Romances* (Camden Society Publications, XXX, p. XLII f.), and both were evidently ignorant of it.

The description of Halliwell is the most reliable which has up to this time appeared; yet in one or two instances it, too, is inaccurate. For example, the thirteenth story of *F* has been overlooked entirely; again it implies that there is only one new story introduced into this version,—the one which he prints on p. XLIII f. In reality there is a second story in *F* which is peculiar to it,—the ninth story, to which Halliwell gives the name *The Squyer and his Borowe*. This tale is complete and runs as follows:

'Hyt was a squyer of thys contre,
And full welbelouyd was he.
Yn dedys of armys and yn justyng [145 b.]
He bare hym beste yn hys begynnyng.
So hyt befelle he had a systur sone,
That for syluyr he had nome,
He was put yn preson strong,
And schulde be dampned, *and* be hong.
The squyer faste thedur can gon,
And askyd them swythe anon
What þyng he had borne a-way;
And they answeryd, *and* can say,
He had stolen syluyr grete plente;
Therfore hangyd schulde he bee.
The squyer hym profurd, permafay,
To be hys borowe tyll a certen day,
For to amende that he mysdede,
Anon they toke hym yn that stede,
And bounde hym faste fote *and* honde
And caste hym yn-to preson stronge.
They let hys cosyn go a-way
To quyte hym be a certen day.
Grete pathes then used he,
And men he slewe grete plente.
Moche he stale *and* bare a-way,
And stroyed the contre nyght *and* day.

[1] See his dissertation, p. 31. Cf. also Varnhagen, in his review of Petras, *Englische Studien*, X, p. 281 f.

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Bot upon þe squyer þoght he nothyng
That he yn preson lefte lyeng,
So that tyme came as y yow say,
But for the squyer came no paye.
He was hanged on a galowe tree.
For hym was dole and grete pyte,
When the noble squyer was slon, [145 c.]
For hym morned many oon.
That odur robbyd *and* stale moche þyng,
And sethyn was hangyd at hys endyng.
Thus schall be-tyde of þe, syr Emperour,
And of thy sone, so gret of honour.'

Otherwise Halliwell's description is characterized by the strictest accuracy, and leaves no room for the assumption, apparently made by Petras, of an identity in the order of stories between *F* and the remaining M. E. versions.

The correct order of stories in *F* is as follows: (1) *arbor*, (2) *puteus*, (3) *aper*, (4) *tentamina*, (5) *gaza* (end of), (6) *vidua*, (7) *Riotous Son* (beginning of), (8) *canis* (end of), (9) *Squyer and Borowe*, (10) *avis*, (11) *sapientes*, (12) *medicus*, (13) *Roma*, (14) *inclusa*, and (15) *vaticinium*. Eight stories then (1, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15) retain their usual order. The two new stories, 7 and 9, supplant *senescalcus* and *Virgilius*, taking their respective order. For the remaining five stories, 2 changes place with 8, 4 with 12, 6 with 2, 8 with 4, and 12 with 6. For this order there is no parallel either in other English or in foreign versions, and there can be little doubt that it was original with the *F*-redactor.

In content, also, *F* is very unique. In some cases the original story has been altered almost beyond recognition. This alteration consists largely in textual abridgments, but it is also very evident in the many new incidents that have been introduced.

The introduction, in contradistinction to the stories of the first part, is but slightly abridged. It exhibits several more or less interesting variations, but the only one of any significance is the assigning to the king's steward the distinction

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(accorded the king's retinue in the other texts) of making the petition which saves the prince's life the first day.

'Then come forthe the steward,
And seyde, *syr*, thys was not forward,
When that y helde the thy londe,
When ii. kynge*s* bade þe batell *with* wrong,
And then þou swere be heuen kyng
Thou schuldest neue*r* warne me myn askyng.
Geue me thy sones lyfe to-day,
Yentyll Empe*r*our, y the pray,
And let hym to-morowe be at þy wylle,
Whethur þou wylt hym saue or spylle.
I graunt the, seyde the Empe*r*our,
To geue hym lyfe be seynt sauyo*ur*.' (380–391)

Arbor is very much abridged, the story proper comprising only twenty lines. There is no mention of the burgess's going away from home, nor of the trimming away of the branches of the old tree.

Of *canis* only a short fragment is left, for which compare Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, p. XLIV.

Aper has to do with a "swynherde" who has lost a "boor," and who

'—— durste not go home to hys mete
For drede hys maystyrs wolde hy*m* bete,'

but climbs a tree, and is making a repast of acorns when the wild-boar of the forest comes up.

Medicus is one of the last four stories,—hence agrees faithfully with its original.

Only the conclusion of *gaza* has been preserved.

Puteus has undergone radical alteration: (1) The curfew of the original is omitted. Instead of it there is a law in Rome that whosoever shall be found away from home at night with any woman other than his wife shall be stoned to death on the morrow. (2) The lover here is a "squire of great renown." (3) The burgess uses a rope in trying to get his wife from the well. (4) He has already had two wives before his marriage with the one who figures here. This

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feature has been transplanted from the introduction to *tentamina*, where it properly belongs.

Senescalcus and *Virgilius* do not appear in *F*.

Tentamina is characterized by the addition of a fourth trial, the killing of the knight's hawk. Other features are (1) the assigning to the wife the office of the gardener in the first trial (she fells the tree, and sets "dokys *and* nettuls" in its stead), (2) the omission of mention of the church as the meeting-place of mother and daughter, and (3) the transference to *puteus* of the 'two-wives'-feature.

Avis, though textually free, contains no unusual details other than (1) that the lover is a priest, and (2) that the wife is killed by the enraged husband.

In *sapientes*, however, there are several striking variations: (1) The sages build a "horde-house" just above the city gate, which renders the emperor blind whenever he tries to pass it in going out of the city. (2) There is no mention of Merlin's first dream-interpretation, a feature in which *F* agrees with *D*,—an agreement, however, which can only be accidental since *F* contains the search for and meeting of the sages with Merlin, which we find no hint of in *D*.

Vidua has the following peculiar features: (1) The husband will never let his wife go a half-mile from him, "neither to church nor to cheping." (2) The wife is paring a *pear* when she cuts herself. (3) There is mention of only *one* thief, and he is not alluded to as a knight. (4) A "pyke and spade" are used in digging up the corpse. (5) In addition to the mutilations usually recorded, *F* adds a fourth,—the cutting off of *two fingers* which the knight claimed that the thief had lost.

The last three stories, *Roma*, *inclusa*, and *vaticinium*, offer essential agreement in detail with the other texts of *Y*.

The variations of *F* are thus seen to be very numerous. Yet, significant though many of them are, they tell only half the story. The whole truth is revealed only when it is considered that along with these, and partly consequent upon

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them, the length of the poem has been reduced by about one-third, or to little more than 2500 lines.

And what is most noteworthy about this abridgment is that it is not carried through the entire text, but extends only through the eleventh story. Up to the conclusion of this story the greatest freedom prevails, old incidents are rejected and new ones introduced at will, and, again resorting to figures for forcible illustration, the text is reduced from a normal 2500 lines to scarcely more than 1000.[1] In the remaining four stories, however, there is, as has been seen, close agreement with the remaining texts of *Y*.

How to account for this wholesale mutilation to which *F* has subjected its original is not an easy problem. One would think of a basis for the first part in oral accounts, but this is rendered extremely improbable by the fact that throughout this part there is frequent agreement of rimes, and not unusual identity of lines, with other M. E. versions. Or again, there is a possibility that *F* was made from some very fragmentary manuscript, but there is no substantial basis for this supposition, and the changed order of stories is distinctly against it. The most probable view, by far, seems to be that the poet had before him a complete manuscript, which, for some reason, possibly to conceal his source, he has for the first eleven stories arbitrarily altered; and that beginning with the twelfth story, having grown tired of his task, he has for the remaining stories reproduced his original with fidelity.

With the acceptance of this explanation, the problem of *F*'s relationship is rendered comparatively simple; for, if the variations of the first part are attributable to the poet, this part is of little value for purposes of comparison, and we are accordingly restricted to the last part as the basis for any investigation.

For this part there is comparatively close textual agreement with *E*, *B*, *C*, *Ar*, and *A* (the last two unfortunately fragmentary here in part). No single important detail and a very

[1] For the corresponding part, *E* has 2593 lines, and *B*, 2658.

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small percentage of the rimes have been changed, while lines identical with one or more of the other texts are numerous. The agreement is closest with *Ar* as a rule, with *E* next in order; thus, for the 845 lines (*F* 1440–2285) which the three texts have in common, only 53 lines of *F* are identical with lines in *E*, while the corresponding figure for *Ar* is 116. Again, for this section *Ar* has agreement with *F* in 26 couplets which do not appear in *E* (*F* 1476–7, 1490–1, 1694–5 [*B*, *A*], 1714–5, 1726–31, 1738–9, 1754–5, 1774–7, 1790–1, etc). But despite this affinity with *Ar*, *F* cannot have been based on it, for in one case (*F* 2280–1) *Ar* lacks a couplet which both *E* and *F* have preserved, and in other cases, it has made independent additions (cf. *Ar* 1896–7, 2374–7, 2384–5). This slight evidence is everywhere well supported: on the one hand we find *B*, though much farther removed than *E* or *Ar*, nearest *F* (cf. *B* 1095 = *F* 1578); again *A* will be found to be nearest (cf. *A* 997 = *F* 1464, *A* 1016 = *F* 1487, *A* 1048 = *F* 1518, *A* 1088–9 = *F* 1553–4); while in other instances several will agree as against *Ar* (cf. *A* 2762 = *B* 2848 = *F* 1679, and *A* 2751 = *E* 2762 = *B* 2833 = *F* 1662).

In the face of this otherwise contradictory evidence, it is impossible to find the source of *F* in any *one* known manuscript. At the same time there is nothing to indicate a partial basis on any two of them, since some exclusive agreements with each of the other closely related texts are found. On the contrary, the evidence from all sides combines to show that *F* goes back to *y* independently of any other known manuscript.

C.—Petras, although he showed a close agreement of *C* with *A*—52 lines identical and 1296 with similar rimes—classed it apart from *A*, and as only related with it through a common O. F. source.[1] His own figures, however, as Varnhagen has already pointed out, justify quite another conclusion; for it is inconceivable that two independent translations from a foreign source should have 52 out of about 2500 lines identical, or 1300 with like rimes. The rather are

[1] See his dissertation, p. 21.

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we to conclude that *C* is ultimately based on the ultimate common original of *A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *F*, and belongs with them to group *Y*.

Of all M. E. texts *C* is the fullest and, from a literary point of view, the most perfect. At the same time it is, with the exception of *F*, the freest of the texts which comprise *Y*. This freedom, however, does not consist in the changed order of stories nor the wholesale mutilation of text which characterize *F*; nor is it violent or spasmodic. It flows from an independence or individuality of a much higher type, which neither eliminates old motives nor introduces new ones of a startling nature, but which contents itself, on the one hand, with a slight variation of the episode (generally in the nature of additions), on the other, with the enlargement and embellishment of the often more or less lifeless language of its original,— in both cases with the purpose of heightening the poetic effect. So that, while we see in *A* the most important of the M. E. texts from an historical viewpoint, in *Ar* the most faithful representative of the lost *y*, we have in *C* preëminently the most perfect *poem*, holding, as it does, in language, style, and metre, the first place in the early English group.

As regards fidelity to the original, as already suggested, *C* does not occupy a very high rank. Its variations, however, consist rather in amplification than in invention, as is well illustrated by the fact that, while 600 additional lines have been interwoven into the text, there are only the following noteworthy variations of incident: (1) The step-mother in bringing about the prince's downfall seeks counsel and assistance from a witch (297). (2) In *arbor*, the tree with which the story deals is a *pineapple-tree; A*, *E*, *B*, *F* read *pynnote-tree*, and *D*, *apple-tree*. (3) The queen in *medicus* states that it has been *twelve* years since the Earl of Naverne had visited her (1167); other texts indefinite. (4) The patient in the same story is advised to "Ete beres fless *and* drink þe bro" (1184). *A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, "beef's flesh with the broth" (*E*, "with the blood"); *L* 27, *char de buef*. (5) There is mention of only

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two clerks in *gaza*, where the remaining English and the French texts have *seven*, five of whom are stationed away from the city (1319). (6) In the same story the father alone goes into the tower Cressent, while in the other texts both father and son go (1340). (7) In *tentamina*, the history of each of the two deceased wives is related separately; in other texts it is simply stated that the husband had survived two wives (1879). (8) In the same story, also, it will be noted that only the right arm of the wife is bled. (9) In *Virgilius*, the two brothers themselves fill the two "forcers"; elsewhere the King has them filled. Other variations here are the changed order of incident in burying the treasure, and the omission of the name of the Emperor (Crassus). (10) There is, in *avis*, no mention of a maid as assisting the faithless wife. (11) The lord of the castle in *inclusa* is playing chess when the knight rides up (3294). (12) The son in *vaticinium* learns of the whereabouts of his father through a vision (4135).

We may judge from this enumeration how faithfully *C* has reproduced the subject-matter of the original. It has altered very few details, and none radically, while no single significant feature, either from the body or from the end of its stories, has been omitted; at the same time, only an occasional bit of detail has been added,—a remarkable showing, indeed, when the large increase in the number of lines is considered.

But there is more specific evidence of *C*'s fidelity to its original. There are certain details in which it appears to give a more faithful reflex of the Old French than any other M. E. text. Thus, in *aper*, the boar on reaching the tree finds "hawes ferly fone" (987); cf. *L* 23, "s'il se merveille mult durement de ce qu'il ne pot autretant trover des alies comme il soloit faire devant." According to other M. E. versions the boar finds no haws at all. Another illustration may be had from *inclusa*, where *C* (3264) preserves the *Hongrie* of the French (*A** 89) as the land into which the knight finally comes in search of his lady; M. E. variants are *Pletys* in *Ar*, and *Poyle* in *E*, *F*, and *D*.

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And there are also instances in which *C* is in agreement with only one other text in its preservation of the French: (1) With *A* in its rendering *blanche leuriere* (*K* 2604; *L* 45, only *leurière*) by *gray bitch*, where *Ar*, *E*, *B* render *greyhound*, *F* simply *hound*. (2) With *F* in giving, in *Roma*, the information as to the origin of the word *January* at the beginning of the Janus-episode; other M. E. versions, where they preserve this detail, depart from the O. F. order in placing it at the conclusion of the story.

It is to these facts in the main that we have to resort to determine *C*'s immediate relations; for the theory of a direct translation from the O. F. can no longer be defended in the face of the evidence from a comparison of rimes, etc. From this comparison it is evident that *C* is nearly related to the other versions of group *Y*. That it cannot have been based on any one of them, however, follows from its agreements (just cited) with the French where the remaining M. E. texts are free. And this also derives confirmation from the features which it has exclusively in common with only one M. E. version and the O. F., for neither of the two M. E. versions in point here (*A* and *F*) can possibly have been its original.

We have, accordingly, to assume for *C* an independent basis in the lost text *y*. Whether one or more manuscripts intervene between *C* and *y* cannot be determined so long as they are not forthcoming; in any case there seems nothing to support Varnhagen's proposition (*Eng. Stud.*, x, p. 280) of a "mündliche Ueberlieferungsstufe" between the two.

D.—Version *D*, as compared with the texts so far considered, is unique, and cannot be classed with them in group *Y*. Though it is written in the same metre as the remaining M. E. versions, and while it preserves, also, the *A*-order of stories, it differs from each and every text of *Y* much more radically than any one of these differs from any other. And so great has this difference seemed that scholars have been unanimous in assuming for *D* an immediate basis in the Old French. The thought of a near kinship with any other M. E.

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version appears never to have been entertained. Wright's testimony is to the effect that "The two English metrical versions (by which he meant *A* and *D*) are altogether different compositions; but . . . . were evidently translated from the same original. . . ."[1] And the views of Petras (p. 44 f.) and others are of like import. Scholars without exception seem to have blindly accepted Wright's view, with no effort whatever to test its validity.

That Wright's assumption is unwarranted, however, may be demonstrated, it is believed, beyond question. And it will be the purpose of the following pages to make good this assertion. With this end in view, we may first bring together the chief variations in incident which *D* exhibits.

The introduction of *D* contains no significant alteration of the original. A unique feature is the naming of the queen *Helie* (variant *Elye*, 223) where the French is silent, but where *Y* has the name *Milicent* (or *Ilacent*). In not giving a name to the prince it falls in with the French; other M. E. texts call him *Florentine*. There is a slight enlargement in the account of the meeting of the father and son, in which we have possibly a more faithful preservation of the French than in *Y*. Other slight variations are the additional nature-touch in having the queen ask to see the prince "In a myry mornyng of May" (261), and the requiring the sages to come to court within *three* days after the receipt of the royal message (312).

Arbor preserves all the essential motives of the French. A slight abridgment is the omission of mention of the knight's going away for the sake of "chaffare" (*A, E, B, C, L*).

Canis, on the other hand, contains a number of interesting variations: (1) The infant has only *two* nurses; in *A, E, B, C, K, L*, there are *three*,—cf. *L* 17, "Li enfes avoit ·III· norrices." (2) *D* also fails to catalogue the duties of the nurses, which is otherwise a constant feature in both English and French (cf. *Y, K, L* 17). (3) A third curtailment is the complaint of the

[1] See the preface to his edition of the *D*-text, Percy Soc., XVI, p. LXVIII.

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knight against women when he finds his child alive. (4) A very original addition is that the knight drowns himself for sorrow in a *fische-pole* in his garden (883); *L* 21 and *Y* have him go on a pilgrimage by way of atonement.

Aper exhibits comparative agreement with *Y*, except in the conclusion which has been much abridged.

The tale *medicus* is very much condensed. The ton-motif is cancelled altogether (*L* 28 f., *A* 1142 f.), and there are numerous less important omissions: *e. g.* (1) mention by name of the Earl of Navern (*Y*, *L* 27, "li quens de Namur"); (2) the cure of the invalid (*Y*, "beef's flesh," etc.; *L* 27, "char de buef"); (3) specific allusion to the prince as an *avetrol* (*L* 27, *avoltres*,—so *Y*, except *F*, *C* read *horcopp*). A single addition is that the queen of Hungary is accompanied by ten or twelve maids (1082).

Gaza. Omissions are (1) the names of both emperor and tower (*Octavian* and *Oressent*, respectively, in *A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *C*, *L* 30), and (2) the warden's finding the headless body, and his endeavor to identify the same,—a feature which is preserved and worked out in detail in all other related versions (cf. *L* 32 f., *A* 1319–48).

Puteus. (1) No mention of the Roman law until late in the narrative (1413 f.); in other versions it appears at the beginning of the story (*Y*, *L* 36). (2) This law is not alluded to at all as *curfew* (cf. *L* 36, *coevre feu*). (3) The wife makes no threat of drowning herself in the well (*Y*, *L* 37). (4) The husband's excuse for being out thus late is that he thought he heard a *spangel*, which he had "mysde al thys seven-nyght" (1448–9).

Senescalcus. (1) Much abridgment of the scene between the seneschal and his wife on the former's announcing his infamous purpose. (2) Abridgment also of the early morning scene, notably the dialogue between the king and his seneschal. (3) An omitted detail is the bestowing the wife on a rich earl, which is found in *Y*, but which seems not to have been in the Old French.

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Tentamina variations are (1) the wife herself contrives the "tentamina." In all the related versions, they are proposed by the mother. (2) A brother of the sage assists in the blood-letting. Omissions are (1) mention of the sage's having survived two wives (cf. *L* 43 and all M. E. versions except *F*), and (2) the wife's third visit to her mother, and the implied rôle of the parish-priest of the original and the remaining M. E. versions.

Virgilius. (1) A striking and altogether unwarranted alteration is the substitution of *Merlin* for *Vergil* (1880). (2) Allied with this is the very radical variation—probably the most radical of all in *D*—in the omission of the entire first episode, the incident of the mirror-pillars alone being preserved. Other less striking variations are (3) the two *coffers* of gold are buried, not as in the remaining M. E. versions, at the gates of the city, but in "lyttyl pyttys twaye" (1926); (4) the emperor is not asked to divide half with the brothers, nor does he accompany the latter to their place of digging, but sends one of his men with them (1932 f., 1959); (5) the brothers set fire to the foundation of the pillar before going to their inn, and even visit the emperor to bid farewell before taking final leave of the city; (6) instead of pouring molten gold down the emperor's throat, a ball of gold is ground to powder and his eyes, nose, and throat are filled with it (2067–71).

Avis. Instead of the *pie* of other texts we have a *popynjay* (2145), and (2) instead of the *maid*, a *boy* as the wife's assistant. (3) Only the boy goes on the house-top. (4) He breaks great blown bladders in imitation of thunder. (5) There is no mention of the husband's discovery of the wife's deception.

Sapientes. Important omissions are the search for, and finding of, the child Merlin and the incident, dependent thereon, of the interpretation of the dream.

Vidua. (1) An interesting invention is the husband's burial "withouten the toun at a chapel" (2484), since, in view of the manner in which he met his death, "In kyrkeȝarde men wolde hym nout delve" (2482); *A** 80, simply *au moustier.* (2)

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The wife herself kindles the fire and makes her bed beside the grave (2502 f.), having first sent after her clothes (2500). (3) The knight is permitted to enter immediately on knocking; in other texts, he has to repeat his knocking and petitions. (4) The wife does not, as in other texts, propose matrimony to the knight.

Roma. (1) There are *three* heathen kings instead of *seven* as in the original (2649). (2) The page is not named till towards the end of the story, when he is called *Gynever* (2730); cf. *A** 86, *Genus; A, B, C, F, Gemes; E, B, Junyus; Ar. Julius.*

Inclusa. This story presents remarkable agreement with *Y*, the chief and only important variation being the temporary omission of the knight's explanation of the reason for his flight from his native land in that he had slain there another knight. This excuse is employed later in the story, but originates with the lady (2961).

Vaticinium. (1) The father also has the power of interpreting the language of birds (3138). (2) The name of the father is omitted (*A** 101, *K* 4919, *Girart le fils Thierri; B, C, F, Jerrard Noryes sone; E, Barnarde Norysshe*), and there is otherwise much condensation of the narrative.

Such are some of the variations of *D*. And these are doubtless what led Wright to his classification of this version. But since all these variations are peculiar to *D* they can in no way be held to confirm Wright's view. They are in fact of no value whatever in determining *D*'s relations, except in so far as they put one on guard against laying too much stress on any agreements which *D* may be found to have exclusively in common with any particular group or version.

Wright's theory, however, does seem to derive some support from another quarter, namely that *D*, in a number of instances, preserves the Old French more faithfully than any other M. E. version.[1] These are as follows: (1) In *senescalcus*, the king rules in *Apulia* (so *L* 39); in *Y*, he rules over both

[1] Wright, however, has not adduced any of this evidence.

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Apulia and *Calabria*. (2) In *sapientes*, after all the sages have been slain and the cauldron has become clear, Merlin and Herod ride out of the city by way of testing results; the king, on reaching the gate, regains his sight (*D* 2409 f., *L* 63). Other M. E. texts omit this feature. A less significant agreement of *D* with the Old French in the same story is that the king remains blind from the time he goes outside the city gates, where *Y* represents him as being blind only when without the city, and as always recovering his sight on his return. (3) *D* 2803, *A** 89 have the knight in *inclusa* travel *three weeks* in a fruitless search for the lady of his dream. *Ar*, *E*, *C*, *F* have him travel three *months*,—*B*, *one month*.[1] (4) In *vaticinium*, the father and the son, at the beginning of the story, are on their way to visit a hermit on an island in the sea (3141 f.). This feature is suppressed in the remaining M. E. versions, but appears in all the important O. F. versions; *A** 98, "por aler à ·i· reclus qui estoit seur ·i· rochier," and *K* 4693–4, "Naiant en vont à un renclus, ki en un rochier sestoit mis." (5) In the same story (3327), the city to which the father comes in his poverty, is, in agreement with *A** 101, *Plecie* (cf. also *K* 4918, "Ales moi tost au *plaseis*,"—which Godefroy identifies with *plaisseis* = *clôture*). The city is not named in *Y*.

Of these agreements two (the 2d and 4th) are very significant, and serve at least to show that *D* was not based on the common original (*y*) of the six versions so far treated. They do not prove, however, that *D* goes back to the French unrelated with these, for there still remains the possibility of a connection of *D* with *y* through a common M. E. original (*x*), which *y* does not for these features faithfully reproduce. Yet it must be granted that this explanation would seem to have little in its favor could not some agreements of *D* with certain members of *Y* as against the French be shown.

[1] The Italian prose text published by Varnhagen agrees here with the M. E. versions; see p. 36, *tre mesi*.

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Among these agreements are: (1) with *A* and *C*, in *canis*, in that the knight cuts out the dog's *rygge-boon* (*D* 859); in the French, he cuts off his head (*L* 20, "si li cope la teste"); (2) in *aper*, with *C*, in that the herd fills his *hood* with haws (*D* 945), *A*, *E*, *B*, *L*, his *laps*; (3) in *Virgilius*, with the entire group *Y*, in that there are only *two* brothers who bring about the overthrow of the image (*D* 1899); *L* 51, on the contrary, "·III· bachelers"; (4) in *vidua*, with *F*, *A** 84, in that the wife is called on to knock out only *two* of her husband's teeth (*D* 2592); according to *A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *C*, all are knocked out; see also *D** 39, *toutes les dens*; (5) in *inclusa*, (a) with the entire group *Y*, in the substitution of *Hungary* for the *Monbergier* of *A** 89, *K*, as the land whence the knight comes (*D* 2787), (b) with *E*, *F* in the substitution of *Poyle* for the illogical *Hungary* of the French (*A** 89, *K*) as the land into which the knight finally comes (*D* 2805), and (c) with *F* in the additional detail, that the earl had been warred against for *two years* (*D* 2849).

But here it is possible that these agreements were accidental. Furthermore, inasmuch as the ultimate O. F. original of the M. E. versions has in all probability been lost,[1] it may be argued that those features in which *D* and other M. E. versions are in accord as contrasted with the Old French may have been just those in which their common original varied from the known O. F. manuscripts. Hence no final conclusion may be had from this quarter.

There remains the evidence of phraseology and of rime, and it is in this that we have a final proof of the error of Wright's assumption.

The following are some of the parallel passages revealed by a comparison of *A* and *E* with *D*.[2] Others might be cited, but these will suffice for the purpose.

[1] See the section devoted to a study of the source of the M. E. versions.

[2] Where *A* is fragmentary, *E* has been selected in preference to *Ar*, since the latter is also largely fragmentary.

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D.

In Rome was an emperour,
A man of swyth mikil honur.
Is name was Deocclicius.

(1–2, 4)

Uppon his sone that was so bolde,
And was bot sevene wyntur olde.
(13–14)

The emperour for-thoght sore
Tha the child ware sette to lore.

(15–16)

Whilk of thaym he myght take
Hys sone a wyes man to make.
(23–24)

The thirde a lene man was.
(49)

And was callid Lentulus.
Hee sayed to the emperour thus.
(51–2)

And er ther passe thre and fyve,
Yf he have wyt and his on lyve,
(55–6)

And inred man he was,
And was callid Maladas.
(61–2)

The sevent mayister answerd thus,
And was hoten Marcius.
(91–2)

D.

Evermore wil he wooke,
When on levede, anothir tooke.

(159–60)

By God, maister, I am noght dronken,
Yf the rofe his nouȝt sonken.
(209–10)

Hym byfel a harde caes.
(222)

And to have anothir wyf,
For to ledde with thy lif.
(231–2)

E.

Sum tyme þere was an Emperoure,
That ladde hys lyfe with moche honowre.
Hys name was Dioclician.
(3–5)

The chylde wax to ·vii· yere olde.
Wyse of speche ande dedys bolde.
(15–16)

Hys ffadyr was olde and ganne to hoore,
His sone thoo he sette to lore.
(19–20)

To hem he thought his sone take
Forto knowe the letters blacke.
(23–24)

The ·iii· mayster was a lyght man.
(51)

His name was callyd lentyllous.
He sayde a-non to the kyng.
(54–5)

Uppon payne of lemys and lyfe,
I shalle teche hym in yerys ·v·.
(59–60)

The ·iiii· mayster a redman was.
Men hym callyd Malquydras.
(61–62)

The ·vii· mayster hette Maxious,
A ryght wyse man and a vertuous.
(99–100)

A.

Whan o maister him let, another him tok;
He was ever upon his bok.
(189–90)

Other ich am of wine dronke,
Other the firmament is i-sonke.
(211–2)

Ac sone hem fil a ferli cas.
(222)

Ye libbeth an a lenge lif:
Ye sholde take a gentil wif.
(227–8)

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A good childe and a faire,
That sal be oure bothe ayere.
For sothe, sire, I hold hym myn,
Also wel as thou dost thyn.
(267–70)

Than sayd mayster Baucillas,
"For soth this his wondir cas:
Tharefore take counsel sone
What his best to don,
The childe answerd ther he stood,
"I wyle gyf ȝou counsel good;
Seven dayes I mot forbere
That I ne gyf no answere;
(360–3, 368–71)
I schal saue thy lyf a daye.
(381)
Thus they were at on alle,
And wenten agayen into the halle.
(388–9)
By hym that made sone and mone,
He ne hade nevere with me done.
(464–5)
"Kys me, yf thy wylle bee,
Alle my lyfe hys longe on the."
(474–5)
Callid to him a tormentour.
(509)
Also mote bytide the
As dyde the fyne appul-tre.
(582–3)
Than sayde Baucillas,
"A! sire emperour, alas!"
(688–9)
And hir clothes al to-rent,
Afte the thef wold hir have shent.
(700–1)
That knave kest hym fruyt y-nowe,
And clam a-doune fra bough to boghe.
(972–3)
And rent hys wombe with the knyf,
And bynam the bore hys lyf.
(982–3)
"A! sire," quod mayster Ancilles,
"God almighty send us pees!"
(1018–9)

Hit is thi sone, and thin air;
A wis child, and a fair.
For thi sone I tel mine,
Alse wel als tou dost thine.
(283–4, 289–90)

Than seide master Bancillas
Here is now a ferli cas!
Counseil we al herupon;
How that we mai best don.
Than seide the schild, Saunz fail,
Ich you right wil counseil,
This seven daies I n'el nowt speke;
Nowt a word of mi mowht breke;
(371–8)
I schal the waranti o dai.
(389)
With this word, thai ben alle
Departed, and comen to halle.
(401–2)
I swere bi sonne and bi mone
With me ne hadde he never to done.
(451–2)
Kes me, leman, and loue me,
And I thi soget wil i-be.
(457–8)
And cleped forht a turmentour.
(498)
Ase wel mot hit like the
Als dede the pinnote tre.
(543–4)
Than seide maister Bancillas,
Sire, that were now a sori cas.
(683–4)
Th' emperour saide, I fond hire to-rent:
Hire her, and hire face i-schent;
(689–90)
He kest the bor doun hawes anowe
And com himself doun bi a bowe.
(921–2)
The herd thous with his long knif
Biraft the bor of his lif.
(933–4)
Than saide maister Ancilles,
For Godes love, sire, hold thi pes.
(977–8)

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That ȝe bytyde swilk a cas
As bytyde Ypocras,
That slow hys cosyn withouten gylt.
(1026–8)

With my lorde for to play,
And love wax bytwen us twey.
(1100–1)

Oppon a day thay went to pleye,
He and hys cosyn thay twey.
(1118–9)

And mad hym myry, and spendid faste,
Al the wylle that hit wolde laste.
He that lokyd the tresour,
Come a day into the tour.
(1220–3)

Bot *hastilich* smyt *of my hede.*
(1255)

Byfore the dore, as I ȝow telle,
Thare was a mykyl deppe welle.
(1381–2)

To do thy wyl by a-night,
Yf I schal helle the aryght.
(1546–7)

Now he slakys to lygge above;
I wyl have another love.
(1686–7)

Er the myrrour be broght a-doune,
And than gyf us oure warrysoun.
(1906–7)

And sayed, we wyte, sire emperour,
About this cite gret tresour.
(1932–3)

And dolvyn a lytyl withinne the grounde,
And the tresour was sone founde.
(1952–3)

The ton sayed, sire emperour,
Undir the pyler that berys merour.
(2002–3)

Gladlich, sayed scho,
The bettyr yf hyt wylle bee.
(2287–8)

And hadde seven clerkys wyse,
(2293)

On the falle swich a cas
Als fil on Ypocras the gode clerk,
That slow his neveu with fals werk.
(994–6)

With mi louerd for to plai;
And so he dede, mani a dai.
(1083–4)

So bifel upon a dai
He and his neveu yede to plai.
(1113–4)

And beren hit hom wel on hast,
And maden hem large whiles hit last.
Amorewe aros that sinatour,
And sichen to-bregen his louerdes tour.
(1265–8)

And *hastiliche* gird *of min heved.*
(1299)

But thou me in lete, ich wille telle,
Ich wille me drenchen in the welle.
(1463–4)

Have womman to pleie aright,
Yif ye wil be hol aplight.
(1577–8)

Ich moste have som other love!
Nai, dowter, for God above!
(1753–4)

Who might that ymage fel adoun,
He wolde him yif his warisoun.
(2029–30)

And said, al hail, sir emperour!
It falleth to the to lof tresour.
(2049–50)

And ther thai doluen in the gronde;
A riche forcer ther thai founde.
(2079–80)

Than saide the elder to the emperour,
Under the ymage that halt the mirour.
(2091–2)

Bletheliche, sire, so mot ich the,
So that ye wolde the better be.
(2337–8)

He hadde with him seven wise.
(2343)

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Who so anny swevene by nyght,
O morne when the day was bryght.
(2296–7)
The emperour and Merlyn anoon
Into the chambyr thay gonne gone;
(2339–40)
Hyt was a knyght, a riche schyreve,
That was lot hys wyf to greve.
He sate a daye by hys wyf,
And in hys honde helde a knyf.
(2471–4)
Bot sayed for non worldlys wyne
Schulde no man parte hom a-twyne.
(2487–8)
In hyr hoond scho took a stoon,
And knockyd out twa teth anoon!
(2601–2)

D.

Made to fle with hys boste
Thre kyngys and hare hoste.
(2732–3)
The knyght that met that sweven at nyght
Of that lady was so bright, . . .
Ryght a lytyl fram the toure
Thare was the lady of honour,
And ate the wyndow the lady he see.
(2822–3, 2826–7, 2831)
He bytoke undyr hys hond,
And made hym stywarde of al hys londe.
Oppon a day he went to playe,
Undir the tour he made hys waye.
(2869–72)
Lenand to the mykyl toure,
To do in hys tresour.
Thorow a qweyntyse he thout to wyne
The lady that was loke there-inne.
(2895–8)

That who that mette a sweven anight,
He scholde come amorewe, aplight.
(2349–50)
The emperour him ladde anon,
Into his chaumbre of lim and ston;
(2453–4)
Sire, he saide, thou might me leue,
Hit was a knight, a riche scherreue,
So, on a dai, him and his wif
Was i-youen a newe knif;
(2563–4, 2569–70)
The leuedi saide, for no wenne,
Sche ne wolde neuer wende thenne.
(2581–2)
Than wil ich, she saide, and tok a ston,
And smot hem out euerichon.
(2713–4)

E.

And made more noyse and boste
Thenne wolde a kyng and hys hoste.
(2812–3)
And soo there come rydyng thys knyght
That had sought the lady bryghte.
He lokyd uppe into the toure,
And say that lady as white as flowre;
And anon, as he hyr say,
(2914–8)
And toke hym hys goodys in-to hys hande,
And made hym stywarde ouyr *alle hys lande.*
So oppon a day, *with* moche honoure,
The knyght come playnge by the toure.
(2944–7)
To make a chambyr byfore the toure
That may ben for my honoure.
Thenne thought he uppon sum quent gynne
Howe he myght to that lady wynne.
(2962–3, 2968–9)

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Oppon a day stylle as stoon
He sent eftyr masons anoon.
(2901–2)

And sate stille and made hym *glade*,
And thus hys wyf made hym *made*.
(3021–2)

Into Plecie when he was comen,
Ner *hys fadir hys in* was *nome*.
To mete when he was redy to gon,
After hys fadir he sent anoon.
(3336–9)

The knyght toke workemen a-non,
And made a chambyr of lyme and ston.
(2966–7)

And bade hym ete and be *glad*,
And euyr he sat as he were *mad*.
(3110–1)

Amorowe the kyng thedyr came,
And *with hys fadyr hys in* he *name*.
He and hys baronys euerychone
Wente to mete *with* hym a-non.
(3473–6)

It is impossible to account for these agreements as mere coincidences, or as flowing from a translation from the same O. F. source. Some of them may indeed be, and doubtless are, due to the often stereotyped style, or the fondness for like epithets or collocations which characterize the M. E. romance; but all of them cannot be so explained. They warrant this assumption alone, that *D* and *y* are related either through the derivation of one from the other, or through a common M. E. original.

And inasmuch as *D* cannot have been based on *y* or on any of the texts which have developed from it, since in all the latter some of the O. F. features are lacking which are preserved in *D*,—or, conversely, *y* on *D*, in view of the very many independent variations of the latter where *y* is faithful to the French, we can only conclude that both *y* and *D* go back to the same lost M. E. version *x*.

We may accordingly sum up our results as to *D* as follows: (1) it is remarkably free, and exhibits many unique variations; (2) it does not represent an independent translation from the French, but is connected with at least six other M. E. versions through a common M. E. source; (3) this source was not the same as the more immediate common original of these six versions (*y*), but was a version one or more stages nearer the Old French.

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As.—The Asloan version is at present inaccessible in the original manuscript,[1] and, as only about 200 lines of it have been printed,[2] any discussion of its relations must be very unsatisfactory. We may be permitted, however, to bring together the few facts which are known about it, and to draw from these such conclusions as their evidence may justify.

From the descriptions which have appeared, it is established that *As*, so far as it is not fragmentary, preserves the usual M. E. order of stories, but that beyond this it is, in many respects, extremely free. The names of the sages are much garbled, and they vary in the introductory enumeration from their form in the stories themselves. They are, moreover, in no case close to those of any version now in print, or to those of the remaining M. E. manuscripts.

Avis, too, the story which has been printed, exhibits very radical variation from other versions, both textually and as regards incident. There are apparent no significant agreements in rime or phraseology with any other M. E. version, while two new episodes,[3] well-known in other collections, but otherwise foreign to the *Seven Sages*, are woven into the narrative. And there are other variations, besides, such as the introduction of the wife's mother as a go-between, and mention of the burgess's name—first *Annabill*, later *Balan*.

But none of these serves to shed any light on the question of relationship. All the new features of *As*, as compared with the remaining M. E. versions and the accessible Romance versions, are peculiar to it, and hence afford no grounds for determining its connections.

[1] As already stated in my "Word of Introduction" (p. 2), Lord Talbot de Malahide declined to permit my consulting this manuscript. His reasons for doing so are, I understand, the same as those given by certain other possessors of valuable M. E. manuscripts, for which I beg to refer to Dr. Furnivall, *Temporary Pref. to the Six-Text Ed.*, Chaucer Soc., 1868, Pt. I, p. 6.

[2] In a contribution by Prof. Varnhagen (*Englische Studien*, xxv, p. 321 f.), who will edit the text for the Scottish Text Society.

[3] See *Englische Studien*, xxv, p. 322.

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Prof. Varnhagen claims that *As* was made directly from some O. F. version,[1] and the lack of textual agreement between it and other M. E. versions in the story *avis* may seem to offer some support to this view,—but by no means necessarily, since it is evident that the author of *As* worked very independently.[2] And that the evidence offered by Varnhagen in support of his claim, viz., the agreement in order of stories with the O. F. *A**-type, is not adequate, he himself, I believe, will concede on reconsideration.

3. *Authorship of the Middle English Versions.*

It has been assumed in the preceding chapter that the English original (x) of the seven M. E. manuscripts *A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *F*, *C*, and *D*, has been lost. It remains to inquire when, where, and by whom this original was made. For this purpose we unfortunately have almost no data at all, and can only resort to indirections to find directions out.

(1) For the determining the date of x the Auchinleck MS. (*A*) is of first importance. This manuscript dates from around the year 1330; this, then, must be the superior limit for the dating of y. And since, as has been shown, *A* was not derived directly from y, but rests in all probability on a lost manuscript r, which may have been based on y directly or through an intervening manuscript, and since, moreover, it is highly credible that *A* had already been composed some time before the Auchinleck copy was made, it is not probable that the date of y would fall later than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

And inasmuch, now, as y cannot have been this parent version, since *D*, though closely akin to it, was neither based immediately on it nor on any of its derivatives, but was connected with it through a common source, which source we may assume to be either identical with, or based directly on, the translation

[1] *Ibid.*, xxv, p. 322.

[2] *F* offers even more radical variation from other M. E. versions in some of its stories than does *As* in *avis*.

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from the French, it is necessary to assign to this parent version a date before the year 1300. The year 1275 would, it is believed, represent a conservative conjecture.

(2) Available material for determining the place of translation of this parent text is somewhat more satisfactory. Of the entire group of seven versions which have been shown to be based on *x*, only one is in the Northern dialect, and this (*C*) is of comparatively late date. One other (*D*) belongs to the south-east Midland, while the rest (*A*, *Ar*, *E*, *B*, *F*) belong to the South,—a fact which well justifies the assumption that *x* was also Southern. Furthermore, inasmuch as three of these versions (*A*, *Ar*, *E*) possess marked Kentish features, and two others (*B*, *F*) show a Kentish influence, but less marked, we seem justified in a further restriction to the *eastern* South—Kent or its neighborhood—as the home of the parent text. It is further confirmatory of this view that just those versions (*Ar*, *E*) which are most faithful to *x* are most distinctly Kentish.[1]

(3) But while we are thus justified in indulging in conjecture as to the time and place of composition of *x*, in the matter of its authorship we have no grounds for such an indulgence. The nature of the subject might establish a slight probability in favor of lay authorship, but not at all necessarily; and the same is true of the references to priests, in *tentamina* and *avis*, as adulterate lovers,—especially since in the only story in which it is a constant feature (*tentamina*), it was also in the Old French; so that, in respect to this side of the problem in hand, we have, for the present at least, and probably for all time, to content us with absolute ignorance.

With regard to the authorship of the texts which have been preserved, we are equally at a loss for definite information.

An ingenious and praiseworthy effort has been made by Dr. Kölbing to demonstrate a community of authorship for the *A*-text and the Auchinleck texts of the *Arthur and Merlin*,

[1] The dialect of *D*—southeast Midland—also offers support to this view.

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Kyng Alisaunder, and *Richard Coer de Lion*;[1] but without meaning to discredit his conclusions in general, it is necessary, we regret to say, to reject them in so far as they concern the *Seven Sages*. Kölbing's argument is made on the basis of features (rime, language, etc.) exclusively, or almost exclusively, peculiar to these poems. The only part of his argument which holds is that which concerns the expletives *cert* and *vair*. These appear only in the *A*-text, being either original with it, or, if in *y*, having been displaced in the remaining texts by other rimes. On the other hand, of the 18 rimes which Kölbing cites[2] (one of which, 2803–4, *bataille: mervaile*, should be cancelled, since it is taken from *C*), a comparison with the remaining members of *Y* shows 12 to reappear in the corresponding lines in *Ar*, 9 in *E*, etc. The evidence to which Kölbing attaches most importance, that of certain textual agreements between *Arthur and Merlin* (1201 f.) and *A* (2389 f.),[3] is likewise not valid, as is manifest from the following parallel comparison of these passages with *Ar* and *E*. Compare

'Merlin in þe strete þo pleyd,
And on of his felawes him trayd.'
(*A. M.* 1201–2).

'On a dai þai com þer Merlin pleid,
And on of his felawes him traid.'
(*A* 2389-90).

with

'So þei come þeir þe child played,
And on of his felawes hym by*trayed*.'
(*Ar* 1511–2).

'Thenne come they thorowe happe there he playde,
One of his felowys hym myssayde.'
(*E* 2437–8).

Compare further, as against his citation of

'Foule schrewe fram ous go!'
'þou hast yseyd to loude þi roun.'
þat haþ me sougt al þis ger.'
(*A. M.* 1204, 18, 20).

'And cleped him schrewe faderles.'
'Al to loude þou spok þi latin.'
'þat han me sought al fram Rome.'
(*A* 2392, 6, 8).

[1] *Arthur and Merlin*, Leipzig, 1890, p. LX f.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. LXXXII.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. CIV.

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the following from *Ar* and *E*:

'And clepyd hym schrewe faderlese.'	'And calde the chylde fadyrles.'
'To loude þou spake þy latyn.'	
'þat haue me sougt fro gret Rome.'	'That have sought me fro Rome.'
(*Ar* 1514, 18, 20).	(*E* 2440, 6).

From these it is evident that any inference as to *A*'s authorship made on this basis will apply equally as well to *Ar* and *E*. Accordingly the parallels pointed out by Kölbing must either be explained as accidental, or as traceable either to an influence of *Arthur and Merlin* on the source of *A*, *Ar*, and *E*, or, conversely, of some one of these on the *Arthur and Merlin*.

4. *Source of the Middle English Versions.*

The question of the ultimate source of the M. E. versions has, to all intents and purposes, been settled by Petras.[1] We need only present here his general argument and his conclusion, inserting where deemed expedient additional proofs, and adding here and there details which he has omitted.

But first of all it is necessary to state that such expressions (which Petras [p. 32] inclines to accept as evidence) as *A* 2771, 'So seigh þe rime'[2] (to which add *F* 1690, 'as seyþ þe ryme') proves nothing, for by a like reasoning we might, on the basis of *Ar* 1906, 'as it saiþ in latyn,' prove a Latin source for the M. E. versions. It is not on such formulae that the presumption in favor of a metrical original of the lost M. E. original must repose; this must rather rest on the fact that

[1] See his dissertation, p. 31 f. Our investigation must differ from his, however, in that we are concerned only with the source of the parent version, *x* (*As* being disregarded), while Petras has assumed each of four versions (*A*, *C*, *F*, *D*) to be independent translations from the French. Since, however, he begins with the assumption that the same O. F. version was the source of all these, his argument is essentially the same as ours.

[2] References to source in the M. E. versions are numerous: *A* 317, 1245, 2766, 2770; *Ar* 1900, 1906, 2206, 2261, 2442; *E* 1253, 2779, 2784, 3445; *B* 295, 1235; *F* 928, 1683, 1690, 1973; *C* 622, 1324; *D* 1385, 1520, 2690, 2922.

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this original (x) was itself in verse, and, hence probably made from a metrical text,—and that this does not permit of any definite conclusion it is hardly necessary to add.

It is not improbable, however, that this original of x was, like itself, composed of octosyllabic couplets, and it is needless to state that it was in the French language.

There exist three O. F. metrical versions,—the *Dolopathos*, the Keller text (K), and the fragmentary version C^*. The first of these, the *Dolopathos*, must, for obvious reasons, play no part in this investigation. The unique version D^* should, however, since it represents a prosing of a lost metrical version, receive equal attention with K and C^*.[1]

The only one of this group which has ever been proposed as a possible source of the M. E. versions is K; but a comparison of the two types as regards order of stories[2] reveals a considerable difference between them, only ten stories (1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15) having the same position in each. Such a comparison, however, while bearing with it much weight, can in no wise be accepted as determining, as it would be quite natural for the redactor, or even the translator, to change about the stories at will, either with artistic purpose or with a view to making his source less apparent. Hence the safest test of relationship should be from the consideration of content, rather than of order of stories. And it is on this basis that Petras's comparison has been made. The Cotton-Auchinleck (C-A), or Weber, text he finds to contain only 460 lines which could be possible translations from the Keller text.[3] And since the latter contains over 5000 lines, it is not probable that even numerous intermediate redactions could have made such a difference. Besides this, there are many variations in incident, all which unite in making it extremely improbable that K was used by the English translator.

[1] For the *Dolopathos*, K, C^*, and D^*, see the chapter on "The Romance in France and Italy."

[2] For the order of stories in the various sub-types of the Western group, see our comparative table on page 35.

[3] See p. 33 of his dissertation.

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The fragmentary text *C**, though differing somewhat from *K* in order of stories, seems, nevertheless, to be much nearer to it than it is to the English.

The prose version *D**, representing a lost metrical version *V*, exhibits still less agreement with the M. E. type, and possesses many unique features. In the content of its stories, however, it is comparatively close to *K*, so that in denying the claims for it, the legitimacy of any claim for *D** is also denied.

K, *C**, and *D** having been eliminated from the problem, it is necessary to conclude that the O. F. original, if metrical, has been lost. It remains to show whether or not the M. E. parent text was based on any of the prose texts which have come down to us, or, at least, which one of them nearest approximates the lost original.

The most widely known of the prose versions, the *Historia*, must be ruled out at once, since Paris has shown that the earliest date which can be given it is around the year 1330, or some time after the composition of the derivative M. E. version *A*. Other circumstances, such as the order of stories, the introduction of *amatores*, and the *amicus*-legend, as well as the fusion of *Roma* and *senescalcus*, together with its many modern touches, all unite in invalidating any claim for *H*.

The *Scala Coeli* (*S*) also exhibits many features at variance with the M. E. type, and its two new stories, *filia* and *noverca*, are sufficient to exclude it from the list of possibilities.

Likewise the first Leroux de Lincy (*L*) version, although it agrees very closely with the Middle English versions for the first eleven stories, cannot be considered their source, since it also contains the stories *filia* and *noverca*.

Nor to the *Versio Italica* does there attach any more probability, its distinguishing feature—the reversal of the order of stories—finding no parallel even in French.

There remains group *A**, or the family represented by the second text of the Leroux de Lincy edition. A presumption in favor of some member of this family is at once established

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in the fact that it has the same order of stories as the M. E. group. This circumstance has led Paris and others to see in this group the source of the M. E. texts, but no explicit claim has been made as to which one of the *A**-manuscripts served as this original, though Petras has made a detailed investigation with a view to arriving at some definite conclusion.[1]

The results which Petras reaches,[2] however, are wholly negative. He shows in the first place that MS. 6849 [new No. 189] of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which Ellis had suggested as the probable source of the M. E. versions, is not even a possible source, but belongs to group *L*. He next endeavors to show that the Leroux de Lincy text of *A** (the only one of the O. F. manuscripts of this type yet published) is not as close to the M. E. versions as are some of the unpublished manuscripts belonging to this family. Among the latter, he finds the MS. 4096, Laval. 13, to be nearest to the M. E. versions; thus, by way of illustration, where *L*, *A** call the seventh sage *Merons*, this manuscript names him *Meceneus*, which approximates the M. E. *Maxencius* much more closely. Despite this fact, however, he is not willing to concede that this text was the source of the M. E. group, but maintains that the latter had its basis in a lost manuscript which is connected with the former through a common lost source.

And in this conclusion Petras is probably correct,—and assuredly so as regards the Leroux de Lincy text, as is established by certain features, which are not in *A**, but which the M. E. texts have in common with *K* and other O. F. versions. A few of these are the following: (1) in *tentamina*, *A*, *C* read *gray bitch* = *K* 2604, *blanche leuriere*; *L* (*A** 45), only *une leurière*; (2) in *Virgilius*, *L* (*A** 51) has lost the feature of Vergil's casting images also for the east and west gates of Rome, which has been preserved in *K* 3960 f. and the M. E. group; (3) in *vaticinium*, the child, when discovered alone on the island, has had nothing to eat for *four* days in *E*, *B*, *C*,

[1] Petras, p. 37 f. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

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and *K* 4725; *A** 99 and *D**, only *three* days. These suffice to indicate the result which would follow from a detailed comparison.

In view of this conclusion, the problem of the source of the M. E. parent text must, so far as a specific source is concerned, remain for the present unsolved. Examination of *all* *A**-manuscripts will doubtless bring us nearer to the truth, and, it is hoped, settle the question.

II (*b.*) *Sixteenth Century and Chap-book Versions.*

Under this head fall the Wynkyn de Worde version and the many chap-books founded on it, the lost Copland text, and the Rolland metrical version,—all which fall together into one distinct group apart from the M. E. group.

1. The Wynkyn de Worde text is in prose. Its date is not definitely known; in the British Museum catalogue it is entered as 1520, though Hazlitt (*Handbook*, p. 660) gives it a dating fifteen years earlier. Only one copy of the original text has been preserved, and that is imperfect. A reprint made by Gomme for the Villon Society (1885) makes the text accessible.[1]

This version seems to have been the first prose version made in English, and, as already noted, it can in no way be related with the M. E. metrical versions which antedate it. In length alone the contrast is sufficiently striking to justify a serious doubt as to any immediate relationship between them, the prose version comprising 180 pages in Gomme's edition. It is based on some member of the *Historia* family—probably a Latin[2] rather than an O. F. text. As a translation of *H* it

[1] *The History of the S. W. M. of Rome*, London, 1885. A few pages missing from the Wynkyn de Worde text are supplied from a chap-book version printed in 1671.

[2] Graesse enumerates a half-dozen or more prints between 1483 and 1495, any one of which may have served as the basis of this version.

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is comparatively close, though it abridges at times, and also makes occasional independent additions.[1]

2. The Wynkyn de Worde edition served as the basis of a second prose edition, attributed to the printer Copland, which has been lost. The superscription to this edition, which alone has been preserved, agrees almost word for word with that of the Wynkyn de Worde edition, and it is more than probable, as Buchner suggests,[2] that it is only a reprint of it. The date of the Copland text is variously placed between 1548 and 1561.

3. The Rolland version is a very long poem written in heroic couplets, and in the Scottish dialect. The original edition bears the date 1578, but Laing has shown it to be probable that its composition dates from the year 1560. It seems to have been very popular in its day, undergoing at least five editions (1590, 1592, 1599, 1606, 1620) in little more than half a century after its first publication. A modern reprint was edited by Laing for the Bannatyne Club in 1837.

Sundry conjectures as to the source which Rolland employed have been made. Laing maintained that he used either the Copland print, or some O. F. or Latin text of *H*. Petras, who did not know of the Wynkyn de Worde version, and who makes the Rolland version his "Redaction C," investigated the question at some length,[3] and concluded in favor of the O. F. translation of *H* as Rolland's original.[4] But that neither of these views is correct, and that the Rolland text was the rather based on the Wynkyn de Worde version, has been conclusively proved by Buchner in his dissertation in the *Erlanger Beiträge*, v, p. 93 f. This he established by showing that where there are differences between the three versions—*H* (either Latin or French), the Wynkyn de Worde, and the Rolland—the last two are in almost every instance in accord

[1] See Buchner, *Erlang. Beitr.*, v, p. 95.
[2] *Erlang. Beitr.*, v, p. 96. [3] See his dissertation, p. 47 f.
[4] The second text of Paris's *Deux Rédactions*. Its date is 1492.

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with each other. A large number of textual parallels between the two English versions are cited in further support of this.

(4) The English chap-book versions merit but little attention. They have been numerous, but of poor quality, the later versions especially having deteriorated from the original. In some of these, new stories have been introduced, and in almost all of them the old stories have been abridged—in some of them, so as to be scarcely more than epitomes of their prototypes. That they were very popular for a long time, however, is indicated by the fact that the British Museum alone contains at least twelve various prints, one of which purports to have reached its twenty-fifth edition. Another was published at Boston in 1794,—the most recent at Warrington in 1815.

All versions of the chap-book group contain the distinctive features of *H.* They doubtless go back to the Wynkyn de Worde, or to the Copland, text.

In addition to the four versions or groups already described, there is evidence that there once existed another sixteenth century version, which, like the Copland text, has not survived. This is a dramatic version, bearing the title *The Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, which is mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary*[1] as having been made by Dekker, Chettle, Haughton, and Day, and as having been acted at London in March, 1599–1600. No later notice of its presentation has been pointed out, however, and it is altogether probable that the work was lost without undergoing publication.[2]

[1] Ed. Collier, London, 1845, pp. 165, 167. See also the *Dramatic Works of Dekker*, ed. Shepherd, London, 1873, I, p. XII.

[2] The enumeration of the late English versions should also include reference at least to the *Seven Wise Mistresses of Rome*, a chap-book modelled after the chap-book version of the *Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, and a sort of counterpart to it. The English libraries contain several versions of this type, but, though very interesting, they possess little value.

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APPENDIX.

[Containing the story *medicus* according to *Ar* (1–228), with a tabulation of the corresponding lines in *A*, *E*, *B*, *C*, *F*.]

Hys comaundement þei dide be-lyve. 152a.
þane wex þeiꝛ mochel stryve
Be-tuen kynge and baron,
ffor þe Emperour wold scle his son,
þe Emperour hym nold save.
He lete a-none to spoile þat knaue,
And with scourges hys body swynge;
To foul dethe thei wold hym brynge.
A-none after that, god it wote,[1]
He bade hem to hange hym fote hote.
With scourges þei dide hym swynge,
To foull deþe þei wold hym brynge.
He was lade forþe with-oute pite
þorouȝ-oute all þat faiꝛ cite;
þeiꝛ be-gan a rewfull cry
Of many gentyll lady.
All þe folke oute of Rome
A-ȝeyne þat gentyll child come.
Waleway, þei saide, with wronge
Schall þis child nowe be honge.
Ryȝt a-mydward þat ilke pres
Come rydynge Maxilles,
And he sawe þat rewfull cas;
Hys second master forsoþe he was
Hys scoleꝛ to helpe and to rede
All þe folke to hym þei bede;
A-none to court he gan ryde,
And with þe Emperour in reson chide
ffonde to let þe Emperour wronge
þat his son be nouȝt an-hange.

[1] This line is repeated after l. 12, but is erased.

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Swyþe fast fro þe folke he rode,—
His palfray a-none to þe paleys glode:
þo come he by-foꝛ þe Emperour,
And grete hym faiꝛ with honour.
þe emperour by hym styll stode,
And by-helde hym with steren mode
he saide to hym, "master, þou haue
þe cors of god for techyng of þis knaue.
ȝe haue by-nome my sone his spech;
þe devyll of hell I þe be-tech,
Thyn felows *and* þou be my swyeꝛ! 152b.
ȝe schull haue lytyll hyeꝛ."
"O Syr Emperour, knyȝt of prys,
In dedes þou schold be waꝛ *and* wyse.
It is no wysdome no lyuys hale
To by-leue no womans tale.
Moꝛ to harme þane to note
A womans bolt is son schote.
ffor ȝef þou sclest hym, I be-sech
On þi heued fall þat ilke wrech
þat fell on Ypocras, þe good clerk,
þat sclewe his scoleꝛ þorouȝ fals werk."
"Master, I pray þe, tell þat cas
Of þat clerke Ypocras."
"Syꝛ, þis tale is nouȝt lyte;
ffor ȝef þou wyllt ȝef þy son respyt,
A-for to-morowe day lyȝt,
I wyll þe tell a-none ryȝt,
A-ȝenst þe lawe, with grete wowe,
How Ypocras his nefew sclowe."
"I ȝeue hym respyt," said þe Emperour,
And saide anone with-oute soiouꝛ,
Mon schold a-ȝeyne feeche his son,
And put hym in-to preson.
þe chyld was brouȝt oute of þe ton
With well grete procession.

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þo he cam to þat hall,
He a-loutede þe barons all;
And in to prison y-put he was.
Now tell we forþe of Ypocras.
"Syr," saide Maxillas, "paramour,
Ypocras was a clerke of grete honnour;
Of lechcraft was none his per
Neuer 3it in þis londe her.
He hade with hym his nefewe
þat he schold leren of his vertue.
He saw þat child comyng of lor,
þat he nold tech hym no mor;
ffor he þou3t, and saide also,
þat he in lor wold to-for hym go.
þe childe perseuyd full well, I-wis,
And hid it full wele in hert his.
His nefys herte he gan a-spye, 152c.
When he couþe all þe mastrye.
Ypocras gins understonde,
þorou3 werkes of þe childes honde,
þat he couþe all his mastrye.
He bar to hym grete envye.
Sy by-fell apon a þynge,
Of hongre þat ilke kynge,
Hade seke a son gente;
To Ypocras a messenger sente,
þat he schold come his son to hele,
And haue he schold of gold full a male,
Ipocras wend ne myȝt;
He clepyd his nefewe anone ryȝt,
And bade hym wende to þat londe,
To nyme þat chylde under honde;
And whane he hade so i-do,
He schold come aȝeyne hym to.
þe child was set on a palfray,
And rode hym forþe on his way.

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þo he to þe kynge came
þe kynge hym by þe honde name,
And lade hym to þe seke childe.
Ihesus cryst to us be mylde!
þat ȝonge man sawe þe childes payne,
He tastes his armes and his veyne;
He asked an urynall, as I wene,
And schewed þat uryn kenge *and* qwen,
Of þe childe all god it wyt,
And saide it was mys-by-get.
He gan þe qwene on side drawe,
And saide, "dame, a-knawe,
What man haþe by-gete þis childe?"
"Bel amy," scho sayde, "art þou wylde?
Who schold bot þe kynge?"
"Dame, say þou for no þynge,
He was neuer of kyngges streen."
"Lat," scho saide, "soch wordes ben;—
Or I schall do þe bete so,
þat þou schalt neu*er* ryde nor go."
"Dame," he saide, "w*ith* soch tale,
þy childe schall neuer be hale.
Tell me, dame, all þat cas,
How þe childe by-gete was."
"Bel amy, saist þou so?"
"Sertes, dame," he saide, "no." 152d.
He schoke his hede upo*n* þe qwene,
And saide, "þouȝ þou do me to-scleyne,
May I nouȝt do þy childe bote,
Bot ȝe me tell hede *and* rote,
Of what man he was be-geten."
"No man," scho saide, "may it weten;
ffor ȝef my counseill wer un-hele,
I schold be sclowe w*ith* ryȝt skyll."
"Dame," he saide, "so mot I the,
No man schall it wyt for me."

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"Syr," scho saide, "it so by-fell,
þis oþer day in Auerell,
þe kynge of nauerne come to þis þede,
On faiꝛ hors *and* in rich wede,
With my lord for to play,
And so he dide many a day.
I gan hym son in herte to loue,
Ou*er* all þynge so god aboue;
So þat for grete drewrye,
I late þe kynge be me lye;
So it was on me by-gete:
Syꝛ, late no man þat i-wete."
"Nay, madame, for sc̃e, i-wys,
Bot for þat childe was gete a-mys,
He mot both drynke and ete
Contrarious drynke *and* contra*r*ious mete,
ffresch beef *and* drynke þe broþe."
He ȝaf a-none þe child forsoþe.
þe childe was heled faiꝛ *and* wele.
þe kynge hym ȝaf many jewell,
A wer hors i-charged w*ith* silu*er and* gold,
Als moch as he nyme wold.
He dide hym forþe a-none ryȝt,
And come home in þat nyȝt.
þe maste*r* hym asked ȝef he weꝛ sond
"ȝa siꝛ," he saide, "be seynt Symond!"
þo asked he, "what was his medecyne?"
He saide, "fresch beef good and fyne"
"þan was he a nauetroll."
"þou saist soþe, be my poll!"
"O," q*uo*d Ypocras, "be goddes dome!
þou art by-come a good grome."
þo by-gan Ypocras to þench
To scle his nefewe w*ith* some wrench.
þeiꝛ-afteꝛ, þe þride day, 153a.
W*ith* his nefew he went to play,

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Yn-to a faiꝛ grene gardyn;
þeiꝛ wex many an erbe fyn.
þe childe sawe an erbe on þe grounde,
þat was myȝty of mochell monde;
He toke it and schewed to Ypocras,
Bot he saide a bett*er* þeiꝛ was;
For he wold þat child be-cach.
He stoupyd soch on to rech.
þo fyle Ypocras w*ith* a knyf,
He nome his nefewe of his lyf.
He dide hym bury unkonnynglych,
As he had dyed sodeynlych,
And afteꝛ-warde, swyþe ȝerne,
He dide his bokes all to-bryne.
God of heuen, þe hyȝe kynge,
þat is oueꝛ-seaꝛ of all þynge,
Sende Ypocras for his treson,
þe foul rankkeland menyson.
Ypocras wyst wele, for his quede,
þat he schold son be dede;
Bot for no þynge þat he couþe þynch
þe menyson he no myȝt quench.
A nempty ton he dide forþe fett,
And full of clene wat*er* he it pyt,
Also full to þe mouþe;
ffor he wold it weꝛ couþe,
And dide aft*er* sende mochell *and* lyte,
Neȝbo*urs* hym to bysyte.
He saide to-fore hem eu*er*chon
þat þe deþ was hym apon,
All w*ith* ryȝt and nouȝt w*ith* wouȝe,
ffor his nefewe þat he sclowȝe.
þat treson he gan hym reherce.
On þe tone a C. holes he gan perce.
When þe holes weꝛ mad so fell,
He dide hem stope w*ith* dosell,

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And saide to hem once or tweye,
"ȝe schall see of my mastrye."
He smered þe dosells all a-boute,
And made heme af*ter*-ward drawen oute.
A droþe þeiꝛ-of oute ne came;
þaꝛ-of m*er*veiled many man.
Ypocras saide, "wat*er* y can stope,
þat it ne may uneþes drope; 153b.
But y ne may stope my menyson.
All it is for þat foul treson,
þat y my nefewe sclewe vylengly,
ffor he was wyseꝛ man þane y.
I noꝛ no man undeꝛ ſon
ȝeue me helpe ne can,—
Bot my nefewe o-lyue weꝛ.
Ryȝt it is þat y mys-faiꝛ.
To soffre wo it is skyll
ffor y sclouȝ my lyuys hele."

TABLE OF CORRESPONDING LINES.[1]

Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
	——	949	933	1041	——
	——	950	934	1042	——
	——	951	.....	1043	——
	——	952	.....	1044	——
5	——	953	.....	(1045)	——
	——	954	.....	(1046)	——
	——	955	.....	(1047)	——
	——	956	.....	(1048)	——
	——	(957)	——	.....	(1436)
10	——	(958)	——	.....	(1438)
	——	959	——	(1051)	——

[1]An identical line is indicated by an asterisk (*), an omission by a dash (——), an addition by brackets ([]), a corresponding but not similar line by leaders (.....), and altered rimes by parentheses ().

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
	——	960	——	(1052)	——
	——	961	942	1054	——
	——	962	941	1053	——
15	——	963	943	1057	——
	——	964	944	1058	——
	——	965	945	——	——
	——	966	946	——	——
	——	967	947	——	——
20	——	968	948	——	——
	963	969	949	1059	——
	964	970	950	1060	——
	966	972	952	1062	1440
	965	971	951	1061	1441
25	——	974	——	.....	——
	——	973	——	.....	——
	(967)	976	957*	(1065)	——
	(968)	975	958	.....	——
	——	977	959	——	——
30	——	978	960	——	——
	——	979	(961)	——	——
	——	980	(962)	——	——
	969	981	963	1067	(1442)
	970	982	964	1068	(1443)
35	(971)	983	965	(1069)	(1444)
	(972)	984	966	(1070)	(1445)
	(973)	985	967	1071	(1446)
	(974)	986	968	1072	(1447)
		[87–88]	[69–70]		[48–49]
	(975)	989*	971	——	1450
40	——	990	972	——	1451*
	——	991	(973)	(1073)	(1452)
	(976)	992	(974)	(1074)	(1453)
	(977)	993	975	——	1454*
	(978)	994	976	——	1455*
	[79–88]				

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
45	989	995	(977)	——	1456
	990	996	(978)	——	1457
	992	——	——	——	1459*
	991	——	——	——	1458
	(993)	——	979	——	1460
50	(994)	——	980	(1085)	1461
	995	——	981	(1086)	1462
	996	——	982	(1087)	1463
	997	997	983	(1088)	1464
	998	998	984	.....	1465
55	999	1001	985	.....	(1466)
	1000	1002	986	(1091)	(1467)
	1001	1003	(987)	.....	1468
	1002	1004	(988)	——	1469
	1003	1005	——	——	1470
60	1004*	1006	——	(1093)	1471
	1005	1007	989	(1094)	1472*
	1006	1008	990	——	1473
	1007*	1009	(991)	1095	1474
	1008	1010	(992)	1096	1475
65	1009	——	993	.....	1476
	1010	——	994	.....	1477
	——	1011	995	.....	1478
	——	1012	996*	.....	1479
	1011	1013	997	——	1480*
70	1012	1014	998	——	1481
	——	1017	999	1101	1482
	——	1018	1000*	1102	1483
	1014*	1019*	1001*	(1103)	1484*
	1013	1020	1002	(1104)	1485
75	1015*	(1021)	1003*	1105	1486
	1016	(1022)	1004	1106	1487
				[1107–8]	
	1017	1023	1005	1109	1488
	1018	1024	1006*	1110	1489*

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
	(1019)	——	(1007)	(1111)	(1490)
80	(1020)	——	(1008)	(1112)	(1491)
	1021	1025	1009	(1113)	1492
	1022	1026	1010	(1114)	1493
	1023	1027	1011	1116	1494
	1024	1028	1012	1115	1495
85	1025	1029	1013	——	1496
	1026	1030	1014*	——	1497
	1027	1031	1015*	——	1498*
	1028	1032	1016	——	1499
	1029	1033	1017	1117	1500
90	1030	1034	1018	1118	1501
	1031	1035	1019	(1119)	1502*
	1032	1036	1020	(1120)	1503
	1033	(1037)	1021*	1121	1504*
	1034	(1038)	1022	1122	1505
95	1035	1039	(1023)	(1123)	1506
	1036	1040	(1024)	(1124)	1507
	1037*	1041	1025	1125	1508*
	1038	1042	1026	1126	1509
	1039*	1043*	1027*	.....	1510*
100	1040	1044	1028	.....	1511
	1041*	1045	1029*	1129	1512*
	(1042)	1046	1030	1130	1513
	(1043)	1047	1031	(1131)	1514
	1044	1048*	1032	(1132)	1515*
105	1045	1049*	1033*	1133	1516*
	1046	1050	1034	1134	1517
	1047	1051	(1035)	1135	1519
	1048	1052	(1036)	1136	1518
	1049	1053	1037	(1137)	1520
110	1050	1054	1038	(1138)	1521
	1051	1055	1039	.....	(1522)
	1052	1056	1040	.....	(1523)

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
	1053	1057	(1041)	(1143)	(1524)
	1054	1058	(1042)	(1144)	(1525)
115	1055*	1059	1043	(1145)	(1526)
	1056	1060	1044	(1146)	(1527)
	1057	1061	1045	1147	1528
	1058	1062	1046	1148	1529
	1059*	1063	1047	1149	1530
120	1060*	1064	1048	1150	1531
	1061*	1065	1049	1151	1532
	1062*	1066	1050	1152*	1533*
	1063	(1067)	1051	(1153)	——
	1064	(1068)	1052	(1154)	——
125	1065	1069	1053*	1155	——
	1066*	1070*	1054*	1156	——
	1067	1071	——	1157	——
	1068	1072*	——	1158	——
	1069	1073*	——	——	1534
130	1070	1074	——	——	1535
	1071	1075	1055	1159	1536
	1072	1076	1056	1160	1537
	1073*	1077	1057*	(1161)	1538*
	1074	1078	1058 [59–60]	(1162)	1539
135	1075	(1079)	(1061)	(1163)	(1540)
	1076	(1080)	(1062)	(1164)	(1541)
	1077*	1081	1063	1165	(1542)
	1078	1082	1064	1166	(1543)
	1079	1083	1065	1167	1544
140	1080	1084	1066	1168	1545
	1081	1085	1067	1169	(1546)
	1082	1086	1068	1170	(1547)
	1083*	1087	1069*	1171	1548*
	1084*	1088	1070	1172	1549
145	1085	1089	1071	1173	1550
	1086	1090	1072	1174	1551

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
	1087	1091	1073	1175	1552
	1088	1092	1074	1176	1553
	1089	1093	1075	1177	1554
150	1090	1094*	1076	1178	1555
					[56–59]
	1091	1095	1077	(1179)	1560
	1092	1096	1078	(1180)	1561
	1093*	1097	1079*	1181	1562*
	1094	1098*	1080	1182	1563*
155	1095	(1099)	1081	1183	1564
	1096	(1100)	1082	1184	1565
				[85–90]	
	1097	1101	1083	1191	1566
	1098	1102	1084	1192	1567
	1099	1103	1085	1193	1568
160	1100*	1104	1086	1194	1569
	1101	(1105)	(1087)	(1195)	1570
	1102	(1106)	(1088)	(1196)	1571
	1103	1107	1089	(1197)	(1572)
	1104*	1108*	1090	(1198)	(1573)
165	1105	1109	1091	1199	1574
	1106	1110	1092	1200	1575
	1107	1111*	1093*	(1201)	(1576)
	1108	1112	1094	(1202)	(1577)
	1109	1113*	1095	1203	1578
170	1110	1114	1096	1204	1579
	(1111)	(1115)	(1097)	(1205)	(1580)
	(1112)	(1116)	(1098)	(1206)	(1581)
	1113	1117	1099	1207	1582
	1114	1118	1100*	1208	1583
175	1115	1119*	1101	(1209)	1584*
	1116	1120	1102	(1210)	1585
	1117	1121	1103	(1211)	(1586)
	1118	1122	1104	(1212)	(1587)
	1119	1123	1105	1213	1588

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
180	1120	1124	1106	1214	1589
	1121	1125	1107	(1215)	(1590)
	1122	1126	1108	(1216)	(1591)
				[17–20]	[92–93]
	1123	1127	1109	(1221)	1594
	1124	1128	1110	(1222)	1595
185	1125	1129	1111	1223	1596
	1126	1130	1112	1224	1597
	1127	(1131)	——	——	(1598)
	1128	(1132)	——	——	(1599)
	1129	1133	1113	1225	1600
190	1130	1134	1114	1226	1601
	1131	1135*	1115*	1227	1602*
	1132	1136	1116	1228	1603
	1133	1137	1117	(1229)	——
	1134*	1138*	1118	(1230)	——
195	1135	1139	1119	1231	——
	1136	1140*	1120	1232	——
	[cf. 1142]			[33–34]	
	1143	(1141)	1121	1235	1604
	1144	(1142)	1122	1236	1605
	1145	1143	1123	——	1606
200	1146	1144	1124	——	1607
	1137	1145	(1125)	(1237)	1608
	1138	1146	(1126)	(1238)	1609
	1139	1147*	1127	1239	1610
	1140	1148	1128	1240	1611
205	1141	1149	(1129)	(1241)	(1612)
	1142*	1150	(1130)	(1242)	(1613)
	[cf. 1136]				
	1147	1151	1131	——	1614
	1148	1152	1132	——	1615
	1149	1153	1133	1243	1616
210	1150	1154	1134	1244	1617
	——	1155*	1135*	——	——

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Ar	*A*	*E*	*B*	*C*	*F*
	——	1156	1136	——	——
	1151	1157	1137*	1245	1618*
	1152	1158	1138	1246	1619
215	1153	1159*	1139	1247	1620
	1154	1160	1140*	1248	1621
	1155	1161	1141	(1249)	1622
	1156	1162	1142	(1250)	1623
	1157	1163	1143	1251	1624*
220	1158	1164	1144	1252	1625
	[59–60]			[53–54]	
	1161	1165	1145	1255	1626
	1162*	1166	1146	1256	1627
	1163*	1167	1147	——	1628
	1164	1168	1148	——	1629
225	1165*	1169	1149*	1257	1630
	1166	1170	1150	1258	1631
	——	(1172)	——	——	——
	——	(1171)	——	——	——

This partial table will serve to illustrate the correspondences between the various members of group *Y*. The array of figures may look repellent, but I have preferred to submit the tabulation for an entire story rather than to give only a part of it, or to resort to any printer's devices to compress it, and thereby incur the risk of impairing its value.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

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II.—A STUDY OF GOETHE'S PRINTED TEXT: *HERMANN UND DOROTHEA.*

The standard Weimar edition of Goethe's works is based upon the final edition of his collected works, *Ausgabe letzter Hand,* which was published 1827–30, and contained his latest revisions. Forty volumes appeared during his life. As regards the form and appearance of the edition, the editors state that their purpose is to adhere strictly to whatever is known to have had Goethe's personal authorization. "The *Ausgabe letzter Hand* is his legacy, and he himself regarded it as the conclusion of his life work. With great circumspection, and with a care such as had been employed in the case of no other edition of his writings, he exerted himself for the purity and perfection of this edition. The evidence of his active participation is shown in his correspondence with K. Göttling, to whom he entrusted the examination and correction of his manuscript, and with Reichel, the foreman of the Cotta press. We can follow his coöperation, first, in the single volumes of the *Taschenausgabe* (Ć), and, similarly, later in the octavo edition (C), which was based on a revision of the previous edition, and constitutes his final survey of the text." "No departures were to be made from the readings of C except for imperative reasons. Changes based upon the manuscripts or earlier editions, or upon independent criticism must be shown to be necessary." As regards changes, however, which Göttling admitted in various places, silently or without Goethe's express authority, fuller liberty was granted to the editors to amend, where a criticism of the text was based on the poet's use of words. In case of necessity a return to the former reading was allowed. The octavo edition was made authoritative for orthography and punctuation. A slavish adherence

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to this text was not contemplated so that the new edition should be a mere reprint of the old. Defects, inconsistent usages, and lack of uniformity in printing were to be banished, so far as was practicable, while everything that was necessary to illustrate the sound and the pronunciation, especially in foreign words, was to be retained. In cases of doubt regarding readings, the general usage of the poet was to be considered, and where no clear and unequivocal usage was evident, preference was to be given to modern forms.[1] No other basis for a standard edition can be conceived than that it should rest primarily upon that form which presents the author's final revision. To make an earlier edition the foundation of the text would be to ignore the apparent wish of the writer, and not to follow his final judgment as regards literary form. At the same time, in the absence of the original autographs, or of the revised text which was submitted to the printer, it is impossible to determine accurately how far Goethe actually participated in the revision of any given work, how far changes received his approval, or occurred in the progress of a volume through the press. Goethe was not indifferent to the purity of his text, but, on the contrary, insisted on the greatest fidelity to the original. He wrote to Cotta, relative to the first edition of his works, saying that he desired that it should present an attractive appearance, "but correctness is of far more importance to me, and for this I most urgently entreat. You see that the copy has been gone over and corrected with the greatest care, and I should be in despair if it should again appear disfigured. Have the kindness to entrust the proof-reading to a careful man, and I enjoin expressly that the volume which I send should be accurately followed, that nothing in the orthography, punctuation or aught else be changed, and that even if an error should remain, it be printed with the rest. In short, I desire and require nothing save the most accurate copy of

[1] See the *Vorbericht* to the first volume of the Weimar edition, where the general principles which should guide the editors were laid down.

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the original which I transmit."[1] With a manifest desire for accuracy, Goethe entrusted the revision of his works largely to others, and he often failed to take the most obvious measures for securing the purity of his text. In publishing the *Schriften*, he took, as Professor Bernays has pointed out, the corrupt Himburg reprint as the basis for a portion of his text. From this reprint, numerous errors passed into the edition of his *Schriften* in eight volumes. Similarly, the edition of the *Schriften* in four volumes with its numerous errors became, in part, the foundation of the corresponding sections of the *Werke* (A). Certain works he subjected to careful, personal revision; others he entrusted mainly to his literary assistants, Riemer, Eckermann, Göttling and others, or to his amanuenses. Detailed work of this nature was irksome to him, and a long habit of dictation and working through others caused him to place an unjustifiable reliance upon men whose training and literary judgment were unequal to the task. He himself had no fondness for strife about verbal questions, and could detect "no grammatical vein in himself."[2] In many cases it must remain unsettled what amendments were actually authorized by the poet. Where an autograph revision is not preserved, the various editions often show changes due to accident or to the caprice of compositors. Goethe did not always have his own printed works at hand. He was often also without copies of his separate works, and on several occasions sought to buy or borrow a copy of *Hermann und Dorothea*.[3] In a letter to Sömmering of August 21, 1797, he stated that he had not had a complete copy of his writings in his house for years, and desired him to purchase at auction in Frankfurt the ten volumes of his *Schriften*, even prescribing the price which should be paid. His own writings were like emancipated children which would not abide with him.[4]

[1] *Briefe*, XIX, 65. See also his letter to Cotta of Feb. 7, 1805.

[2] Letter to W. von Humboldt of July 16, 1798.

[3] Letter to Eichstädt of Oct. 22, 1804.

[4] Letter to Eichstädt of Feb. 19, 1806. See also Eckermann, vol. III, p. 196 (Jan. 31, 1830).

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In studying Goethe's poem of *Hermann und Dorothea*, various readings appeared, and I have examined the successive editions in order to determine when these amended forms first constituted a part of the text. The history of the collected works in which this poem appeared has been investigated, mainly to ascertain their relation to the poem.

Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* was published in September, 1797. It is possible that the successive steps in its composition can be more continuously traced in it than in any one of his longer poems. In the whole poem there was a definite purpose as regards the unity and perfection of the metrical form. It therefore presents a definite material for the study of Goethe's printed text. As its form had been carefully elaborated in the beginning, so we may assume that later changes must have been made with a definite purpose. An examination, therefore, of the various forms which the text of this poem assumed will illustrate possibly, but in a limited field, some features in the history of the printed text of all of Goethe's works, and also of his personal relations to the successive editions.

Goethe's earliest mention of the poem is contained in his letter to Schiller of July, 1796. He chose in the poem the purest material in order to accomplish, as regards form, all of which his powers were capable. The immediate work of composition was begun, as appears from his diary, on September 11, 1796. He had carried about with him the subject of the poem for several years, but the execution, which, as Schiller says, took place under his own eyes,[1] occurred with a lightness and rapidity incomprehensible to him. Goethe wrote at one time over one hundred and fifty hexameters daily for nine days in succession. Even a month earlier, the first four of the six cantos, which were originally planned, were substantially complete in their earliest form.[2] After further revision it was sent, on June 8, to the publisher, Vieweg, in Berlin. There were long periods in which Goethe

[1] Letter to Körner of Oct. 28. [2] See Goethe's diary from Sept. 9 to 19.

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was apparently engaged in simply perfecting the mere form of the poem. As its composition progressed, it was read at court and to the groups of friends in Jena and Weimar. The relation of Schiller and of Wilhelm von Humboldt to the poem was especially intimate. They entered heartily into its spirit, and were helpful in the discussion of the verse. The poem was also read to Wieland, Böttiger, Knebel, Macdonald, Brinckmann, and others.

At the same time Goethe studied carefully the masterpieces of ancient poetry, and especially their metrical form. He read Hermann, *On the Metres of the Greek and Roman Poets;* Schlegel's *Greeks and Romans;* Voss's poems and translations of Vergil's *Eclogues;* Wolf's *Prolegomena;* Aristotle's *Poetik;* Homer, the *Elegies* ascribed to Cornelius Gallus; Propertius, Tibullus, Aeschylus and Klopstock. The discussion of classical verse and of classical metres in German verse, and the characteristics of epic and idyllic poetry were subjects of constant discussion and investigation. Under such influences as these, Goethe sought to embody his views of poetic art. The first four cantos were sent to the printer on April 17. While proof-sheets were returned to the author, a supervision of the poem during its progress through the press was entrusted to Wilhelm von Humboldt, who was in Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna during the printing. He was permitted to make any corrections that seemed necessary to him. The conclusion of the poem was sent to the publisher on June 8. The correction of the proof seems to have been shared equally by the poet and his friend. Humboldt expressed his amazement at the marvelous care which Goethe dedicated to the details of the poem.[1] It was not, however, certain that the final proofs were received by Goethe before he left for his Swiss journey at the end of July, for we find him requesting Böttiger to send the last sheets of his epic poem as soon as possible to Meyer in Zürich.[2]

[1] See his letter of June 28, 1797, to Goethe, in Goethe's *Briefwechsel mit den Gebrüdern von Humboldt*, edited by Bratranek.

[2] See his letter from Frankfurt of Aug. 16, Goethe's *Briefe*, XII, 241.

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Goethe did not receive the Calendar which contained *Hermann und Dorothea* until after his arrival in Nuremberg on November 6. His friends were not satisfied with the appearance of the poem in the form which the size of the calendar imposed, and an arrangement was made with Vieweg to publish an octavo edition in Roman type after the Easter Fair of the following year. The second edition, however, appeared early, in May, 1799. Goethe wrote that he had no corrections to communicate for it.[1]

The first edition of Goethe's collected writings was, as is generally known, not arranged by himself, but was made without his authority by a bookseller in Berlin, of the name of Himburg. Two parts were issued in 1775—the first containing *Werther*, and *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, and the second, *Götz, Clavigo* and *Erwin und Elmire*. As small as the collection was, it seems to have had a successful sale, for two subsequent editions were issued in 1777, and 1799. A third volume was issued in 1776, 1777, and 1779, and a fourth in 1779. Several reprints of these volumes followed, at Carlsruhe, at Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1778–80, at Reutlingen in 1784, and at Carlsruhe again in 1787.

In the announcement of the first authorized edition of the *Schriften*, Goethe wrote in June, 1786, saying: "You are familiar with the causes which finally compel me to issue a collection of all my writings, both of the published and of those as yet unpublished. On the one hand, I am threatened again with a new edition, which, like the preceding, seems to have been planned without my knowledge and consent, and may possibly be like them in misprints and other defects; and, on the other hand, a beginning has been made of printing in fragments my unpublished writings, of which I have occasionally communicated copies to friends. As I cannot give much, I have always wished to give that little well, and to make my works which are already known more worthy of

[1] Letter to Vieweg of July 12, 1798.

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approval, and to devote my final attention to those in manuscript which are now complete; and, with greater freedom and leisure, to finish in a favorable mood those which are as yet unfinished. But in my situation, all this seems to remain a devout wish; year after year passes, and even now only a disagreeable necessity could determine the resolution which I desire to announce to the public."[1] Having been thus forced to prepare a collected edition of his writings for the press, it became necessary for him later to include in a new edition all that he had subsequently published.

As early as in May, 1799, he considered the possibility of a new edition of his works.[2] Schiller had also urged him to undertake this task. Goethe's thoughts turned naturally to the publisher Cotta, whose intimate relations with Schiller he knew, and whose honorable and generous character made him prominent among German publishers.

Goeschen in Leipzig had published the first authorized edition of Goethe's *Schriften* in eight volumes (1787–90), but the continuation in seven volumes in the *Neue Schriften* (1792–1800) had been entrusted to Unger in Berlin. When the latter urged Goethe to submit material for an eighth volume, Goethe answered that he could not consent, because his most recent works had been promised to Cotta, with whom he had every reason to be content.[3] Unger, however, died before definite arrangements had been made for the publication of the *Werke* (A).

Goethe's personal acquaintance with Cotta had begun during the latter's visit to Weimar in May, 1795, and had been increased during his own visit to Stuttgart, on his journey to Switzerland in 1797. On September 22, 1799, Goethe promised to Cotta a preference in the publication of his works in the future. In the following year Cotta assumed the publication of the *Propylaea* (1798–1800), and, a little later, of several separate publications of Goethe, as *Was wir*

[1] Hempel edition, vol. 29, p. 275. [2] See his diary of May 23.
[3] See Goethe's letter to Zelter of Aug. 29, 1803.

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bringen, *Mahomet*, etc. (1802). Schiller's intervention was active in arranging with Cotta for the first collected edition of Goethe's works (A).[1]

On April 19, 1805, Goethe wrote to Schiller and enclosed his former agreements with Goeschen, in order to determine whether any obstacle existed to an arrangement with Cotta for the new edition. As none appeared, on May 1, 1805, Goethe wrote formally to Cotta announcing his purpose to publish a new edition of his works and enclosing the contents of the twelve volumes proposed. The terms were agreed upon at Lauchstedt on August 12.

It was Goethe's intention to send the text and manuscript for this edition in three parts, each containing four volumes. As early as on September 30 of that year, the text of *Wilhelm Meister* was forwarded, which was designed to constitute the second and third volumes; other volumes followed rapidly, according as the material was new or already in print; volume first, containing the poems, the first part of which was in manuscript, was not sent until February 24, 1806. The fourth volume, with the exception of *Elpenor*, was dispatched on August 19, 1806. *Elpenor* followed on October 27, but volumes five, six and seven, which were apparently ready on October 27, were not sent until December 8. *Faust* had probably been given to Cotta personally during the latter's visit in Weimar, April 25, 1806. The contents of the separate volumes as published followed, in the main, the original order. The eighth volume, however, contained *Faust*, instead of the tenth, as originally proposed.[2] The ninth contained what had been intended for the eighth, viz., the *Gross-Cophta*, *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*, *Die Vögel*, *Der Bürgergeneral*, the *Gelegenheitsgedichte*, etc. The matter for the ninth, and

[1] See Schiller's letters of Oct. 16 and Dec. 30, in Vollmers *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Cotta* (1876), also Goethe's letters to Cotta of May 1, and Aug. 12, and to Schiller of April 19, 1805. *Briefe*, Bd. XIX.

[2] *Faust* was once destined to constitute the fourth volume. See Goethe's letter to Cotta of Feb. 24, 1806.

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for the eleventh volumes (*Werther* and *Briefe aus der Schweiz*) was also sent at this time.[1] All the material for the entire edition had now (December 8, 1806) been sent, save that for volumes ten and twelve. The twelfth volume followed on May 7, 1807.[2] The first four volumes bear the date 1806. Their publication occurred near the end of February in the following year.[3] We find Goethe writing to Cotta on January 23, 1807, saying that the proof of the first, third and fourth volumes had been received, but that of a portion of the second was still lacking. He had not been able to revise these volumes seriously. Many things impressed him at the first glance as needing change, but this might pass. The first four published volumes were forwarded to the author on March 2.[4] Only two volumes bear the date 1807, the fifth and sixth. The tenth volume which contained the epic poems, *Reineke Fuchs, Hermann und Dorothea, Achilleis* and *Pandora* seems to have been the last volume sent.[5] On November 1 a single volume remained to be sent to the publisher. On September 21 and 22 he was engaged in the revision of *Achilleis*. We find in Goethe's diary of December 7, 1807: "The epic poems gone through. . . . After dinner, proceeded with the epic poems, and discussed various points. December 8—several things in the epic poems arranged and this volume packed. . . . The last volume dispatched to Dr. Cotta in Tübingen." The sixth, eighth and subsequent volumes bear date 1808.

The publication of the remaining volumes (VI–XII) of Goethe's works was long expected and long delayed. The

[1] See Goethe's *Briefe*, Bd. XIX. Letters of Sept. 30, 1805; Feb. 24, June 20, Aug. 19, Oct. 27, and Dec. 8, 1806; and the corresponding lists in the *Lesarten*, pp. 505 and 512. See also the *Tagebücher*, Bd. III.

[2] See also Goethe's letter to Zelter of May 7, 1807.

[3] The publication of these works was announced in the *Morgenblatt* of Feb. 27, and they were received by the poet on March 16. On Dec. 16 he wrote to Zelter that the second installment of his works had not been received, and again on May 3, 1808.

[4] See the letters to Cotta of March 18, and to Zelter of March 27.

[5] Letter to Cotta of Nov. 1, 1807.

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two divisions were issued at the same time, about May 12, and were received by the author about the end of June, 1808.[1] The first four volumes were subject to much contemporary criticism on account of the typographical errors, which they contained.

It is now of interest to determine how far Goethe contemplated, and how far he actually revised *Hermann und Dorothea* for this edition of his works. Goethe sought to make the poem the instrument for testing how far the rules of classical verse might be illustrated in German verse. In announcing the order of the proposed edition of his work to Cotta, May 1, 1805, Goethe wrote that *Reineke Fuchs* and *Hermann und Dorothea* were to be published "revised in accordance with his later convictions of prosody." During the previous year he had again reverted to the questions of metre, possibly incited by the presence of the younger Voss, with whom he had read the Greek dramatists, especially Sophocles.

Goethe says in the *Tag- und Jahreshefte* for 1806: "The proposed new edition of my works compelled me to go over them all again, and I devoted appropriate attention to each separate production, although adhering to my old purpose to actually remodel nothing, or change it in any considerable degree." He hoped once more to write in hexameters, and to proceed with greater assurance in this form of verse, also to execute his long cherished purpose, "conceived on Lake Lucerne and on the way to Altorf," to write an epic of William Tell. The amount of attention which he paid to individual works was by no means uniform.

His former interests having been thus revived, he entrusted a revision of *Hermann und Dorothea* to the young Heinrich

[1] See his letters to Zelter and to Reinhard of June 22.

It does not seem possible in all cases to accept the view that the presentation copies were the earliest. In many cases it can be shown that they were the latest, and were, on several occasions, not received until some months after the first publication.

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Voss, at that time a professor in the Gymnasium in Weimar, in whose advancement Goethe was especially interested. A certain unjustifiable respect which the great poet often showed to the judgment of his works by others was manifested here.[1] Voss's effort had reference to the metrical structure of the poem.

"Goethe is occupied with the publication of his collected works. Riemer and I have likewise received our task in connection with it. Goethe has given to me an interleaved copy of *Hermann und Dorothea*. I am to review the hexameters, and to indicate all my suggestions under the names 'changes' and 'proposals.' We shall afterward hold conference and discuss the readings. You can readily conceive that this is to me both an agreeable and instructive occupation."[2]

"Hitherto I have not devoted myself seriously to the work entrusted to me, namely, *Hermann und Dorothea;* but in these days I have made a beginning. The six following days I purpose to undertake it with all zeal. I notice (1) the quantity of separate words, (2) the regular structure of the separate hexameters, and finally (3) the connection of the hexameters with one another. I frequently find six unexceptionable hexameters in succession, which, if I mistake not, recur with a monotonous effect; I then reflect how this is to be remedied without the diction suffering at the same time. I write my suggestions upon them, and in certain passages I have already been so successful as to discover an improvement."[3]

He wrote again later: "Within the last fortnight I have had a work of a peculiar kind, which has occupied me entirely and from which I steal but a few moments, viz., when I write to you [Abeken and Solger]. Goethe has entrusted to me the revision of his *Hermann und Dorothea*, and I am permitted to change where and as I will [in it].

[1] Knebel to Goethe. Dec. 22, 1795.
[2] An K. Solger, *Archiv für Lit.-Gesch.*, XI, 126. May 22, 1805.
[3] H. Voss to Goethe, July 31, 1805. *G.-J.*, V, 48.

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With this object he has given to me his manuscript, where the single lines are so far apart that I can write much between them. I was at first timid in connection with it, but now I have corrected furiously since he would not have it otherwise. "Seek to remove not only the sins which I have committed, but also the sins of omission." I now lay every hexameter on the scales (*Goldwage*) and seek also to make the poem perfect in this respect, without sacrificing at the same time its naive language and perfect diction. Goethe is now in Lauchstädt: I report to him every week how far I have advanced, and when he returns we intend to go through the poem together. Goethe is satisfied with the beginning of my work, which he has seen, and has said it was well considered (*besonnen*) and accompanied by insight into his meaning, and this testimony gives me courage to proceed unweariedly.[1]

The manuscript entrusted to Heinrich Voss is preserved in the Goethe-Schiller Archives. It is not the original manuscript, but was written by his secretary, Geist. Its early date is shown by the fact that it contains the poem in its original division into six cantos. The division into nine cantos, according to the Nine Muses, was made before April 8, 1797, when the first mention of that fact is made, and after March 21, when it was still in the original form.[2] The manuscript presents various tentative readings in Goethe's hand, entered at different times; also amendments suggested by Voss. It is not certain that Goethe ever intended definitely to publish the poem in this changed form. The proposed readings were experimental. In any case, the work which had proceeded so far was finally abandoned and was not made use of for subsequent editions. It shows, however, how earnestly the poet was occupied with his poem after its rapid composition. This edition (A) is the only one of which a definite revision of the poem by Goethe himself can be positively predicated.

[1] Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, Bd. VIII, pp. 292–93. From a letter of H. Voss to Abeken, dated Aug. 3, 1805.

[2] See Schreyer, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, X, 204; also the Introduction to my edition of the poem, 1891.

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But before the publication of A, a long series of pirated reprints had been issued, which influenced the text. No uniform law of copyright was then enforced throughout Germany. One of the *Wahlcapitulationen* of the Emperor Leopold II. in 1790, had been the promised enactment of a law in behalf of property in literary works. As a matter of fact every state possessed the right to control all publications within its borders. Some states openly favored these unauthorized reprints. Cotta made energetic protests to the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg and to the Austrian government, in order to protect Schiller's works against the lawless intervention of printers in those states. Even the Free Cities exercised the right to control publication within their borders, and at the beginning of the Goethe-Zelter correspondence, issued after the poet's death, there are copyright privileges from the kingdom of Würtemberg and the city of Frankfurt.[1] In the year in which *Hermann und Dorothea* was published, reprints were issued in Berlin, the city of the original publication. Of the two reprints which appeared in 1798, one bearing the place of publication (Berlin), and the other having simply the date, the former presents numerous differences in readings from the latter, but these do not seem to have influenced so much the later text.[2] The second, issued

[1] The Act of the German Parliament of Nov. 9, 1837, seems to have been the first adequate measure for establishing a general copyright law. See Schürmann, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Autoren und Verleger*, 1889.

[2] A few of these differences may be noted. The date 1798 as here used refers to the original text in the *Taschenbuch*, and 1799 to the reprint of that year. The Berlin edition gives I, 24, *manchen* for *manchem;* 70, *andre* (1798, A) for *andere* (1799, 1806, etc.); II, 98, *keineswegs* (1806) for *keineswegs* (1798, A); III, 20, *schmutzigen* for *schmutzigem;* IV, 14, *von* for *vom;* 42, *niemal* for *niemals;* 100, *sollen* for *sollten;* 120, *verbirgest* (1798) for *verbirgst* (1806, A); 187, *Garten* for *Gärten* (1806, A); 225, *erscheinet* (1798) for *erscheint* (1799, 1806, A); VI, 7, *reinerem* for *reineren;* 88, *zeigt'* for *zeig';* 130, *Pfarrer* (1798) for *Pfarrherr* (1806, A); 169, *Andre* for *Andere;* 175, *gesehenket* for *gesehenkt;* 205, *ernährt* for *ernähret* (1798, 1806, A); 210, *zurückbleibet* for *zurückbleibt* (1798, 1806, A); 251, *darauf* for *drauf;* 291, *dem* (1798) for *den* (1806, A); 295, *den* for *dem;* 302, *Pfarrherr* (1798) for

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without the place of publication, has been the fruitful source of corruption in the text. The false readings introduced by the second reprint (apart from mere differences in orthography), perpetuated in later editions and which constituted finally a part of the accepted text are: IV, 120, *verbirgst* for *verbirgest;* 187, *Gärten* for *Garten;* V, 225, *erscheint* for *erscheinet;* VI, 130, *Pfarrherr* for *Pfarrer;* 271, *andern* for *anderen;* 291, *den* for *dem;* 302, *Pfarrer* for *Pfarrherr;* 314, *Staubes* for *Staubs;* 156, *steht* for *stehet:* IX, 65, *Pfarrherr* for *Pfarrer;* 77, *im guten Sinne* for *in gutem Sinne;* 161, *stillen* for *stille;* 265, *uns* for *und,* etc. The reprint of 1799 which was from different types, contains all these errors, and even reproduces such crude mistakes as VIII, 101, *Fern* for *fern;* IX, 286, *Fus* for *Fusz.* Errors which originated in the reprint of 1798 (b) and which survived for some time but were eliminated in A are: I, 70, *andre* for *andere;* II, 53, *thut* for *thu';* VII, 155, *zerstreuen* for *zerstreun.* From this date to the publication of A in 1808, nine reprints were issued, all save the first apparently based on some previous unauthorized edition, and perpetuating or introducing new errors.

The culmination of these reprints is found in the edition of 1806, which was published at Reutlingen about ten miles from Tübingen, where A was issued.[1]

Pfarrer (1806, A); 314, *Staubs* (1798) for *Staubes* (1799, 1806, A); VII, 55, *hieher* for *hierher;* 63, *nötiget* for *nötigt;* 73, *darauf* for *drauf* (1798, etc.); 83, *freun* for *freuen*; 155, *zerstreun* for *zerstreuen* (1799, 1806); 156, *Stehet* (1798) for *steht* (1799, 1806, A); 176, *gesehen* for *gesehn;* VIII, 19, *kluges* for *gutes;* IX, 65, *Pfarrer* (1799, A) for *Pfarrherr* (1806); 77, *in gutem* (1798) for *im guten* (1806, A); 97, *den Armen* for *der Armen;* 141, *Stille* (1798) for *stillen* 1806 (*still* A); 252, *an* for *am;* 255, *Erinnerung* (1806) for *Erinnrung* (1798, A); 261, *gehen* for *gehn;* 265, *und* (1798) for *uns* (1799, 1806 A); 266, *vom* for *von;* 299, *Erschütterung* for *Erschüttrung.* Other errors, chiefly orthographical and not affecting the metre, are found as in: I, 24, 71, 89, 168, 173; II, 11, 247; III, 31, 39, 66, 88; IV, 29, 136, 176, 184, 223; VI, 30, 114, 164, 283, 309; VII, 17, 26, 56, 57 (2), 154, 164, 203; VIII, 180, 261, 277, 286.

[1] My own copies of this edition (A) do not correspond as regards the dates of publication with the statement made by E. Schmidt in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* Bd. XVI, 262. He states that in A, volumes VI and VII bear the date 1807,

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Out of sixty or more readings in which A differs from 1798, the first edition (A) introduces forty-six original readings, or what may be so regarded, and presents, at least, twenty readings based upon this reprint. These readings are: II, 29, 75; IV, 103, 120, 122, 187; V, 188, 225; VI, 130, 271, 291, 293, 302, 314; VII, 16, 156; VIII, 19; IX, 42 (?), 72, 230, 265, 317, which remain as a constituent part of the text.

If the text of A, including both the syntactical and metrical forms, was affected by the reprint of 1806, we should expect that the orthography would also be affected with greater or less uniformity. The preterit of *gehen* (*ging, gingen*), is so printed in the edition of 1798 in sixteen instances: I, 145, 165; II, 24, 60, 204; IV, 2, 4, 22, 39, 77; V, 130; VI, 170, 189; VII, 14; VIII, 1; IX, 55. In the edition of 1808 (A) the same forms are printed *gieng, giengen*, save in four cases, viz., in I, 145; IV, 77; V, 130; IX, 55. If we compare the parallel readings in the reprint of 1806, we find that the same orthography prevails, save in a single instance (I, 145); that is, the orthography of A is based, in this particular, upon the reprint, and in the four instances in which it differs, corresponding variants are, in three cases (IV, 77; V, 130; IX, 55), found in its prototype, the edition of 1806. Similarly if we compare the preterit forms of *hangen* (*hing, hingen*), in 1798, and in A (IV, 29 and VIII, 88), we shall find that they are printed in A, *hiengen* and *hieng*, as previously in the reprint of 1806, and as in no preceding

while in A′ the same volumes bear the date 1808. In one of my copies, volumes I-IV have the date 1806, vols. V and VII 1807, and vols. VI, VIII and the remaining volumes 1808. In a second and third copy (A′?) the dates of the foregoing volumes are, I–IV, 1806; V and VI, 1807; VII–XII, 1808. The readings of the first copy correspond with those given by Strehlke (Hempel edition, VII, 196–299, quoted by Minor, Weimar edition, VIII, 341–2), except that on p. 255, l. 25, *Vertraue* (W. and No. 1) stands for *Vertrau* (No. 2); p. 292, l. 11 *lies't* (W. and No. 1) stands for *lies't* (No. 2); and p. 299, l. 25, *Streit* (Nos. 1 and 2) stands for *Schritt* (W.).

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authorized edition. The reprints of 1803 and 1804 have, however, these forms.[1]

Similarly if we compare the form *dies* and *dieß* in the editions of 1798 and 1808 (A), we shall find that in 1798 *dies* is used either alone or in *diesmal*, in at least six cases (IV, 108; V, 81; VII, 153; VIII, 36; IX, 307, 313), and *dieß* four times (I, 19; VII, 20, 30; IX, 195). If we turn, in these selected instances to A, we shall find that *dies*, alone or in compounds, is used in seven instances (I, 19; IV, 108; V, 81; VII, 20, 30, 153; IX, 195), and *dieß* in three instances (VIII, 36; IX, 307, 313). Comparing now these readings with the reprint of 1806, we find that the reprint uses the form *dies* and *dieß* in exactly the same passages; that is, where 1806 changes the spelling of the first edition (1798), A coincides with it; and where 1806 fails to make a uniform change, A follows it precisely and exhibits the same readings. *Schreckliche* is thus printed in 1798, but *Schrekliche* in 1806 and 1808; *Reizen* (I, 88) is printed *Reitzen* in 1798, but *Reitzen* in 1806 and 1808 (A); *Ernte* is thus printed in 1798, but *Erndte* in 1806 and 1808 (A); *Schwert* is so printed in 1798, but *Schwerdt* in 1806 and 1808 (A); *Bretter* appears in this form in 1798 (I, 126), but in IX, 38 and 42, as *Breter* and *breterne;* it is spelled uniformly in 1806, and also in 1808 (A).

A does not follow in all cases the orthography of the reprint of 1806; *Ungeberdig* in 1798 and 1806 is spelled *Ungebärdig* in A; *Grenze* in 1798 and 1806 is *Gränze* in 1808 (IV, 54, 94, 99); *Heirath* (II, 102; IX, 70) in 1798 and 1806 is *Heirat* in A, but *Heirath* again in B. *Parthey* in 1798 and 1806 (V, 113) is *Parte* in A (owing to a typographical error), but *Parthei* in 1799[a], and *Partey* in 1799[b]. But these changes

[1] The name Göthe is thus spelled in the authorised editions of 1798, 1799 (2), 1803, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1812, 1814 V [1816], 1820, 1822 [1823], 1826, 1828, 1829 V (2), 1830, and in the reprints of 1798 (2), 1799, 1801, 1803, 1804 (but Goethe on the portrait), 1806, 1810 Wien. and Prag. and Köln, 1814 (?); it is printed Goethe in the *Schriften* (1787–90), N. S., n. s., A., a., 1814 C., 1816 Bauer, 1817, B′., B., 1829 C., C′., C., Q., and in the reprints of 1822 Tr., 1822 Stuttg., 1823 Prose, 1823 Luxem., 1828 Trans.

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are no greater than occur naturally in the usage of different printing offices, or through the varying standards of compositors. A certain uniformity not exhibited in the first edition is shown in the orthography of A; as in the case of the numerals, *zwey* (IV, 40, 229); *zweyte* (VII, 197; VIII, 254; IX, 254); *drey* (I, 163; IV, 40), also in *beyde* (I, 65; II, 226; VII, 56, 106, 113; VIII, 7, 39; IX, 50, 53, 184, 189); in the forms of the verb *to be*, *seyn* (I, 39; IV, 160); *sey* (VI, 147, 275; IX, 100, 234), and *seyd* (V, 66); in *frey* (IV, 115; V, 173; VI, 7, 141; VIII, 62; IX, 173, 277); *Freyheit* (VI, 10; IX, 259); *freylich* (I, 35, 96; II, 254; III, 91; VI, 253; IX, 101, 157; and *befreyen* (IX, 135).

The question arises how this reprint could have become in part the basis of the accepted text, and at the same time permit Goethe's amended readings to be incorporated. We have seen that the tenth volume containing *Hermann und Dorothea* was the last to be sent to the printer, and was not forwarded until nearly six months after all the other volumes had been sent (December 8, 1807). There is no positive evidence in Goethe's diaries or in his correspondence—in the absence of his letters to Cotta—that he revised the proof of the epic poems. It is, however, possible, yet the uniformity of mention of such revision previously, makes it uncertain. It seems probable that the poem was sent to the printer, not in manuscript, but in a volume of Vieweg's edition, with the changes indicated in the margin, but that these changes were not all transferred to the cheap reprint, published in the vicinity, which was used for convenience, at least, in part by the compositors as the basis of the text, and so in numerous cases the more correct forms of the earlier editions were not incorporated in the new volume.

An edition of *Hermann und Dorothea* without date, published in the *Spitz'sche Buchhandlung*,[1] Cologne, from which

[1] The widow of a book-binder, Joh. Wilhelm Spitz, had a stationery shop in 1797; Wilhelm Spitz was a book-binder in 1813; later he was a printer, and in 1819 he conducted a circulating library. He issued reprints of

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so many unauthorized reprints emanated, presents a divided text. It follows in part the pre-Cotta editions and in part the later editions. A comparison of its readings shows that the early text before A obtains with great uniformity in certain cantos or parts of cantos, while the later Cotta text is employed in the remaining parts. This would show that the work of composition was entrusted to two compositors and that editions of different dates were assigned to them. The date of this reprint is, therefore, subsequent to 1808, and may be placed approximately at 1814.

The copyright of the first edition of Goethe's works (A) extended from Easter, 1806, to Easter, 1814, and the poet entered actively upon the preparation of a second edition (B) at the beginning of the latter year. In the first two months he was engaged in the revision of his minor poems. In July, the order of the new edition was determined and further revision of the first volumes undertaken. Cotta visited Goethe in May, and the final arrangement with him for the publication of his works was apparently decided in the January following.

It is not certain when the eleventh volume of Goethe's works, which contained *Hermann und Dorothea*, was sent to the printer,[1] but it probably occurred in the late summer or early autumn of 1816. Goethe was busied at Tennstädt, from July 20 to September 10, with the preparation of his works for the press. On July 25 the first book of *Reineke Fuchs* was revised; on August 24 he took up *Hermann und Dorothea* and considered the suggestions for changes which

Hermann und Dorothea, Iphigenie, Wilhelm Tell (1816), and of Goethe's *Gedichte* (1814).

[1] The text of the new edition of Goethe's works was sent to Cotta, so far as I can determine: 1815, Feb. 20, Vols. 1 and 2; March 27, Vols. 3, 4, 5, 6: 1816, March 11, Vols. 7 and 8; May 11, Vol. 9; July 8, Vol. 10; Aug. 31 (?), Vol. 11; Oct. 23, Vol. 12; Dec. 18, Vols. 13 and 14: 1817, Feb. 24, *Die guten Weiber;* April 18, Vols. 17–19; (?), Vol. 20. The publication of the first volumes was delayed, so that Zelter wrote that the sale of the Vienna reprint, in spite of its defects, was increasing in Berlin. Letter of Feb. 18, 1816.

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had been proposed. He wrote in his diary: "Old plans of epic poetry revised." The third division of his works, volumes nine to twelve, was published at Easter, 1817. The eleventh volume contained *Hermann und Dorothea.* No personal revision of this poem on the part of the poet can be shown. The text follows A with great exactness and the few differences are probably due to printers' errors, among which were the readings *gern* for *gerne*, I, 84; *wolltest* for *wollest*, II, 263; the omission of the semicolon, II, 98; *ein* for *dein*, III, 46; the insertion of *er*, VII, 181, which errors have remained permanently in the text. Certain changes in the orthography are manifest, following probably the usage of the Cotta press at this time. The preterit forms of *gehen* and *hangen* were printed *ging* (I, 145, 165; II, 24, 60, 204; IV, 2, 4, 22, 39, 77; V, 130; VI, 170, 189; VII, 14; VIII, 1; IX, 55) and *hing* (IV, 29; VIII, 88); the spelling *dieß* (IV, 108; VII, 20, 30; VIII, 36; IX, 195, 307), when used alone, and in *dießmal* (I, 19; V, 81; VII, 153; VIII, 36; IX, 313), is made uniform; the form *giebt* of A is printed *gibt* (II, 31; IV, 145, 236; V, 53, 172). Numerous minor changes appear: as, *schreckliche* (II, 112) for *shrekliche* in A; *Klavier* (II, 221, 244, 270) for *Clavier* in 1798 and A; *Kattun* (I, 30, 32; VI, 133) for *Cattun* in 1798 and A; *Kollegen* (IV, 176) for *Collegen* in 1798 and A; *Heirath* (II, 102; IX, 70) for *Heirat* in A; *Schwert* (VI, 181) for *Schwerdt* in A; *dieß* (IV, 108) for *dies* in 1798 and A; *dießmal* (V, 81) for *diesmal* in 1798 and A; *Ernte* (I, 47, 52; IV, 38) for *Erndte* in A; *breterne* (IX, 38) and *Breter* (IX, 42) for *bretterne* and *Bretter* in A; *giebt* in A is printed *gibt* in B and C; there is also a tendency to use more frequently a capital letter in *Jeder* (II, 163; III, 105; V, 200, 272; IX, 21, 270), and *Jeglicher* (VI, 273; VII, 35); and *Niem*, and (IV, 6) which are written without a capital in 1798 and A. One peculiarity of this edition is the employment of two single s's ſſ (*läſſt*, IV, 221) for the compound character ß.

The Vienna edition of B (B′) has attracted interest of late as possibly presenting an independent revision of cer-

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tain of the poet's works.[1] In the present poem it differs from B in II, 140, where it has *hierher* for *hieher*, an unusual reading which, however, occurs in the reprint of 1816, but not in the Cotta edition of 1817; in II, 263, where it has *wollest*, thus agreeing with the earlier authorized editions, and also with the above-mentioned reprint; in IV, 122, where it has *den* for *dem*, thus following all editions prior to 1808, except the reprint of 1806. This, however, is an error, whose correction would naturally suggest itself to an intelligent compositor; the form, *allzu gelind* (V, 113), coincides with the reprint of 1816, in which alone these words are printed in this manner. B′ avoids the errors of B also in having *dein* (III, 46); und *bereuet* (VII, 181).

If we note peculiarities of orthography, there are certain general features which are common to both 1816 and B′, which may be due to the dominant orthography in Vienna[2] at that time, or, possibly, to the fact that the two editions sustain a certain relationship. Thus the two editions coincide in printing the following words: *Clavier* (II, 244, 270); *Canäle* (III, 30); *Collegen* (IV, 176), but not *Kattun* (1816, I, 30; VI, 133); *Mahl* in *Sechs Mahl* (III, 33); *jemahls* (IX, 267, 270); *einmahl* (IX, 87, 263); *niemahls* (IV, 158); *tausendmahl* (IX, 291); *zweyten Mahl* (IX, 254); *Oftmahls* (IV, 164); *dieß Mahl* or *dießmahl* (V, 81); *erste Mahl* (VIII, 30); *gebiethen* for *gebieten* (V, 197; VII, 198; IX, 115); *hohlen* for *holen* (II, 196; IX, 81); *triegen* for *trügen* (VI, 16; IX, 289); *Ältern* or *Aeltern* for *Eltern* (IV, 159; VI, 255; VII, 163; VIII, 12; IX, 56, 60, 248). The spelling in these cases does not agree with that in B. Other differences weigh against any connection, at least in certain cantos; as in the readings in 1816, *roll't'* (I, 194); *gerne* (I, 84); *Pfarrherr* (I, 185); *Verbirgest* (IV, 120); *Andern* (V, 235); *anderen* (VII, 133); *stehet* (VII, 156);

[1] Seuffert, B., *Goethes Erzählungen, "Die guten Weiber," Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Bd. XV, 148.

[2] It may not be without interest to note that vol. VIII of the reprint of the *Neue Schriften* presents in many points a like orthography (1801).

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ahndungsvolle (VIII, 4); *kluges* (VIII, 19); *gerne* (IX, 21); *Frende* (IX, 230); *andern* (IX, 251). There are also minor differences; as in *spazieren* (III, 96); *Gränze* (IV, 54), etc. The Vienna edition (B′) presents further an extended and independent series of textual errors for which it is alone responsible; as, *Drum* for *Darum* (II, 155); *soll* for *sollte* (178); *den* for *der* (179); *eigenes* for *eignes* (181); *sadeln* for *sadelten* (207); *zum schmutzigen* for *zu schmutzigem* (III, 20); *mahles* for *mahls* (IV, 57); *eignes* for *eigenes* (74); *treffliche* for *trefflichste* (V, 120); *lacht* (III, 77) for *lachte; vom* for *von* (IX, 266); *Graben* (III, 14) for *Gräben; stehen* (III, 84) for *stehn.*

The contract with Cotta for the second edition of Goethe's works (B) expired at Easter, 1823, and, as before, preparations were immediately begun for a new and final edition of all his writings. Riemer, who had been Goethe's main assistant in the revision of the preceding editions of his works, was again called to his aid, and Eckermann, a young scholar and poet from Hannover.

Goethe's acquaintance with Eckermann began on June 10, 1823, soon after the latter's arrival in Weimar. Goethe expressed a wish for him to establish himself there for a time, and entrusted to him two volumes containing his contributions to the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* in the years 1772 and 1773; he asked him to estimate the value of these early productions for a future edition of his works, since he himself could form no proper opinion of their present merit as they were now so remote from him. In the period which followed, the relation between the two became more intimate, and much preliminary work on the new edition of his works was entrusted to Eckermann.[1] Goethe desired that Eckermann and Riemer might aid him in this task, and, in case of his death, assume the work in question. Goethe's earlier purpose was to entrust the revision of his works to Schubarth in co-operation with the preceding. In his letter to Staatsrath

[1] See Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, for June 11, and Oct. 2, 1823, and May 6, 1824.

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Schultz he defined the task of the corrector. He desired the revision of the twenty volumes which had already been printed as well as of those which were to be issued later. The volumes were to be read with a grammatical eye, and to be examined with critical discernment, to determine whether any typographical error was concealed; in that case a conjecture was to be noted, and so the whole would rest upon a sure foundation which it would retain. At the same time no effort was to be made to improve the expression in any considerable degree, however possible it might be to do so. This work was entrusted later to Göttling.[1]

Göttling (1793–1869), whom Goethe had called to his aid in this responsible task, was a young professor in Jena, a scholar of attractive personality and of keenness in criticism, whose wide learning and later services in behalf of classical study gave a high reputation to the university.[2] Göttling's training in the study of ancient manuscript had given to him certain definite theories, and with these he entered upon his work. Goethe's invitation to him to participate in this final revision was made in his letter of June 10, 1825. His actual work began when Goethe entrusted to him on January 22, 1825, the first two volumes of the preceding edition of his works for revision. It is not possible, until the complete treasures of the Goethe Archives are published, to determine when the fortieth volume of Goethe's works, containing *Hermann und Dorothea*, was sent to Göttling, probably after September 12, 1830, the date of the return of the thirty-sixth volume which contained *Rameaus Neffe*.

Goethe was not permanently satisfied with the changes which Göttling made, even although they may have been

[1] See Goethe's letter to Staatsrath Schultz of June 28, 1824, in the Berlin collection, Goethe's *Briefe*, Bd. III, Abt. II, p. 1324; also to Schubarth of March 21, 1825, in *Briefe Goethes an K. Schubarth* in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 5, p. 38 (1875).

[2] For the history of Göttling's relation to this edition of Goethe's works, see *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und K. Göttling in den Jahren*, 1824–31, München, 1880.

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admitted with his consent. A more exact adherence to classical theories pleased the reviser, but not the poet.[1] Thus, on May 28 Goethe wrote to Göttling: "You must indulge me in one idiosyncrasy. I cannot give up the inflexion *Köstlichen Sinnes;* it is interwoven with my whole being, so that I must regard it as expressing myself (mir gemäßachten), even if not correct." He had reflected how such an impression could, in his case, have originated. Lessing's *Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts* and other examples had occurred to him, and therefore he found more occasion to hope that he might be indulged. And again he asked for a certain consideration in the use of particular forms as a native of Upper Germany.[2] In another letter Goethe made a mild protest against Göttling's procedure, saying that he knew how to value the profession of the grammarian, but, as a poet, he craved from him certain liberties.

Goethe published a prospectus of the new edition dated March 1, 1826.[1] He gave in detail the contents of the first thirty-eight volumes, save for volumes XXX–XXXIII, which were to contain articles of a literary and biographical character, reviews from the period of the *Frankfurter Anzeiger* (1772) to those of the Jena *Allegemeine Zeitung* (1804); there would possibly be room for instructive earlier studies on *Götz von Berlichingen, Iphigenia,* etc. While this order was in the main adhered to, certain volumes required greater space than was anticipated, and the contents of the volumes as published does not coincide with the numbers to which they were originally assigned. In this prospectus *Hermann und Dorothea* was intended for the twelfth volume as in the preceding edition (B). It was, however, actually published in the fortieth volume, *Faust* taking its place. The expression, "Ausgabe letzter Hand," was interpreted as meaning that the author had contributed his best and final touches to the edition without, at the same time, being able to regard it as perfect. "As

[1] See Eckermann, March 17, 1830.
[2] Letter to Göttling of Oct. 8, 1825.

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was to be seen from the previous editions of his works, he was little inclined to make changes in his writings, and few would be found in this edition. That in which he had originally succeeded, he was not afterward successful in improving.[1]

Goethe applied to the representatives of the German Confederation for a copyright on this edition that he might be protected from unauthorized reprints. This was unanimously granted by the Diet on March 24, 1825, but the ratification by the separate states was not immediately obtained. This, however, was effected, for the most part, during the year 1825.[2] The business details for this edition with Cotta were completed on January 30, 1826.[3] From this time Goethe was constantly engaged in perfecting this final edition of his works. Eight volumes were to be issued at uniform intervals. Printing began in October, and the first instalment was announced for Easter, 1827. The first four volumes were issued so as to be received by the poet on February 17, and the remaining four on April 22. In July, 1830, thirty-five volumes had appeared, and five more were issued at Michelmas of that year. The final volume contained *Hermann und Dorothea.*

The Taschenausgabe of 1830 (C′) and later the octavo (C) present the results of Göttling's revision. They show a text based upon B, the errors of which are in many cases retained, with a regulated but not entirely uniform orthography. Many of the caprices and inconsistencies which dis-

[1] Boas, *Nachträge zu Goethe's sämmtlichen Werken*, Bd. II, 224–232.

[2] See Goethe's letters to the Saxon Minister of Nov. 1, and to Staatsrath Schultz of Dec. 18. Goethe's *Briefe*, Berlin, III, 2, p. 1372.

[3] For Cotta's relation to this edition, see the correspondence between Goethe and Boisserée in *Sulpiz Boisserée*, Bd. II, from Dec. 12, 1823 to Sept. 29, 1826.

Goethe continued his labor on the as yet unpublished volumes, and on Jan. 5, 1831, had ten new volumes almost ready for the press.* On May 15, he signed, in connection with Eckermann, a contract containing the terms under which Eckermann should publish after Goethe's death the volumes which were already complete, as well as the remaining.

* To Müller, Jan. 5, 1831, *Biedermann*, VIII, 3; the same, VIII, 84.

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figured B were removed. Both of these final editions of Goethe's works were issued with type especially cast, and upon better paper than that employed in the earlier collected editions, the quality of which had been severely criticized. When compared with the first edition of 1798, C presents three hundred or more variants from the first edition. Of these about one-third are in the spelling of words, and a less number in capitalization and in the use of the apostrophe. Other changes affect the text, syntax or metre. The changes in spelling from B are confined to a limited number of words. Certain systematic changes were, however, carried out. There was an effort to limit the excessive use of capitals in the indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives; as in the words, *all, ander, beide, jeder, jeglicher, niemand, viel,* etc. The contraction of the preposition with the article in the accusative was uniformly indicated; as *an's,* VII, 190; *auf's,* III, 49; *durch's,* VI, 270; VII, 152; VIII, 86; *in's,* II, 264; V, 118, 240; VII, 2, 7 (*ins* C′), 180; VIII, 108; IX, 48, 220, 232 (*ins* C′); *vor's,* II, 16; also with the dative in *bei'm,* III, 31; IV, 182; V, 2, 61; VII, 104, 201; IX, 30, in C, but *beim* in C′; but not in *am,* IX, 22; *im,* VIII, 11, 84, 87; IX, 41; *vom,* VIII, 94, or *zum,* VIII, 9. The elision of the vowel e is indicated; as, *er's,* VI, 55; *ich's,* II, 220; *Ihr's,* VI, 207; *ist's,* I, 6; III, 107; VIII, 30; *mich's,* II, 215; *mir's,* III, 107; IX, 221; *war's,* VI, 182; *versteht's,* VII, 182; *lass',* VII, 153; *los'te,* II, 48; V, 109; VI, 38; IX, 169, 265; *bess'rer,* III, 5, etc.

Minor changes in orthography are apparent; *frey* and its derivatives *freylich* and *befreyen* were spelled with *ei,* but not *freyen, marry* (VI, 169; 272) or its derivative *Freyersmann* (VI, 257, 267); *beyde, Schreyn* (I, 140; VII, 196); *Geschrey* (I, 131; IX, 193); *Schleyer* (VIII, 3). The suffix *-ley* in *mancherley* (I, 117; II, 167; VII, 170) of the earlier editions was spelled with *ei*; so, also was the preposition *bey* when used alone or in compounds: *echt* of the earlier editions became *ächt* (I, 168).[1] The octavo edition of 1830 (C) is, in general,

[1] The canon of orthography which Göttling followed in this edition is reprinted in the Weimar edition, vol. I, p. XXII.

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a faithful reproduction of the Taschenausgabe of the same year, which preceded it. There are, however, minor differences, and the marks of a revising hand are manifest in a few instances: as in I, 19, where *rollt'* appears for *rollt;* II, 186, where *und* has been restored before *die Zeiten;* VI, 314, where we find *Staub's* for *staubes* (*Staubs,* 1798); VII, 187, *bessere* for the corrupt *bessre;* IX, 230, *Freude* for the corrupt *Freuden.* A slight difference in orthography is noticeable in a few words: as in I, 30, 33; VI, 133, 175, where we find *Kattun* for *Cattun* (in 1798, A, B and C′); and in III, 30, where the *Kanäle* of 1798, A and B is printed *Canäle* in both C and C′, as in B′; *Kaffe,* 1798, A and B is printed *Kaffee* (III, 90); *feiern* (I, 199) in 1798, A and B was printed *feyern; erwiedern* (II, 11), *erwiderm; Clavier* and *Collegen* (IV, 164), and *Canäle* (III, 30) were printed in their earlier forms, as in 1798, and A, and not with K as in B; *Wöchnerin* (II, 43, 54; VII, 131, 186) was printed with a single final *n;* the plural of *Schar* (I, 49; VI, 310) is *Schaaren* in distinction from 1798, A and B (*Scharen*). The capitalization of *Ihr,* 'you,' was not uniform in 1798, but is so in C′.

From the year 1814 two parallel editions of *Hermann und Dorothea* were issued by the original publisher Vieweg and by Cotta, the editions of the former being based after 1808 upon the revised text in Cotta (A). While there was a conservative adherence to the latter, the Vieweg editions, especially after the appearance of the royal octavo edition in 1822, presented a revised text which avoided some of the changes, and, occasionally, the errors in A. This edition shows: I, 19, *rollt'* for *rollt;* 185, *Pfarrherr* for *Pfarrer;* II, 29, *erblicket* for *erblicklet;* 75, *Dürftigste;* 155, *Herrmann;* 163, period at end instead of comma; IV, 103, *tiefen;* 120, *verbirgest;* 122, *den;* 187, *Garten;* VI, 150, *erfahrnen;* 217, *Pfarrer;* 225, *von;* 271, *anderen;* 291, *dem;* 293, *ihn;* 314, *Staubs;* VII, 11, *betrachtet';* 55, *hieher;* 105, *schwatzen;* 133, *anderen;* 163, *wie es;* VIII, 19, *kluges;* IX, 43, *harrte;* 141 and 161, *stille;* 230, *Freude;* 317, *stände,* in which there

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is a reversion to the earlier type. An intelligent deviation from the later accepted text is noticeable, however it is to be explained.

In many cases it is easy to see how errors were introduced. Thus the reading *ihn führte* (VI, 293), appears in the first edition where *ihn* seems to relate to *Fuszweg*, 'along the path.' The *Neue Schriften*, possibly finding something obscure in this use of the personal pronoun alone to express distance, transposed the letters so that it read *hinführte*, 'conduct thither;' the edition of 1806 changed this form to *heimführte*, 'to conduct home;' which has remained as the permanent reading. Another interesting case is found in the use of *kluges* for *gutes* (VIII, 19). Dorothea asks Hermann how she can satisfy the claims of both father and mother. Hermann, recognizing the wise foresight of the question, answers:

"O, wie geb', ich dir recht, du kluges, treffliches Mädchen," etc.

The compositor, glancing at the word *gute* in the line above, set this in type, and the form has been preserved to the present time. Similarly, Dorothea assures Hermann that the wants of the 'most needy' (II, 75) shall be relieved. The reprint of 1806 changes *Dürftigste* to *Dürftige*, making the statement that the relief shall be general and not confined to the 'most needy,' thus destroying the idea of discriminating care which was originally expressed.

It seems therefore established that there was only a single elaborate revision of the poem by the author, which was made for the collected edition of his works (1806–8); that a series of errors were introduced from two reprints, one of 1798, and one of 1806, which latter was used in part for the text of 1808. It has also been shown that these unauthorized editions followed one another, the later ones adopting almost invariably the readings of the preceding.

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In the collation of the text of *Hermann und Dorothea*, I have used all the editions issued by Goethe's authorized publishers during his lifetime, as given in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, IV, 689–690, except the editions published by Vieweg in 1811 (k), 1813 (l), 1814 (m), 1815 (p); the Cotta edition of 1829 (w)[1]; and the reprint at Bonn of 1806, which I have been unable to find in any library in Germany, the existence of which is at present uncertain. I have also collated the Vieweg edition of 1803 without illustrations, which is identical with that catalogued by Goedeke, but is not a mere *Titelauflage* of the edition of 1799,[2] as he states; and an octavo edition of 1812, pp. 235, not mentioned by either Goedeke or Hirzel; also the following unauthorized reprints which are of interest in studying the history of the text: *Herrmann und Dorothea*, von J. W. von Göthe, Berlin, 1798, 8vo, pp. 176; the same, without place, 8vo, pp. 152, differing from the preceding;[3] the same, *Zweite verbesserte Auflage*, 1799, without place, 8vo, pp. 152, differing from the preceding; the same, Köln bei Heinr, Rommerskirchen, 1801, small 16mo, pp. 181; the same, in Goethe's *Neue Schriften*, Achter Band, neue Aufl. Mannheim, 1801; the same, Stuttgardt, 1803, pp. 166, 12mo, with six woodcuts. This reprint was also issued in the same year, without place or illustrations, but corresponding in the text; the same, 1804, without place, small 8vo, pp. 97, with Goethe's portrait engraved by Oberkogler, with three engravings; the same, Reutlingen in the J. J. Mäcken'schen Buchhandlung, 1806, small 8vo, pp. 164; the same, Wien und Prag, 1810,

[1] There were two editions of this poem which appeared in 1799—one containing 235 pages (1799[a]), and one 231 pages (1799[b]). These two editions present the same text, but minor differences in orthography; as, *ergötzend* (1799[b]) for *ergetzend* (I, 60; IV, 188); *betrachtet'* for *betrachtet* (VII, 11); *dringet* for *dringt* (II, 32).

[2] The two Vieweg editions, royal octavo, of 1822 and 1829, show orthographical differences; as, *Hermann* (1829) for *Herrmann; Pfarrer* for *Pfarrherr* (I, 185).

[3] The errors originating in the first unauthorized reprints of 1798 and of 1806 were recognized, and removed in my fifth edition of the poem (1895).

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8vo, pp. 127; the same, Göthe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, Köln in der W. Spitz'schen Buchhandlung, date about 1814; *Hermann und Dorothea von Goethe*, in Goethe's *Gedichte*, *Dritte Abtheilung*, *Neueste Auflage*, Wien, 1816, bey B. Ph. Bauer; the same, Stuttgart bei A. F. Macklot, 1822, 8vo, pp. 120; the same, *Mit einer Beurtheilung im Allgemeinen*, Luxemburg, 1823, 8vo, pp. 75.

In the references in this investigation to Goethe's works, I have followed the usual designations: the capital letters A, B, B′, C′, C, indicate the various authorized editions of Goethe's complete works, 1806–10; 1815–19; 1816–22 (Wien); 1827–30, 16mo, and 1827–30, octavo. Q denotes the edition revised by Riemer and Eckermann after Goethe's death, 1836–37. The small letters, n. s., represent the reprint and continuation of the *Neue Schriften*, and *a* the Vienna reprint of A by Anton Strauss (1810–17) in twenty-six volumes. In the dates of the various editions, C. and V. indicate Cotta and Vieweg as the respective publishers, and Tr. indicates the text in the translations of 1822 and 1828.

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III.—ZUM SPECULUM HUMANAE SALVATIONIS.

Das *speculum humanae salvationis* gehört zu der grossen anzahl theologisch moralisirender gedichte des mittelalters, denen zwar vom aesthetisch literarischen standpunkt aus nur geringer wert beigelegt werden kann, die aber kulturgeschichtlich eine nicht zu unterschätzende bedeutung gehabt haben. Wie sehr diese dichtung dazu beigetragen hat has geistige interesse des volks rege zu erhalten, erhellt, ganz abgesehen von dem künstlerischen beiwerk der illustrationen, schon aus dem umstande, dass sie mehrfach gegenstand der übersetzung und überarbeitung gewesen ist, nicht nur in Deutschland, wo das werk höchstwahrscheinlich entstanden ist, sondern auch in den nachbarländern.

Vor langer zeit schon ist das *speculum* gegenstand der untersuchung gewesen zur schlichtung einer rein technischen frage. Es existiren nämlich mehrere incunabeln, darunter als älteste zwei lateinische und zwei holländische ausgaben, letztere unter dem titel *Speghel onser behoudinisse*, von denen einer neben dem bilde Costers die jahreszahl 1428 enthält. Diese später als fälschung erkannte angabe war der anlass zu dem lange geführten streit über den erfinder der buchdruckerkunst. Dieser holländische druck ist jetzt als die jüngste der vier ausgaben erwiesen, die Utrecht 1470–1483 datirt werden, ohne dass für die einzelnen drucke genaueres anzugeben wäre. Der zweite lateinische druck ist noch teilweise xylographisch hergestellt. Über die ganze sehr interessante frage orientirt jede moderne darstellung der geschichte der buchdruckerkunst. Eine ziemlich vollständige bibliographie giebt P. Poppe in seiner dissertation *Über das speculum humanae salvationis und eine mitteldeutsche Bearbeitung desselben*, Strassburg, 1887, p. 9–10, et passim. Zu den dort angeführten werken füge ich noch hinzu: *Aretins Beiträge*, v, 170; Samuel Leigh Sotheby, *Principia Typographica*, wo band I, 145–180, der

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frage eine ausführliche untersuchung gewidmet wird; *Xylographische und typographische Incunabeln der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover*, beschrieben von Eduard Bodemann, Hannover, 1866. Weigel, *Die Anfänge der Buchdruckerkunst*, vol. I, 220; II, 145; *Adelungs Magazin*, II, 3, p. 90; J. H. Hessels, *Haarlem the Birth-Place of Printing, not Mentz*, 1887.

Das *speculum* wird durch einen prolog eingeleitet, der den zweck und die anlage des buches bespricht und an dem gleichnis vom eichbaum, der abgehauen zu verschiednem gebrauch dient, zu illustriren versucht. Dem eigentlichen prolog folgt dann noch eine kurze summirung des inhalts. Die folgenden 42 kapitel erzählen dann die geschichte der schöpfung des menschen, des falls, sowie das leiden Christi bis zu den ereignissen nach dem gericht. Und zwar wird von kap. 3 ab jedes kapitel in vier abschnitte geteilt. Der erste bespricht ein begebnis des neuen testaments, mit dem dann drei ereignisse des alten testaments oder auch der profangeschichte in verbindung gebracht werden, als anzeichen oder prophezeihung dessen, was später zu Christi zeiten kommen solle. Ein beispiel aus dem inhaltsverzeichniss des berliner codex qrt. 1246 möge das illustriren; dort heisst es fol. 7a: 'In dem 29 cp. wirt gesagt wie christus den tufel vberwant; vnd daz het vns vilnt der starke bananias vor beziechnet, der zu dem lowen gieng ab in sin cisternen vnd strakt in dar nider mit sinem stab vnd er tod in. Vnd daz ist vns och vorbeziechnet bi sampson, da er den lowen zerzart, vnd bi ayoch, der den kunig aglon den aller weisesten durch stach mit sinem swert.' Die letzten drei kapitel handeln von den leiden Christi, den sieben leiden und freuden Mariae, ohne typus und antitypus. Sämtliche kapitel sind nun mit bildern geziert, und zwar ist jeder typus und antitypus durch je ein bild vertreten; kapitel 43 bis 45 haben je die doppelte anzahl, also acht bilder, was für den vollständigen codex die zahl von 192 illustrationen ergiebt.

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Nach Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen kunst*, p. 151 seq., und Guichard, *Notice sur le speculum humanae salvationis*, p. 9 seq., zählt Poppe (p. 70) sieben entlehnungen aus der profangeschichte auf. Hinzuzufügen ist noch das beispiel vom straus (*strucio liberavit pullum suum de vitro per sanguinem vermiculi*, kap. 28, IV) zu stellen, das jedenfalls aus einem *physiologus* stammt. Die kremsmünster handschrift citirt die *historia scholastica;* der berliner quarto 1246 bezieht sich auf die bücher Salomonis.

Über den verfasser des *speculum* ist bis jetzt irgendwie zuverlässiges nicht bekannt; auch sind die verschiedenen lateinischen handschriften noch nicht auf ihren inhalt genauer untersucht. Es wäre immerhin möglich, dass verschiedene autoren oder überarbeiter daran tätig gewesen sind, sodass die divergirenden deutschen redactionen auf bestimmte lateinische originale zurückgingen. Ebenso wenig steht über die zeit etwas fest. Man hat die entstehung in den anfang des vierzehnten jahrhunderts verlegt; gewöhnlich wird das jahr 1324 nach den zwei lateinischen handschriften der arsenalbibliothek und der nationalbibliothek in Paris als entstehungszeit angegeben. Erwähnt werden von den schreibern als quellen Jacobus de Voragine, Petrus Comestor und Franciscus von Assisi; das datum der *historia scholastica* wäre demnach der *terminus a quo*.

Das *speculum* fand bald die weiteste verbreitung, zunächst in Deutschland, später auch in andern ländern. Das in leoninischen reimen abgefasste gedicht wurde wahrscheinlich gegen ende des vierzehnten jahrhunderts in prosa aufgelöst. Die älteste, genau datirbare handschrift auf deutschem boden ist der münchener codex num. 33, aus dem jahre 1356; auch die wiener bibliothek besitzt vier manuscripte aus diesem jahrhundert (nos. 883, 1311, 1636, 3352). Im ganzen zählt Poppe 85 handschriften auf, von denen mehrere nur fragmente sind. Ihre zahl ist—wie der verfasser auch bemerkt—bedeutend grösser, da sich die zusammenstellung nur auf

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die gedruckten handschriftenkataloge bezieht. Ich habe mir noch die folgenden lateinischen codices angemerkt:

Wigan, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, lat. 27, pergament, XIV saec., speculum h. s. in versen; die handschrift gehörte nach der buchmarke früher Volprecht von Schwalbach, Statthalter der Boley Francken, Commenthur zu Ellingen vnd Nurmberg, Teutsch Ordens; *cf.* Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, Erlangen, 1896, p. 189, anm.

Karlsruhe, handschrift St. Blasien 78, dat. 1440; in versen.

Bodleiana, coll. Francis Douce, ein lat. ms. mit 184 bildern, cf. Sotheby, *loc. cit.*, I, 145 seq.

Wolfenbüttel, helmstädter handschrift 588, quarto, fol. 100–164 (1454–58?).[1] Sie ist mit den beiden andern von Poppe erwähnten gleichlautend, ebenfalls in prosa und ohne illustrationen. Zu korrigiren wäre Poppes notiz dahin, dass cod. helm. 291 den text des *speculum* erst auf blatt 126b beginnt. Unter den ms. germ. der königlichen bibliothek zu Berlin befindet sich eine handschrift, die den lateinischen versifizirten *speculum* nebst deutscher prosaübersetzung enthält. Dergleichen doppelausgaben finden sich häufiger; cod. 5893, sowie 7450, der münchener bibliothek gehören zu dieser klasse, wie wir später genauer sehen werden. Ich bespreche die handschrift an dieser stelle. Ms. germ. quarto 1246; wasserzeichen: an drei bändern hängendes horn, und zwei andere damit wechselnd; 224 blätter zu 22 x 15 cm.; einspaltig von einer hand geschrieben und von derselben hand rubrizirt, XV jahrhundert.

Bl. 1a: 'Incipit prohemium cuius nomen intytulatur speculum humanae salvationis. . . . Hie vahet an ein vorlauf eins busches einer nuwen zesamen legung, des nam vnd vber gescrift ist genemp ein spiegel alles mǒnschliches geslechtes behaltung . . . . gantzes' und darauf das register über kap. 1–50, bei jedem erst lateinische verse, dann deutsche prosa; schluss: bl. 11a: 'rich sol weren.' Der rest von bl. 11a, ferner

[1] Eine ergänzung meiner notizen aus der bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel verdanke ich der güte des herrn dr. G. Milchsack.

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bl. 11b und 12a, sind leer.—Bl. 12b, einleitung: 'Ad justiciam qui erudiunt multos fulgebunt. . . . Welche vil lut vnder wisend zu der gerechtigheit . . . . da von han ich gedacht ze samen legen dis buch zv einer anwisung vil luttes dar an ovch die lesenden mugen in selben nemen ler vnd andren luten auch ler geben. Aber in disem gegen wertigen leben so weis ich, daz dem mǒnschen nut nuczers sie den sinen got vnd sinen sopher vnd sin eigen wesen erkennen. Vnd daz wesen mugen die gelerten haben von gescriften, aber die leigen vnd die vngelerten sollen vnder wiset werden mit legen bucheren, daz ist mit gemelde. dar vmb ze eren vnd zv vnderwisung der vngelerten so han ich betrachtet mit gottes helfe ze samen legen (bl. 134a) (Ich han betrachtet mit gottes hilf ze samen legen) ein buch den legen. daz ez aber phaffen vnd legen moge ler geben, so wil ich mich flissen dise buch mit etlichen lichten gedichten zeluchten,' etc.—Mit bl. 15b beginnt das eigentliche werk; es steht zunächst jedes kapitel lateinisch, dann folgt ihm die deutsche prosaübersetzung. Schluss: bl. 223b: *vnd an helf von im belip amen.* Auf dem innern deckel steht *Speculum humane saluacionis in latino et uulgari. antonius anneberger.*—Auf dem hinterdeckel: *Georgius Wittmansdorffer de hallis fallisem frater ordinis thewtunicorum. Johannes Weitmansdorffer de hallis frater thewtunicorum;* auf bl. 224b federproben, und hinter einem lustigen verslein der name *Johannes de Kampidona Studens erfurdensis.*

Interessant ist die handschrift besonders wegen der grösseren kapitelanzahl. So ist zunächst nach kap. 34 als kap. 35 das *symbolum Athanasii* eingeschoben. Dass dies möglicherweise vom schreiber selbst herrührt, wird durch die doppelte zählung der erwähnten abschnitte als kap. 34 wahrscheinlich gemacht, ein irrtum, der erst beim 39. kap. verbessert wird. Das letzte (45.) kapitel der vollständigen *specula* ist in dieser handschrift also das 46.; als eigentliches schlusskapitel bezeichnet es auch der schreiber in dem *proemium*, bl. 10b:

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In XLVI capitulo agitur de septem gaudiis eiusdem gloriose virginis.
Et terminantur capitula huius libelli et voluminis.
Predictum prohemium de contentis huius libri compilaui
Et propter pauperes predicatores apponere curaui,
Quot si nequunt forte totum librum comparare,
Si sciunt hystorias, possunt ex ipso prohemio predicare.

Wir haben hier ein direktes zeugnis für den zweck des speculum: Das lateinische original war ähnlich den tractaten und manualen ein studienbuch für den theologen. Noch deutlicher geht das hervor aus dem schlusspassus des *prologs*, bl. 15b: *Vnd dar vmb han ich disu merkliche ding hie her gemerkt, wand ez mich den, die in disem buch studierent, han gedacht nutz ze sin, dar vmb vb die studenten in disem buch vinden, daz su denne wissen, daz disu wise des vslegens der scrift also si vnd daz si mir daz nut verkehren.* Die pauperes predicatores konnten ihrem gedächtnis durch einsicht in den ausführlichen index zu hilfe kommen; für dieselben war jedenfalls auch die *biblia pauperum* zusammengestellt, trotz der versuchten andersdeutung des namens. Illustrationen hat der ursprüngliche lateinische *speculum* wol nicht enthalten; dieselben wurden erst hinzugefügt, als man das buch dem laien zugänglich machte. Für das neue publikum war natürlich übersetzung in die muttersprache bedingung. Parallelausgaben mögen studenten willkommen gewesen sein, wie ja auch unser codex eigentum eines studiosen gewesen ist.[1]

[1] Nachdem das obige bereits geschrieben, kam mir der artikel von professor dr. F. Falk, "Zur Entwickelung und zum Verständnis des speculum humanae salvationis" zu gesicht (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, September, 1898). Angeregt durch die bezeichnung der im monacensis num. 4523 enthaltenen *armenbibel* als *speculum*—ein, nebenbei gesagt, schon von andern gehegter verdacht—und gestützt auf die im *proemium* sich findende charakterisirung des *speculum* als 'nova compilatio,' kommt er zu dem schluss, dass das *speculum* eine nachahmung der armenbibel ist. "Diese sogenannte *Biblia pauperum* ist wesentlich dasselbe wie das *speculum h. s.*, jene ist älter als dieses, und dieses ist eine Ausdehnung jener nach rückwärts. Das *speculum* beginnt mit dem Neuen Testament, die *Biblia* mit dem Alten und

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Nach dem 46. kap. zählt der cod. 1246 folgende weitere abschnitte auf, die ich nach dem *proemium* citire:

In XLVII capitulo agitur de septem horis canonicis brevissimis.
In XLVIII capitulo agitur quomodo christus edificauit suam sanctam matrem eclesiam.
In XLVIIII capitulo agitur de bona et nobili prosapia,
Que orta est de beata anna et de virgine matre Maria.
In dem L capitel (!) agitur quomodo christus mundo horribilem finem dabit,
Et de ortu antichristi et de ipsius vita et quam diu regnum eius durabit.

Der deutsche text giebt nun nach dem 47. kap. eine reihe anderer zutaten, die der materie des *speculum* fremd sind: *Die sieben gaben des heiligen geistes, die sieben sacramente, die 6 werk der erbermde, die 8 seligkeiten, 5 sinne, van zwifaltiger geselschaft, die 2 strassen, von dem weg der Bosen, du samenung der bosen* (!), etc., etc. Man sieht, der schreiber geht seinen eigenen weg. Es war bereits Poppe aufgefallen, dass das typus und antitypusschema mit kap. 42 wegfällt; von hier ab schwinden entweder die illustrationen oder werden in den sogenannten vollständigen *speculis* auf die doppelte anzahl erhöht. Der jenenser codex bringt anstatt der letzten drei kapitel ein gedicht über die fünfzehn zeichen vor dem jüngsten gericht, ein gegenstand, der im mittelalter häufig behandelt ist und sich auch neben andern in der helmstädter handschrift 332, fol. 113–114 befindet. Es unterliegt kaum einem zweifel, dass das *speculum* in seiner ursprünglichen fassung mit kap. 42 abschloss. Spätere bearbeiter fügten drei fernere abschnitte hinzu, denen dann aus erbauungs- und gebetbüchern weitere zusätze sich anschlossen.

Wenden wir uns nunmehr den deutschen handschriften zu. Von einfachen prosaversionen verzeichnet Poppe zwölf, acht

schreitet fort bis zum Neuen, dasselbe einschliessend; Variationen sind da, aber unwesentlich, sie dürfen die gesamtauffassung nicht stören." Der verfasser hat meiner ansicht nach damit das richtige getroffen.

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davon sollen sich in der münchener bibliothek befinden. In den *wiener sitzungsberichten*, bd. 88, p. 809, spricht Schönbach von sieben münchener übersetzungen in deutscher prosa. Beide angaben bedürfen der berichtigung. Es existiren in München zehn handschriften. Cgm. 252 ist von Poppe übersehen; zu cgm. 1126 bemerkt er: "Diese Hs. ist a. a. O. verzeichnet als gereimte deutsche Übersetzung. Das ist sie aber nicht; vielmehr enthält sie nur den lateinischen text in den bekannten gereimten Versen und eine deutsche Übersetzung in Prosa. Die Angabe im Kataloge ist also danach zu berichtigen." Trotzdem führt er sie unter no. 103 unter den gereimten versionen auf! Die von ihm registrirten münchener codices num. 5893 und 7450 gehören zu den *latini*, die das werk auch deutsch enthalten, ersterer nur als bruchstück. So erklärt sich auch der irrtum Schönbachs.

Unter den bearbeitungen in versen erwähnt Poppe (no. 108 und 109) zwei wolfenbüttler codices; "die erste ist eine papierhandschrift des XV jh., 47 Bl. mit schwach illuminierten Federzeichnungen; die andere, ebenfalls mit Federzeichnungen des XV. Jh., findet sich unter den Blankenburger Hss." Er stützt sich dabei auf die angaben Schönemanns (*Zweites und drittes Hundert Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzog. Bibl. zu Wolfenbüttel*, p. 34). Die erste von Schönemann genannte handschrift ist heute l. 12 Aug. fol. (vergl. den *wolfenbüttler handschriftenkatalog*, II, bd. 1, no. 1622). Diese handschrift ist aber in prosa und ganz verschieden von der andern (blankenb. 127a), sowohl im text als in den bildern. Geffckens *bilderkatechismus*, auf den sich der verfasser gleichfalls beruft, handelt sp. 176 nicht vom *spiegel der menschlichen seligkeit*, sondern von stücken des *katechismus*. Der blankenburger codex wird dort wegen des zweiten in ihm enthaltenen stückes (bl. 78–86b, *lob der messe*) angeführt, aus dem einige verse abgedruckt werden.

Schönbach bemerkt (*a. a. o.*, p. 809), dass die hofbibliothek zu Wien neben der versifizirten auch eine prosafassung des *speculum* aus dem fünfzehnten jahrhundert bewahre. In

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meinen excerpten finde ich keine notiz darüber und muss mich mit diesem hinweis bescheiden.

Von den poetischen bearbeitungen hält Poppe die mitteldeutschen für die ältesten; dafür spricht jedenfalls das hohe alter der handschriften, von denen die karlsruher aus der mitte des vierzehnten jahrhunderts stammt, während die jenenser gegen ende desselben geschrieben wurde. Dazu käme noch die später zu nennende berliner handschrift, die ebenfalls in diese periode gehört. Auch der engere anschluss an das original deutet auf früheren ursprung. Freier wurde das *speculum* benutzt von Konrad von Helmsdorf, dessen werk, um das jahr 1400 entstanden, in einem st. galler fragment auf uns gekommen ist. Ungefähr um dieselbe zeit verfasste auch Andreas Kurzmann, ein steiermärker mönch, seinen *heilsspiegel*, dessen 8000 verse uns ein vorauer codex überliefert hat. Im jahre 1437 vollendete Heinrich Laufenberg sein 15000 verse umfassendes gedicht; leider ist die handschrift, vielleicht von dem dichter selbst herrührend, auf immer verloren gegangen: sie wurde beim strassburger brande im jahre im 1870 mit andern bücherschätzen vernichtet.

Mit einschluss der die erweiterte fassung enthaltenden zählt Poppe zwölf handschriften auf. Er scheint sie sämtlich für hoch- resp. mitteldeutsch zu halten, wahrscheinlich verleitet durch Schönbachs bemerkung: "Es giebt auch zwei niederdeutsche gereimte Bearbeitungen, vergl. Oesterley," etc. (*a. a. o.*, p. 809). Sein verzeichnis enthält mehrere ungenauigkeiten; zudem sind, wie zu erwarten, inzwischen einige weitere handschriften ans tageslicht gezogen, so dass die bibliographie des versifizirten *heilsspiegels* zur zeit ein ganz anderes bild bietet. Ich gruppire der besseren übersicht wegen das material nach dialekten.

Die bibliographie der niederdeutschen überlieferungen hat Jellinghaus in seinem artikel über die mittelniederdeutsche literatur (Pauls *Grundriss*, II, 424) einigermassen richtig gestellt, nachdem sich falsche und unzulängliche angaben lange

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zeit durch die literaturgeschichtsbücher geschleppt hatten. Wir besitzen folgende niederdeutsche manuscripte:

I. Älteste handschrift in Kopenhagen, aus dem vierzehnten jahrhundert; nach Jellinghaus ins niederländische schimmernd. Probe bei Nyerup, *Symbolae ad literaturam teutonicam antiquiorem*, Havniae, 1787, p. 446–452; abgedruckt davon ist die *praefatio* und ein teil des ersten kapitels von Oesterley, *Niederdeutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*, p. 49–51.

II. Handschrift der alten handschriftensammlung der königlichen bibliothek zu Kopenhagen, No. 17, fol., bl. 1–82a, vierzehntes jahrhundert.

III. Königliche bibliothek zu Kopenhagen; fünfzehntes jahrhundert. Probe bei Nyerup, *l. c.*, p. 454–459; die danach bei Oesterley veröffentlichte stelle (p. 52) ist ein teil des 34. kapitels. Jellinghaus entdeckt in ihr bedeutende abweichungen von den andern versionen.

IV. Wolfenbüttel-blankenburger handschrift 127a, in 2°, fünfzehntes jahrhundert. Dieser wertvolle codex, der unter anderm auch Ludolph von Suchens *Itinerarium in terram sanctam*, sowie das *leyen doctrinal* enthält, bringt bl. 2–75 den *speghel der mynsliken salichet*. Er ist mit federzeichnungen illustrirt, welche das obere drittel jeder seite einnehmen, die ersten sechs auch mit farben. Eine *praefatio* ist nicht vorhanden. Das erste kapitel beginnt folgendermassen:

Rubrum: Lucifer superabitur diabolus sit (!) dominus in celo sedes eius.

Dyt boek ys den vnghelarden luden bereyt
Vnde het eyn speghel der mynslyken salicheyt.
Dar an mach men prouen, dorch wat sacken
God den mynschen wolde maken;
Wo de mynsche vordomet wart van des duuels valszheyt
Vnde wedder salich wart van godes barmhertícheyt.
Lucifer vorhuff sik jeghen synen heylant;
Do wart he vorstot jn de helle alto hant.

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Dar vmme wolde god den mynschen schapen,
Dat he myt em den val mochte maken.
Dat hate de duuel vnde dachte in synen moet,
Wo he den mynschen bedroghe, dat dochte em goet.
He koes vt alle creaturen ene slanghe,
De hadde eyn mynschen houet vp ghericht to ganghe.
Dar in so wande de dusentlystige droghenere
Vnde sprak to deme wyue ene droghenaftighe mere.
He vorsochte dat wyff vnde nicht den man,
He vruchte dat em to kloek were vader adam.
He sochte dat wyff, dar he se alleyne vant wanderen.
Enen allene bedrucht men bat wan sulff andere!
So brochte de duuel moder euam to valle,
Dar vmme worden vordomet ore kyndere alle.
De man wart vt dem paradyse ghemacht,
bl. 3b. Rubrum: Deus fecit euam de costa Ade dormientis.
Dat wyff wart jn deme paradyse ghewracht;
Dat dede god to eren der vrowen vnde to prise, etc.

Diese kurze probe möge genügen um zu zeigen, dass die blankenburger handschrift von no. I abweicht und sich an einigen stellen eng an den wortlaut des mitteldeutschen texts anschliesst. Doch hat sie einige lesarten nur mit dem niederdeutschen (I) gemein.

V. Ms. I, 85 der königlichen bibliothek zu Hannover; papier, wasserzeichen: ochsenkopf mit stern; I + 68 bl., 20 x 14 cm., von einer hand sehr sorgfältig geschrieben, einspaltig in ca. 25 zeilen; die verszeilen sind abgesetzt; fünfzehntes jahrh. Jedes kapitel füllt, wie bei den meisten handschriften, vier seiten und beginnt mit roter initiale. Einband: holzdeckel mit rücken von rotem leder, der innendeckel mit beschriebenem pergament beklebt (bruchstück einer lateinischen grammatik). Auf bl. 67b unten rot: *Si quis inuenit alberto hertogen reddere debet.*

Die *praefatio* fehlt; bl. 1a beginnt mit dem ersten kapitel. Von den 45 kapiteln fehlen die folgenden: 14, 15, 35, 36,

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37, 38, sowie alles nach 40. Da Poppe das 25. kapitel nach der mitteldeutschen karlsruher handschrift, mit den varianten der jenenser, als textprobe veröffentlicht hat, so gebe ich hier denselben abschnitt nach dem hannoverschen manuscript.

bl. 45a. Rot: Iudei deriserunt christum in cruce veritas.

WI hebben gehort, wu vse ihesus cryst
Van den bosen joden ghedodet ist.
Dar en noghede den bosen mordern [nicht] an,
Se wolden on na synem dode to spotte han.
Dat was ok vor bewyset wol
An konige dauites wyue nycol.
Dauid sprak vnd harpede gode to eren;
Dat wolde om sin ffrowe nycol vorkeren.
Se sach dorch eyn venster vnd belachede oren man;
Dar en noghede or noch nicht an
Se bespottede on noch dar nach
Mit smeliken worden vnd sprach,
Dat he hedde spelet nicht erlik,
He hedde dan eynem bouen gelik.
By nycol de jodesschop bewyset ist
Vnd by dauite vse here ihesus crist.
De harpe,[1] dar he vppe sangk,
Dat iis sin cruce breyt vnd langk,
Dar vp on de joden ut breyden
Vnd reckeden on alz eyne seyden.
Do sangk he eynen vtermaten soten sangk,
De bouen an dem ouersten trone klangk.
He wenede vnd rep myt luder stympne
Vnd bat vor vse sunde dar jnne.
He sangk ok ghar soter wiis

bl. 45b. Rot: Nicol derisit regem dauid psallentem in citara prima figura.

[1] MS. *He harpede.*

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Do he dem scheker louede den paradiis
Vnd do he johanse gaff sine moder,
Dat he scholde sin ore sone vnd hoyder.
Dat was ok gare eyn sote sangk,
Do he an dem cruce esschede den drangk,
Wen om dorstede na vser salicheyt;
Vnse vorderffnysse was om van herten leyt.
De sangk was allerbest,
Do he sprak: consumatum est.
Et iis nu allent vullenbracht,
Dat myn vader hadde gedacht
Vnd wat he van my hebben wolde,
Dat ek vor den mynsschen lyden scholde.
Mit dessem soyten sange vnd martir vil
Hadden de joden ghe noch ore spil.
Dar en nughede on nicht an;
Se wolden on ok to spotte han,
Do he al rede was dot;
Se bespotteden on smeliken ane nod.
Dat was ok vor bewyset an dem schonen absolon;
Men vyn bescreuen also dar von,
Dat he an eyner eke hingk
Vnd van joab dre sper sin herte vntffyngk.
Dar genoghede dem knecht nicht an,
Se wolden on ok myt den swerden slan.
By absolon is betekent crist,

bl. 46a. Rot: Absolon pulcherrimus confessus in arborem confixus tribus sagittis.

De ju de schoneste was vnd ist.
De hadde an synem herten dre sper,
Dat was drygerhande herte swer.
Dat erste was van sines sulues pyn,
Dat ander van der droffnisse der moder sin,
Dat drytte was vmme de to der helle komen,

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Den sin bytter [pin] nicht scholde vromen.
Dar genoghede den joden nicht an,
Se wolden on noch mer to spotte han,
Do se on nach synem dode dorch steken
Vnd menych sundich wort vp on spreken.
Dat sulue don se hute
Vsem leuen heren alle lute,
De motwillens sundeghen weder got
Vnd vorsman ores schippers ghebot,
De lude cruseghen vsen leuen heren anderweit
Vnd vor nyghen om sin herteleyt.
De lude sint ok vore bewyset,
Alz men van eynem konige lyset,
Embuerodach (!) was sin nam;
De to hau sines vader licham
An dre hundrert partenyn
Vnd gaff ed eten den ghirin.
Also don vele bose cristen[1] lude

bl. 46b. Rot: Dux emmedorach corpus patris secuit in 300 partes dans volucribus.

Orem hymelschen vader hude,
Wen se vorsman sin ghebot
Vnd sundeghen ieghen om sunder nod.
Dyt deyt om wers, de on vorsmat in dem hymelrike,
Wen de on doden vp dem ertryke.
We sek ffrowet vnd romet siner sunde,
De vornyget vnsem heren sine wunde.
De lude beyden vsem heren schimp vnd spot,
De gud don dorch ydel ere vnd nicht dorch got.
De lude halsvlecken vsen heren,
De andern lude achter kosen vnd vneren.
De lude slan god an syne wangen,
De vp ander lude vnder or oghen reden schande.

[1] MS. *cristen bose.*

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De lude schengken cristo gallen drangk vnd myrren,
De van vnrechtem gude almesen gheuen dorren.
De coplude willen gode de oghen vorbynden,
De vngheue gud witliken kunnen gewynnen.
De man dorch drucket cristo myt dornen dat houet,
De kerken vnd godeshus berouet.
Dem vor reder judas is ghelik de man,
De myt houet sunden to godes dissche darn gan.
De lude bespigen dat antlat vses heren,
De on vmme sine gaue nicht louen vnd eren.
O sote ihesu, help vns, dat we dy beyden alsolke ere,
Dat wy van dy gescheyden werden numbermere.

Dass die sprache des originals nicht niederdeutsch ist, zeigen die reime. Anführen liessen sich folgende formen: *han* : *an* (v. 4, 42, 60) versus *hebben* ausser dem reime; *von* : *absolon* (v. 46), während sonst *van* die regelmässige form ist; *ist* : *crist* (v. 2, 52); *sprach* : *nach* (v. 12); *och* : *toch* (bl. 1b). Verdächtiger sind *hute* : *lute* (v. 63; cf. 75!), sowie das ebenfalls aus dem original mechanisch herübergenommene *drytte* (v. 57). Wir haben aber noch einen weiteren beweis für die abhängigkeit von einem mitteldeutschen original: der später ausführlich zu behandelnde berliner codex fol. 245 übergeht dieselben kapitel.

VI. Ms. I 84a, ebenfalls der königlichen bibliothek zu Hannover gehörig; papier, 497 bl., 31 x 21 cm., bl. 1–165a zweispaltig; drei hände, die bl. 1, 14b und 169 beginnen; rot rubrizirt; holzband mit gestempeltem leder. Bl. 340b: *Expliciunt quinque liberi* (!) *Moysi sub anno domini MCCCCLXXVJ.*

Aus dem reichen inhalt hebe ich hervor: bl. 1–168b, *Der zelen trost;* bl. 410a–417a, *Hir na heuet an sik wo de sele stridet mit dem licham;* bl. 426a–440a, *Incipit sibilla;* bl. 440b–464b, eine *dorotheen, katherinen* und *margarethenlegende.* Der rest enthält *sermones, exempla, recepte* und dergl. Das *speculum* findet sich auf bl. 363b–410a. Die verse sind fortlaufend wie prosa geschrieben; im allgemeinen bietet die handschrift

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denselben text, wie die vorhergehende, mit auslassung der selben kapitel; doch finden sich kleine abweichungen. Die überlieferung ist sehr fehlerhaft. Nach einer notiz auf dem inneren vorderdeckel gehörte das buch dem kloster Marienstuhl (bei Egeln).

Die beiden ihm bekannten mitteldeutschen bearbeitungen hat Poppe untersucht; es sind dies die codices in Jena und Karlsruhe. Erwähnt aber nicht mitgezählt, da er auf eine anfrage hin auf der grossherzoglichen bibliothek trotz der eifrigsten nachforschungen nicht gefunden werden konnte, wird ein darmstadter codex[1] des fünfzehnten jahrhunderts (1436). In Haupts *altdeutsche Blätter*, I, 380, wird die handschrift kurz beschrieben; nach den dort angegebenen einleitungsversen ist der spiegel mittelfränkischer herkunft.

Ein weiteres exemplar ist inzwischen von Keuffer auf der stadtbibliothek zu Trier entdeckt worden; er giebt darüber nachricht im *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IX, 235. Fälschlich wird der spiegel Heinrich von Laufenberg zugeschrieben; es handelt sich in wahrheit um eine übersetzung des lateinischen originals. Allerdings ist mit dem inhalt ziemlich frei geschaltet, wie aus Keuffers beschreibung, die jedoch auf falschen praemissen beruht, hervorleuchtet. "Dabei, so äussert er sich, folgt nicht regelmässig einem Bild des neuen Testaments ein solches des alten, sondern beiderlei Arten flechten sich zwanglos ineinander; so zwar dass der Prototyp vorausgehen und die Erfüllung folgen kann und umgekehrt. Manchmal treten 2 bis 3 Vorbilder zu demselben Stoffe hintereinander auf. Es sind im ganzen 96 Bilder und Vorbilder, fol. 2′–26." Welche kapitel das *speculum* birgt, wird nicht angegeben; nach der kurzen probe beginnt er mit dem ersten kapitel und ist ebenfalls mittelfränkischen ursprungs.

[1] Es ist um so mehr zu bedauern, dass dieses manuscript verloren gegangen zu sein scheint, als der zweite teil eine niederdeutsche übersetzung des gewöhnlich Jan de Clerk zugeschriebenen *dietsche doctrinale* ist. Von dieser übersetzung existirt sonst nur eine kopie in der blankenburger handschrift 127a! Da einer meiner schüler z. z. an diesem thema arbeitet, werden weitere nachforschungen nach diesem manuscript angestellt werden.

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Weiteres material habe ich auf der berliner königlichen bibliothek gefunden. Im sommer 1896 machte mich dr. W. Seelmann auf eine im handschriftlichen katalog als niederdeutsch aufgeführte *magdalenenlegende* aufmerksam,[1] deren sprache vielleicht mitteldeutsch sei. Der augenschein lehrte, dass Seelmanns vermutung richtig war. Der codex enthält nun in seinem ersten teile einen heilsspiegel, der gleichfalls als niederdeutsch bezeichnet war, jedoch dem mitteldeutschen sprachgebiet angehört. Ich gebe hier eine kurze beschreibung.

Ms. germ., fol. 245. Starkes papier (wasserzeichen: zwei gekreuzte schlüssel; lamm mit fahne in einem kreise), 122 bl. 40 x 27½ cm., einspaltig, in wechselnder schrift, aber wahrscheinlich von einem schreiber geschrieben, fünfzehntes jahrhundert.[2] Jede zeile beginnt mit grossem, rot durchstrichenem buchstaben. Auf bl. 1a und 71a grosse blau und rote initialen; alle übrigen initialen (je zwei zeilen hoch), sowie die überschriften sind rot. Bl. 1a–70a auf jeder seite oben ein bild (schwarze zeichnung, kolorirt), in dem abschnitt 71–122 sind 34 ebensolche bilder.

Bl. 1a: *Speculum humanae salvationis* in deutschen versen.— Bl. 71a: *Legende der heiligen Maria Magdalena* in deutschen versen.

Auf einem vorgehefteten pergamentstreifen steht (15. jh.): *Item Dyt boich iss gehoerende zo steynuelt ynt cloester jnd Nyss kelner dess cloesters geweest iss, vnd broeder symon schrijnmecher ind eyn conuers broeder geweest iss ym seluen cloester vu (rsc?= vurscreuen?) vnd hant dyt boich langh jairen vnder yn beiden gehat geleesen ind wael verwart hant. got haue loff ind ere. Jhesus Maria Potentinus.*

[1] Diese handschrift ist die einzige bis jetzt bekannte, anscheinend vollständige fassung in mitteldeutscher sprache. Ein fragment von 132 versen wurde von Steinmeyer in *ZfdA.*, XIX, 159 veröffentlicht und von Zupitza in *AfdA.*, VI, 111 identifizirt. Die überlieferung der berliner version ist sehr fehlerhaft und ohne weitgehendste konjekturalkritik kaum lesbar; sie wird in einer vom verfasser vorbereiteten ausgabe der deutschen magdalenenlegenden ihre stelle finden.

[2] Der berliner katalog setzt das 14. jh. an.

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Auf bl. 1a steht eine ältere bibliothekssignatur (17/18 jh.): *Loc. 223tius N. 7mo;* auf der rückseite des streifens, anscheinend von derselben hand: *Joannes Paulus Baster.*— Alter holzband mit braunem, gestempeltem lederüberzug, ehemals mit messingbuckeln und zwei schliessen.

Von dem inhalte des vollständigen werks bringt das berliner manuscript das folgende: Prolog; er bricht auf bl. 2b mitten in der erzählung von Simson ab, wahrscheinlich weil der text fast wörtlich auf bl. 61a (kap. 32, 11) wiederkehrt. Von den kapiteln hat er dieselbe auswahl wie die beiden niederdeutschen handschriften aus Hannover. Es fehlen also zuvörderst kap. 14 und 15; da das erstere als typus die Maria Magdalena aufweist (*Maria Magdalena egit penitentiam lacrimans lavans et crinibus tegens pedes domini*), so schien mir vor einsicht in die andern handschriften der grund ziemlich sicher: der schreiber liess mit rücksicht auf die noch folgende legende die erzählung von der grossen sünderin aus und überschlug dabei gleich aus versehen das nächste kapitel, was bei der oft unterbliebenen numerirung wol nicht unwahrscheinlich ist. Ich möchte jetzt diese erklärung für das original der codices, denen diese abschnitte fehlen, aufrecht erhalten. Es scheint mir die annahme, dass eine ältere handschrift ausser dem *speculum* noch die *magdalenenlegende* enthielt, dafür aber auf kap. 14 verzichtete und, wie vermutet, auch das folgende kapitel ausliess, die wahrscheinlichste lösung der frage zu bieten. Ein ähnlicher grund lässt sich auch für die weglassung der andern kapitel geltend machen; es sind dies kap. 35–38 incl., sämtlich die jungfrau Maria betreffend, wie aus den überschriften der kapitel zu ersehen ist: '*Conversatio beatae virginis post ascensionem domini;— Cristus rex celorum assumpsit Mariam in celum;—Maria mediatrix nostra placat iram Dei contra nos;—Maria est nostra defensatrix et protectrix.*' Das original dieser verkürzten spiegel mag eine die jungfrau Maria betreffende hymnen- oder gebetsammlung enthalten haben, wie solche im mittelalter in unzahl vorhanden war. Ein ansatz dazu

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findet sich schon in kap. 44 und 45 nach unserer früher begründeten auffassung. Die *septem tristitia* und *gaudia*, sowie die *horen* passen kaum in den ramen des *speculum*, sie sind erst später zu kapiteln geworden.

Kapitel 40 (*extremum judicium*) beschliesst das ganze.

Ich gebe hier als probe den prolog, den anfang des ersten kapitels, sowie das 25. kap. vollständig.

bl. 1a. Dit buch ist der paffheit wol bekant,
Speculum humane saluacionis ist iz genant.

Hie hebet sich an des buches prologus,
Das ist eyn vorrede vnd bedudet alsus:
'Qui ad iusticiam erudiunt multos
Fulgebunt quasi stelle in perpetuas eternitates.
Wer vil lude leret die gerechtekeit,
Der luchtet als die sonne der ewekeit.'
Dar vmb wil ich machen eyn buch zu duden,
Dar vsz man leren mag die lude.
Daz ist des menschen notz uber alle wyszheit,
Daz er got bekenne vnd sin eygen krangheit.
Disz bekentenisz hant die phaffen vsz der schrifft
Genomen; da(s) dis den leyhen zu swere ist,
Den wil ich machen eyn lere buchelin
Das sal mit bilden intworffen sin.
Do wil ich bedudunge schriben mit der schrifft;
Des biden ich dich zu helffe, herre ihesu christ.
Eyn lerer sal die schrifft nit me usz geben,
Want yme noch der redde der czijt komet eben.
Daz ander sal er vnder wegen laszen,
Das sin lere icht werde virdroszen.
Das ir diese rede destabaz moget virstan,
So wil ich uch eyn glichenisze vorsan.
In eyner aptie eyn grosze eyche stunt,
Die sulde man abe hauwen vnd machen runt.
Da quamen die amptlude gegangen,

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Eyniegelicher[1] wolde sin deyl do von intphangen.
Der smyde meyster den vnderstam vsz kousz
bl. 1b. Dar uff fast er syn ambesz.
Der schuchmeister liesz dy rynnen ab schelen,
Da von macht er lowe zu synen fellen.
Der swein meister lasz zu hauff dy eichelin,[2]
Da myde wolde er mesten dy swein.
Der zymerman den rechten balcken nam,
Der ym zu syme buwe eben qwam.
Der schiffman daz krum holtz usz suchte,
Daz yn zu dem schiffe eben duchte.
Der mollen[3] meister daz krum holcz vsz suchte,
Daz yn zu der sclyp schyben eben duchte.
Der back meister hiesz die czwige zu hauff lesen,
Die yn zu backen duchte gut wesen.
Der kirch meister dy grunen bleder abe brach,
Da midde er dy kirchen ynwendig bestach.
Der schryber[4] lasz usz dy eich eppelin,
Dy ym zu syner dinten solden eben sin.
Der kelner daz bodem holcz zu ym nam,
Daz ym zu synen fassen eben qwam.
Zu lest qwam der bademeister[5] myt syme wagen
Vnd furt dy spene alle zu samen.[6]
Ein yeclicher amptmain syn deyl usz laz,
Daz ym zu sym ampt eben waz.
Ein ieclicher lerer sal haben dy wyse;
Der sich an nucz vnd[7] ere wyl prysen,
Der sal van der schrylfft daz wort usz lesen,
Daz ym kompt zu syner lere eben,
Vff daz syn lere nit werde droszam.
Heldet ir daz, so wirt syn lere eben.

[1] *ie* als *ei* später hinzugesetzt.
[2] *i* aus *e* korrigirt.
[3] *n* aus *r* korrigirt.
[4] *schreiber* ausgestrichen.
[5] aus *balckmeister* geändert.
[6] hiernach gestrichen: *Eyn ieclicher meyster sal haben dy wyse.*
[7] *vnd* über der zeile zugefügt.

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bl. 2a. Ir sollet auch wissen, daz dy heylyge schryfft
By weichem waz beczeichent ist,
Daz so gedan bilde an im[1] inphehet,
Dy in dem ingesygel geschriben stent,
By wilin einen arin, by wylen eynen leben.
Sa plecht man dy schrifft vsz zu legen.
Eyn dyng beczeichent by den wylen vnsern schopper,[2]
Daz auch vnder wylen bedudet luczefer.
Da dauid gude werck beginck vnd behilt dy gebot,
Da beczeichent er[3] vnsern herren got;
Da er aber eyn morder vnd vor reder waz,
Da beczeichent er den bosen sathanas.
Auch wyssent, daz vnser herre ihesus christ[4]
Auch etwan by eym bosen menschen beczeichent ist,
Vnd by des menschen myssedat,
Der er so vil an ym hait.
Absolan hatte vil boser list,
Doch waz by ym beczeichent crist.
Absolon ist der schonste gewesen,
Von dem wir in der schrifft lesen.
Wir lesen, daz er an eyme baume[5] hing,
Da ane[6] er synen dot enphing.
Also ist vnser her ihesus crist
Der schonste gewesen vnd noch ist,
Vnd starp hangende an dem baum.
Wir horen eyn ander glichenisz von samson.
Sampson qwam in siner vinde stad
Vnd slieff by eyme wybe dy nacht.
Syn vinde sloszen dy porten zu
bl. 2b. Vnd wolden yn[7] doden des morges fru.
Zu mytter nacht stunt er uff von sloffe,
Als man her nach findet dy rechte mase.

[1] über der zeile zugefügt.
[2] *Dazselbe beczeichent vnsern schopper* gestrichen.
[3] über der zeile. [5] *baume vel aste* später über die zeile gesetzt.
[4] später zugefügt. [6] das *e* von späterer hand. [7] MS. ursprünglich *in*.

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Kap. 1.

Dysz buch ist gelorten luden bereit,
Es heiszet spygel menschlicher selikeit.
Hy mag man pruffen, durch waz sachen
Got den menschen wolde machen;
Wy er verdumet waz von des dufels falscheit
Vnd wart selig von gotes barmherczikeit.
Luczifer erhup sich gein got sym heylant
Vnd wart gestoszen in daz apt grunde zu hant.
Dar vmb wolde got den menschen schaffen
Vnd mit ym den val wyder machen.
Daz hassete der vint in synem mudt[1]
Vnd gedochte, wy er den menschen betruge yn duchte gut.
Er erkosz usz allen creaturen ein slangen,
Der hat menschen heubet vnd plag dick zu gande.[2]
Er versuchte daz wip vnd nit den man,
Er fochte, daz zu klug wer adam.
Er versuchte isz also vil, bisz er sy fant;
Den appel gap er ir in dy hant.
Also brocht der dufel eua zu falle;
Da waren wir verdammet alle.
Der man wart vsz dem paradisze gemacht,
Daz wip wart in dem paradyse follen brocht.
Daz det got der frauwen zu pryse,
Daz er sy macht in dem paradyse.
Er machte nicht sie also von erden,
Er wolde sy von fleisch vnd von beynen lassen werden;
Nicht von den fussen, daz sy der man nicht versmehet,
Noch von dem heubet, daz sy den man icht vber gebe.

[1] verbessert aus *mude*. [2] der schreiber hatte zunächst *gende* geschrieben.

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bl. 3a. Got brach eva von adams syten;
Sy wolde werden sin genos vnd syn gesellin.
Wer daz wyp in den groszen eren blyben stan,
So hett ir der man nymer leit gethan.
Da folgete sy des tufels lere,
Des ist der manne vber sy herre.
Daz wyp glaubete dem tufel vnd nicht dem man,
Vnd der man wart von dem wybe vnderthan, etc.

Kap. 25.

bl. 46b. Wir han gehort, wy ihesus crist
Von den juden gedodet[1] ist.
Do gnuget den morderen auch nicht an,
Sy wolden in noch dem dode iren spot han.
Daz waz auch vor bewyset wol
An konig dauides wybe nicol.
Dauid sprang vnd harpete got zu eren,
Daz wolt ym sin wyp verkeren;
Sy sprach durch ein fenster vnd belachte iren man.
Da in gnugete er dannach nicht an;
Sy spotte sin auch dar noch
Mit smehen worten vnd sprach,
Er hette gespylet nicht erlich,
Er hette getan eyme buren glich.
By nicol dy judischeit betczeichent ist,
By dauid vnser her jhesus Crist.
Dy harffe, da er uff sang,
Daz ist daz krutz[2] breit vnd lang,
Dar an in dy Juden bereitten
Vnd deneten in alz man dut den seiten.
Da sang er vsz der mossen ein guden sang,
Daz iz in den obersten tron er klang.
Er weinde vnd rieff mit luder stymme
Vnd bat sin vater vor vnser sunde.

[1] MS. *godet.* [2] MS. *kurtz.*

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Er sang auch gar susse wysz,
Da er dem schecher labete daz pardysz,
Da er Johann befallich sin muter,
bl. 47a. Vnd er sin sulde ir son vnd huter.
Daz waz auch gar ein susser sang,
Da er an dem krutze hiesz den drang,
Wan in durste noch vnser selikeit
Vnd vnser betrupenisze was ym leyt.
Der sang was auch aller lest,
Da er sprach: consommatum est.
Es ist nu follen brocht,
Daz myn vater hatte (er) erdocht
Vnd waz er von [mir] haben wolde,
Daz ich vor den menschen lyden solde.
Mit dyesen suszen sengen hatten die juden ir spil
Vnd verspotten sin gnug vnd vil.
Da benuget in aber nicht an,
Sy wolden in zu spotte han;
Da er gereyde waz dot,
Sy sprochen ym gar smehe wart,
Daz vor bewyset waz an absolon;
Man findet geschriben also da von,
Daz er an einer eychen hyng
Vnd von Joab dru sper enphing.
Da gnugete den knechten nicht dar an,
Sy wolden in auch mit swerten slan.
By absolon ist beczeichent Crist,
Der ye der schonste waz vnd ist.
Der hatte in syme herczen dru sper,
Daz waz druwer hande hercze swer.
Daz erste waz von sines selbes pin,
bl. 47b. Daz ander von dem betrupenisze der muter sin;
Daz [dritte] ist, die zu der hellen sollen komen,
Den sin pin[1] nicht mochte fromen.
Da gnugete den Juden aber nicht an,

[1] MS. *phin.*

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Sy wolden in auch noch me zu spotte han,
Da sie in nach syme dode sachen
Vnd smehe wort uff in sprachen.
Daz selbe dunt auch noch lude
Vnsem lieben herren hude,
Dy mit mutwillen sundigen wyeder got
Vnd versmehen ires schappers gebot,
Dy lude cruczigen got an der weyde (!)
Vnd ir nuwen ym sin herczeleit.
Dy lude sint auch vor bewyset,
Alz man von eyme konige leset.
Euylmeradach [1] waz ein man,
Der zu hiewe synes fater licham
In dru hundert quateren
Vnd gap in zu freszen green vnd dieren.
Also dunt vil boser lude
Irem hiemelschen fater hude,
Wan sie vor smehen sin gebot
Vnd gegen in sundigen ane not.
Im dut weres, der in versmehet in hiemelrich,
Wan dy juden, die in doten uff erterich.
Wer sich rumet siner sunde,
bl. 48a. Der ernuwet vnsem herren sin wonden.
Dy lude byden vnsem herren spot,
Dy gut dun durch der werlde rum vnd nit durch got.
Dy lude halszslagen zu rucke vnsern herren,
Dy affter sprache dunt mit vneren.
Dy lude slagen vnsern herren got an synen wangen,
Dy ander lude besprechen mit schanden.
Dy lude schencken vnsem herren gallen vnd mirren,
Dy von vnrechtem gude almusen geben durren.
Dy kaufflude wollen gode dy augen verbinden,
Dy bose gut mit falsche gewynnen.
Der man durch drucket got sin heubet,
Der kirchen vnd godes huse beraubet.

[1] MS. *Eyulmeradach.*

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By judas ist geglichet der man,
Der mit heubet sunden getar zu godes leichenam gen.
Dy lude verspotten vnsern hern,
Dy ym syner gobe nit dancken vnd eren.
O Jhesus, giep, daz wir dir byden soliche ere,
Daz wir von dir numer gescheiden werden.
Nu sprechent alle samen
In godes namen amen.

Aus einer vergleichung des obigen mit den andern mitteldeutschen handschriften ergiebt sich der engere zusammenhang mit der karlsruher überlieferung. Vorlage kann sie nicht gewesen sein, da sich auch übereinstimmungen mit dem jenenser codex vorfinden. Anlehnungen an den ersteren finden sich im 25. kap., v. 7, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 34, 36, 39, 51, 58, 63, 69, 70, 72, 73, 85, 98, 99; an den letzteren in v. 2, 3, 6, 29, 32, 65, 76, 87. Mehr oder weniger genaues zusammentreffen in der diction des Ms. I 85, Hannover, und der karlsruher und jenenser handschrift verteilt sich auf folgende verse: karlsruher, v. 7, 11, 13, 14, 17, 28, 32, 34, 51, 58, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 95; jenenser, v. 2, 3, 6, 24, 27, 29, 36, 39, 56, 63, 65, 76, 85, 86, 87, 89, 93, 98, 99. Das jenenser manuscript steht mehr abseits; ihm allein fehlen auch die verse 43–50, 77, 78, 88.

Was die sprache anbelangt, so steht der berliner folio 245 dem niederdeutschen lautstande näher als die beiden erwähnten überlieferungen, für die Poppe schlesischen ursprung wahrscheinlich zu machen sucht. Unser codex ist sehr stark vom mittelfränkischen beeinflusst. Falls die auflösung der schwer lesbaren abkürzung (*'vurscreuen'*) richtig ist, entstand die handschrift in Steinfelden bei Schleiden, im ripuarischen gebiet. Interessant ist wie der schreiber zu werke ging. In der überschrift zum *prolog* kommt sein dialekt zur vollen geltung; in den mir zur verfügung stehenden excerpten findet sich kein weiterer fall eines unverschobenen *t*. Beispiele des unverschobenen *d* sind sehr zahlreich, e. g.,

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kap. 25: *dode*, v. 4, 61, *dut*, v. 20, *guden*, v. 21; *luder*, v. 23; *drang*, v. 30; *byden*, v. 83, 99; *bleder*, prol. v. 41, etc. Gegen labiale affricata sträubt sich der schreiber wenigstens in der gemination und nach liquiden, auch anlautend bleibt *p* gelegentlich, e. g., kap. 1: *plag*, v. 14; *appel*, v. 18; kap. 25: *harpete*, v. 7; *schappers*, v. 66; prol.: *porten*, v. 85; *eppelin*, v. 43; *schopper*, v. 63. Von den diphthongen ist *ie* häufig erhalten, auch gelegentlich für *i* eingetreten (cf. Weinhold, *mhd. gr.*, § 48), so z. b. kap. 24: *hiemelrich*, v. 79, *hiemelschen*, v. 76, *giep*, v. 99. Von den neuen diphthongen findet sich *ei* an vielen stellen, namentlich auf den späteren seiten. Dass dies der vorlage entstammt, geht wol aus dem verbesserten '*schreiber*' hervor (cf. *prol.*, v. 43 anm.). Interessant ist auch die form *waz* mit geschwundenem guttural (*prol.*, v. 58). Vieles andere liesse sich noch anführen, was mit sicherheit auf den westen weist; das gegebene genüge als beweis für die abschrift eines codex des fünfzehnten jahrhunderts aus dem östlicheren mitteldeutschland von mittelfränkischer hand.

Auf der berliner bibliothek befindet sich noch ein fragment, welches als quarto 574 verzeichnet ist. Es umfasst nur vier blätter, 15 x 22 cm.; auf jeder seite oben ein bild mit lateinischer unterschrift und 25 zeilen deutschem text. Die bilder sind von später hand z. t. karrikirt und mit scherzworten glossirt. Das fragment scheint früher in besitz Hoffmanns von Fallersleben gewesen zu sein; von ihm stammen noch vier blättchen nachweise zum *speculum*, die nebst einem kalender aus den jahren 1432–63 dieser nummer beigelegt sind. Soweit die literaturnachweise nicht schon bei Poppe sich finden, gebe ich sie hier der vollständigkeit halber:

Dibdin, bibliogr. decameron. I, 345;—Celsii histor. biblioth. Stockholm, p. 208, 59;—And. Sam. Gesneri progr. de speculo hum. salv. in seinen exercit. ph. varii argumenti. Nrb. 1780, 8, p. 322;—Fränkische acta erudita et curiosa, 15. sammlung, Nrb. 1729, 8, p. 256–260;—Hamburger

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vermischte biblioth., bd. 2, p. 81;—Heller, geschichte der holzschneidekunst, p. 375 seq.;—Horne's Introduction to the study of bibliography, t. 2, append., p. x seq.;—Murr's Journal, III, 10;—Meermanni orig. typogr., I, 100 seq.;—J. E. Noweitz(?), vernünftige gedanken über histor., etc., materien, Frankf. a. M., 1739, 8, p. 34–44;—Santander, dictionn., III, 362 seq.;—Seelens abhandlung in der nova biblioth. Lübeck, vol. 1, No. 4.

Die textblätter sind nicht richtig geordnet, wie sich aus der folgenden inhaltsangabe ergiebt. Von den bildern scheinen zwei übergangen zu sein; der deutsche text bezieht sich nicht auf das darüber stehende bild.

Bl. 1a. Bild, mit der unterschrift: *Lapidem quem reprobauerunt edificantes hic factus est in caput.* Dies gehört zu kap. 32, IV; den text bildet kap. 32, II, und entspricht dem berliner codex fol. 245, bl. 61a.

Bl. 1b. Bild mit unterschrift: *Jonas fuit in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus* = kap. 32, III; text: kap. 32, I = fol. 245, bl. 60b.

Bl. 2a. Bild: *Hic regina interficit regem abimelech* = kap. 38, III; text: kap. 38, I; im berliner fol. nicht vorhanden, wie auch die andern teile des kap. 38.

Bl. 2b. Bild: *Rex saul misit seruos ad interficiendum dauid* = kap. 38, IV; text: nach der karlsruher überlieferung sollte der inhalt sich auf die überschrift *moyses belegete di stat sabba alumme* beziehen. Der berliner quarto 1246 giebt als inhalt des 39. kap. folgendes an: '*In dem 39 c. wirt gelert wie Maria vnser behutterin ist von dem zorn gottes vnd von den striken des tufels vnd von der akust der welt vnd von der anvechtigung vnsers vleses behut su vns. das erst ist offenbar durch die frowen tharbis du die stat saba behub vor moysi,*' etc. Diese erzählung wird aber hier mit dem vorhergehenden abschnitt verbunden und sehr kurz abgetan, an seine stelle tritt eine lang ausgesponnene aufzählung von des teufels anfechtungen.

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Bl. 3a. Bild: *Cristus ostendit patri volnera orans pro mundo* = kap. 39, I; text: kap. 38, III.

Bl. 3b. Bild: *Antipater ostendit volnera cesari prima figura* = kap. 39, II; text: kap. 38, IV.

Bl. 4a. Bild: *Homo abijt in regionem longinquam prima figura* = kap. 40, II; text: kap. 39, IV = fol. 245, bl. 67b.

Bl. 4b. Bild: *Extremum judicium* = kap. 40, I; text: kap. 39, III = fol. 245, bl. 67a.

Das fragment hat also nur das 38. kap. und zwar, wie es scheint, in eigener ausführung vollständig bewahrt. Von kap. 32 ist die erste hälfte, von kap. 39 die zweite hälfte überliefert. Die sprache ist mitteldeutsch und zeigt in allen fällen den neuen diphthongen; auch monophthongirung ist eingetreten. Nach sprache und schrift ist sie ans ende des fünfzehnten jahrhunderts zu verweisen, bildet also zeitlich den abschluss der soweit bekannten mitteldeutschen heilsspiegel. Ich lasse den ersten teil des 38. kap. folgen.

bl. 2a. Wir han gehort, wie maria ist vnsir sunerynne.
Nu hore wir, wie sie ist vnsir beschirmerynne.
Sie beschirmet vns vor gotis czorn vnd grymmikeit,
Vor des teufils anuechtin vnd vor der werlde valscheit.
Das vns maria beschirmet vor gotis czorn,
Das was beweiset in der aldin ee hy vorn.
Moises belegete di stat czu einer czeit,
Vnd do was nymant, der di stat hette gefreit.
Moises was ein wundir schoner man,
Den sach des koniges tachter von der mawer an;
Das werte also lange, bis sie en lip gewan.
Czu leczte lis sie eren vater di rede vorstan;
Sie sprach, sie welde sich ym gerne czu weibe gebin,
Vnd also machte man das orlew vor ebin.
Dem konige behayte der rot vnd tet also,
Di stat wart irlost vnd di gefangen fro.
Got hatte mer wenn tausunt yar
Kein desir werlide ein orlewge czwar.
Vns kunde nymant seine holde irwerbin,

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Her wolde vns allen ewiclichen vorterbin.
Czu leczte quam maria, vnsir beschirmerinne,
Vnd machte das orleuge czu sune vnd czu mynne,
Do sie den allirgeweldigen got so lip gewan,
Das her sie czu einer mutir wolde enpfan.
Also hat vns maria beschirmet vor gotis czorn.
bl. 2b. Wer das nicht geschen, wir weren alle vorlorn.
Maria beschirmet vns auch vor des teufils list,
Wenn seine bekorunge mancher hande ist.
Etliche leute bekoret her mit der hochfart,
Alzo ysabel, balthazar, holofernus bekort wart.
Mit hasse bekorte her cayn, der sein brudir irslug,
Jacobs sone vnd andir leute genug.
Mit roche bekorte her absolon vnd semey,
Sante iacob, sante iohannes, di sone zebedei.
Mit crankem glowben bekorte her moyses, den guten man.
Konig achab, achas vnd konig yerobeam.
Mit wedirstrebikeit vnd mit vngehorsam
Bekorte her datan vnd abyron, kore vnd cham.
Mit bosem rote bekorte her balaam vnd yonadab
Vnd anathophel, der kein konig dauid bosen rot gab.
Mit vntrewe bekorte her triphon vnd iudas
Vnd yoab, der ein vngetrewer morder was.
Etliche bekorte her mit morden, alz manasses,
Tyrus vnd antyochus, dooch vnd herodes.
Etliche bekorte her, das sie sich töten vnd lossen slan,
Alz iudas vnd antiophel, abimalech vnd saul han getan.
Dese bekorunge vnd manche bose list
Hat der vint, der vnsir wedirsache ist.
Adir (!) gotis muter maria, di mayt reine,
Mag vns beschirmen vor desir bekorunge algemeyne.

Ob unter den andern bei Poppe erwähnten handschriften sich noch eine mitteldeutsche befindet, vermag ich nicht

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anzugeben. In betracht kämen der prager codex num. Ia. 37 und der wiener num. 3085; nach den von Kelle im *serapeum*, XXIX, 117, mitgeteilten sprichwörtern, die sich im prager manuscript vorfinden, haben wir wol das *speculum* als oberdeutsch anzusetzen und auch der wiener codex dürfte seinem aufbewahrungsort sprachlich nahe stehen. Von der münchener bibliothek geht mir die nachricht zu, dass der cgm. 5249 (no. 44) ein bruchstück enthält von $3\frac{1}{2}$ bl. pergament in quarto, gereimt und mit bildern, aus dem fünfzehnten jahrhundert. Schönbachs bemerkung, dass er auf der leipziger universitätsbibliothek eine bearbeitung[1] in versen eingesehen habe, bezieht Poppe auf den lateinischen text; es ist aber eine deutsche version gemeint. An derselben stelle wird auch als wahrscheinlich einen *speculum* enthaltend die handschrift genannt, welche in *ZfdPh.*, IX, 108, erwähnt ist. Dieses von director Schauenburg in Paris erworbene manuscript aus dem ende des vierzehnten oder anfang des fünfzehnten jahrhunderts scheint allerdings dem inhalt des *speculum* sich stark anzuschliessen; nach der beschreibung kann man aber zweifelhaft sein, ob es sich um einen echten *speculum humanae salvationis* handelt. Schauenburg sagt darüber: "Es ist, wie verschiedene lesefehler beweisen, die abschrift eines älteren originals. Die sprache ist alemannisch. In diesem manuscript befindet sich eine ziemliche anzahl nicht ungeschickt behandelter bilder, wobei auf je einer seite neben einem bilde aus dem neuen testament immer ein entsprechendes aus dem alten steht, und so symbolisch das verhältniss des alten testaments zum neuen als ein prophetisches bezeichnet wird." Sollte dies vielleicht eine ältere 'compilatio' sein, dem später der heilsspiegel konkurrenz machte? Das manuscript wäre einer genaueren untersuchung wert.

[1] Diese handschrift war schon Hoffmann von Fallersleben bekannt, der in seinen oben genannten excerpten darüber eine notiz hinterlassen hat. "In einer handschrift der pauliner bibliothek zu Leipzig wird der verfasser Henricus de Lichtenstein genannt, siehe Freytag, anal. litt., p. 891."

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Noch zwei andere handschriften finde ich erwähnt; v. d. Hagen und Büsching, *litterarischer grundrisz zur geschichte der deutschen poesie*, p. 455, nennen ein zu Elchingen befindliches manuscript, wobei auf Adelungs *magazin*, II, 3, p. 90, verwiesen wird. Den andern verzeichnet Hoffmann von Fallersleben in seinen handschriftlichen notizen als "papierhandschrift, 1433, fol. no. 31." Ich habe ihn hiernach nicht identifiziren können.

Den berührten fragen weiter nachzuforschen oder gar auf eine filiation der überlieferungen einzugehen, sehe ich mich bei dem mangel an literarischen hilfsquellen und ausreichendem handschriftlichen material ausser stande. Hoffentlich beschäftigt sich jemand, der den quellen näher ist, bald eingehend mit diesem interessanten gegenstande.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG.

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PUBLICATIONS

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VOL. XIV, 2. NEW SERIES, VOL. VII, 2.

IV.—COLOR IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

I.

It is a somewhat singular fact that although students of our language and literature have been carefully gleaning their chosen fields and leaving scarcely any entirely new theme for investigation, there should remain practically untouched a subject of high interest and æsthetic importance,—I mean the use of color in poetry. To some extent the matter has attracted attention in the study of other literatures than ours. Critics often remark upon the brilliant color-sense of the Celtic poets and of the writers of the Old Norse sagas and poems. Gladstone devoted a long section of his *Homeric Studies* to the color-epithets in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* and a German scholar, with characteristic thoroughness, has made an exhaustive study of the color-words in the entire body of the Latin and Greek classics. But an adequate investigation of the development of the color-sense in English poetry is yet to be written. I know of but one paper that treats the matter in any detail, and that paper[1] is confessedly tentative and leaves the older periods untouched.

[1] H. Ellis, The Colour-sense in Literature, *Cont. Rev.*, LXIX, 714–730.

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As for color in Old English poetry, a few words by Professor March[1] and a few more in a very rare paper by Dr. Sweet[2] exhaust about all that has been said on the subject.

The scientific study of color has strangely lagged behind that of other natural phenomena. In fact, it is only of recent years that men of science have attempted to construct a scientifically accurate color nomenclature. Most of us have a very limited color vocabulary, and we differ hopelessly in our terminology as soon as we move away from a few sharply defined colors. There are now listed (in Biedermann's *Chemiker Kalender*) about three hundred and fifty commercial dyes, of which probably less than a twentieth could be properly named by the average person. When we consider, furthermore, that the number of shades produced by mixing is practically unlimited, and that nature proceeds in her work without much regard to the deficiencies of our vocabularies, we can understand how there may be an initial difficulty in assigning an exact value to the color-words in Old English poetry. Aelfric's *Nomina Colorum* (Wright-Wülcker's *Vocab.*, I, 163) and other glossaries aid somewhat, but the Latin equivalents have not always a settled color-value.

The remarkable fact about a great number of the Old English words that possibly are to be taken as color-words, is that they are so indefinite in their application as scarcely to permit us to decide whether a color-effect is intended or not.[3] Take for example the word *hār*, hoary or gray, or, secondarily, aged. Does the emphasis of this word when applied to persons lie upon the grayness or upon the age implied by it? The answer is by no means certain. On the

[1] *The World of Beowulf* in *Trans. of Am. Phil. Soc.* for 1882, p. xxi.

[2] H. Sweet, *Shelley's Nature Poetry*, Lond., 1888. Twenty-five copies printed.

[3] The peculiar fondness of Old English poetry for formal, conventional phrases adds an element of doubt, in many cases, as to whether the color-word is to be regarded as anything more than an epithet, without a special color-value.

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other hand, when the word is used in describing a stone or a suit of armor, a color-effect is doubtless intended—the dull mixture of black and white which we call gray. Similar questions arise in regard to the words *deorc*, *mirc*, *nīpan*, *wan(n)*, *gold*, *blōd*, and others.

To discuss all the problems that are suggested by the topic would far transcend the limits of this paper. I shall be compelled, therefore, in this preliminary discussion to leave many important matters altogether untouched, or at most merely referred to in passing. In a full discussion, the relation of each poem to its source, with a consideration of the probability of a large transfer of borrowed color-epithets, should hold a prominent place. But such an investigation, if made at all, must be made in detail, and must therefore be reserved for another occasion.

One of the first things that strike the reader of Old English poetry is the comparatively small number of genuine color-words that it contains. Some important colors do not appear at all. Blue, for example, is practically non-existent, although one instance occurs.[1] This color, by the way, has never been much used in English poetry until our own century. Yet in a single page Tennyson uses it twice, and Byron and Shelley and Browning and others find it useful. This early neglect of blue is the more remarkable, since modern psychological tests have shown that in some quarters blue heads the list of favorite colors.[2] Possibly, however, what we distinguish as blue our ancestors were content to call merely dark.[3]

[1] Ex. 476. Wæs sēo hæwene lyft heolfre geblanden.

[2] Sixty-six Columbia students, tested for preference of color, gave the following results:

blue, . .	34.9 per cent.	yellow, . .	7.5 per cent.
red, . .	22.7 "	green, . .	6.1 "
violet, .	12.1 "	white, . .	6.1 "
		no preference, . .	10.6 per cent.

Psych. Rev., 3, 635. I am indebted for this note to Dr. C. H. Judd.

[3] Cf. Ellis, *The Colour-sense in Lit.*, p. 727.

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If we take the entire body of Old English verse we find that the most frequent of the genuine simple colors is green; next comes red, and then yellow. But violet, indigo, and orange do not appear at all. These last three colors are, in fact, very slightly represented in the English poetry of any period. Violet is almost wholly used as the name of a flower; indigo is too technical a term for poetry; and orange has only now and then appeared, more perhaps in our own century than in any other. Of the mixed colors, *fealu*, *brūn*, and *hwīt* are most pronounced. These will be discussed in their proper place.

The list of Old English colors is at best a rather short one, and its meagreness is the more striking as soon as we begin to compare it with the richness of color that appears in Chaucer, or the mediæval romances, or in Shakespeare. The difference is seen not merely in the greater amount of color used by the later poets, but in the greater vividness and freshness with which the color-words are applied. Look for a moment at Chaucer's *Prologue*, which contains 858 lines. The color-words are indeed simple,—black, white, brown, blue, green, grey, pers (sky-blue), red, yellow,—but they are deliberately employed for a picturesque effect, which is enhanced by the use of comparisons, a device never used for this purpose in Old English poetry. The Frankleyne's beard is as white as a daisy; a purse is as white as morning's milk; the monk's neck is white as the fleur-de-lys. The mere mention of this lack of comparisons tells us much in a negative way with regard to the Old English use of color. The nearest approach to anything like comparison with color-words appears in the use of such compounds as *blōdfāg*, *gold-fāg*, and in the words descriptive of brightness—*heofonbeorht*, *sigelbeorht*, *sigeltorht*, *heofontorht*, *swegltorht*. It is not too much to say that after the Norman Conquest and after the contact with French literature, English poets acquired a new sense, which enabled them to see (or at least to express)

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things only dimly apprehended before. How great the difference is can be shown only by detailed comparison.

If we had authoritative tabulations of the colors used by the English poets in different periods, with a list of the objects to which the colors are applied, we should have a solid basis for generalization. This is in part supplied by the concordances to Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope, but the lists found in these books should be supplemented by a great number of others. In the lack of such tabulations I have limited my comparison mainly to Old Saxon, Old High German, and Icelandic poems, and to the Celtic poems contained in the so-called *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

The comparative lack of color in Old English poems does not necessarily mean that they are without poetic value. A lavish use of color is not necessarily an excellence. Overluxuriance is rather a token of weakness and of immature taste. The Latin poets of the decadence, such as Statius and the mediæval imitators of Ovid, are far more free with their color-phrases than is Horace or Vergil, and they try to make up for their lack of imagination by a liberal use of the paint-pot. An almost colorless poetry may have life, movement, imagination, strength, picturesqueness, but it will lack pictorial richness and be less alluring to the general taste. In Old English poetry the appeal to the senses is common enough, but some of the best passages of the *Beowulf* or *The Battle of Maldon*, though almost Homeric in life and vividness, are well-nigh destitute of color. Yet they have a vigor of conception and a depth of feeling that amply compensate for the lack of superficial glitter. A brilliant instance occurs in *Beow.*, 1896–1913, where the voyage of Beowulf is described, yet there is not a word of color in it, unless we count the phrase *flēat fāmig-heals*. There is opportunity enough in all of the poems that are not religious hymns or versified sermons for far more color than is used. The Old English mind was evidently fixed upon something else.

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II.

In marked contrast with the small number of color-words is the great variety of terms expressing light and darkness. These are in many cases used symbolically, and find their proper place in the religious poems or in passages having a religious turn. That this is still true of religious poetry may be verified by any one who will turn the leaves of a collection of modern hymns. One may almost say that the characteristic words in Old English religious poems are such terms as *beorht, lēoht, torht, sunne, scīr, scīnan,* and such as *deorc, niht, þīestre, sweart.* It is to be noted also that a large number of these words are used conventionally.

The relative frequency with which these two groups of words are used is shown by the following rough lists, which are approximately correct as far as they go. In the first list I include the words expressing light or brightness.

Beorht (with its compounds or derivatives, beorhte, beorhtian, beorhtlīc, beorhtlīce, beorhtnes, beorhtu, ælbeorht, eallbeorht, efenbeorht, goldbeorht, hēafodbeorht, heofonbeorht, hīwbeorht, rodorbeorht, sadolbeorht, sigelbeorht, sigorbeorht, sweglbeorht, wlitebeorht) is used 204 times; blīcan, 26 times; hādor, hādre, 13 times; lēoht (sb.), lēoht (adj.) (together with lēohte (adv.), lēohtbǣre, lēohtan, in-, on-lēohtan, onlȳhtan, ǣfenlēoht, fȳrlēoht, heofonlēoht, morgenlēoht), 193 times; lēoma, 33 times; līxan, 25 times; scīnan (and its compounds), 73 times; scīma, 9 times; scīr (adj.), scīre (adv.) (and compounds), 45 times; sunne, 59 times; sun-wlitig, once; scȳne (and compounds), 29 times; torht (and compounds), 88 times. These make an aggregate of 798, and still do not entirely exhaust the list of words that suggest brightness.[1]

[1] For example, more words for flame and fire might have been added, compounds like *fȳrlēoma,* kennings for *sunne,* the word *glaeshluttur* (Run. 30), the verb *glitinian,* etc. See also the discussion of the words in the "white group."

For some remarks on "verba des leuchtens, glänzens, scheinens," see Sievers, Paul and Braune's *Beiträge,* XII, 196–197.

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The total number of passages in which light or brightness is mentioned or suggested considerably exceeds 800. But if now we estimate the whole amount of extant Old English poetry at about 30,000 lines, we see that on an average we have one word suggesting light or brightness in every thirty-seven lines. When we consider that the great majority of these words occur in the religious poems, we find that the actual frequency is considerably greater.

If we turn to the words denoting or implying darkness, we find an equally striking group. As in the preceding list, there is difficulty in deciding where to draw the line of exclusion. I have, however, included such words as *sweart* and *wann*, on which, along with some others, I remark later. A great number of words of this class are used symbolically and conventionally, but I cannot take the space necessary for illustration. For the sake of brevity I present merely the base-words, and do not specify compounds.

blæc	13	niht	131	þēostre (þȳstre)	53
deorc	43	nīpan	6	wann	37
dim	15	sceadu	11		
drysmian	1	scuwa	9		
heolstor	16	swearcan	12		448
mirc	7	sweart	84		

Of course not all these words (particularly *dim* and *niht*) have a distinct color value. The most notable fact is that the words expressing light or brightness are about twice as numerous as those expressing darkness, even though we exclude such words as *dæg* and *hwīt* from the first list. The words in the second list, as well as those in the first list, occur mostly in the religious pieces.

When we take out these two groups of words, we have comparatively little color left. We may not very inaptly describe Old English religious poetry as a series of studies in black and white, or, rather, darkness and light, the darkness applying to hell and devils, and the light, to heaven and angels and saints. Blackness and darkness meant to the

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primitive Germanic mind something fearful and terrible. Light, on the other hand, was symbolic of joy and bliss.[1]

III.

Having thus cleared the ground by excluding a large number of words that are in the strictest sense colorless, we may look at the color-words proper. The simplest and, on the whole, the most satisfactory method of treatment will be to arrange the color-words in groups, and to specify the frequency with which they are used and to what objects they are applied. The list of examples is intended to be practically complete, and it contains several passages overlooked by Grein.[2]

1. WHITE. The words belonging to this group are *hwīt, blāc, blanc,* and possibly *fāmig,* and *fāmigheals.*[3] Nearly all the passages where these words are used imply something bright or shining. *Blanc* is used but three times,[4] and is

[1] Cf. Gummere, "The Use of Black and White in Germanic Tradition," *Haverford College Studies,* I, 12.

[2] Most of the abbreviations referring to O.E. poems will be recognized without further explanation. The following may need expansion:

A. = *Andreas* (Grein-Wülker).
B. = *Beow.* = *Beowulf* (Wyatt).
B. D. D. = *Be Dōmes Dæge* (E.E.T.S.).
C. and S. = *Christ and Satan* (Grein-Wülker).
Sol. = *Solomon and Saturn* (Grein).
Wyrde = *Be Manna Wyrdum.*

The texts used are as follows: Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. ags. Poesie,* I, II (except *Beow.*); Gollancz, *Exeter Book,* Part I; all others from the older Grein.

[3] If *blāt,* livid, pale, ghastly, can be counted as a color-word, it should be included in this group. Examples occur,—*A.* 1090, 1281, *Chr.* 771. Cf. *blātende nīð, Gen.* 981.

[4] *B.* 855. mēarum rīdan
beornas on blancum.
El. 1183. sē ðe foran lēdeð
brīdels on blancan.
Rid. 23:17. brōhte hwæðre
beornas ofer burnan and hyra bloncan mid.

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applied to the white, well-groomed steeds that shine in the sun. The word is the same as the mod. Ger. *blank*, bright or shining.

Blāc is merely an ablaut form of the stem of *blīcan*, to shine, and perhaps hardly means white at all. In a few cases it evidently means pale or ghastly. It is properly applied to the fire,[1] or the fire-light,[2] and even to the red flame,[3] or to the lightning,[4] or to the light of the stars.[5] Of the twenty-eight instances where the word occurs,—either alone or as part of a compound,—nearly all seem to lay emphasis on the brightness rather than on the whiteness. The word is used in describing the bright spots on the tail of the Phoenix,[6] and in referring to armor[7] or clothing. In such expressions as *blāchlēor ides*,[8] when referring to Judith, or *blācne*, when describing the ghastly face of the dead Holofernes,[9] the near-

[1] *Dan.* 246. bæron brandas on bryne blācan fyres.
[2] *B.* 1516. fȳr-lēoht gesah
blācne lēoman beorhte scīnan.
A. 1540. Him þæt engel forstōd,
sē ðā burh oferbrægd blācan līge.
Rid. 4:44. blācan līge.
Run. 16. Cēn byþ cwicera gehwām cūþ on fȳre
blāc and beorhtlīc., byrneð oftust.
[3] *Chr.* 808. blāc rāsetteð
rēcen rēada lēg
[4] *Az.* 105. wolcna genipu
and þec līexende līgetta hergen
blāce breahtum hwate
Dan. 380. *and* þec līgetu,
blāce, berhtmhwate, þā þec blētsige.
[5] *Met.* 4:8. blācum lēohte beorhte steorran
[6] *Ph.* 295. þonne is sē finta fægre gedǣled
sum brūn, sum basu, sum blācum splottum.
[7] *Ex.* 212. sǣton æfter beorgum in blācum rēafum
Rid. 11:7. brimes and bēames on blācum hrægle
[8] *Gen.* 1969. Sceolde forht monig
blāchlēor ides bifiende gān
on fremdes fæðm.
Jud. 128. blāchlēor ides
[9] *Jud.* 278. funde ðā on bedde blācne lic*gan*
his goldgifan.

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est approach is made to suggesting whiteness. But even in these there is no pure white.

Other instances of the use of *blāc*, and of the occurrence of *flōdblāc*, *heoroblāc*, *wīgblāc* and of the verb *blācian* are given below.[1]

The form *blāc* = *blāc* occurs,—*Dom.* 56, *Pan.* 26, *An.* 1264.

The word *hwīt* occurs thirty-one times, commonly with a suggestion of brightness or light, though some instances of a literal use of the epithet in the modern sense appear to be

[1] *Ex.* 109. behēold
ofer lēodwerum līge scīnan,
byrnende bēam. Blāce stōdon
ofer scēotendum scīre lēoman,
scinon scyldhrēoðan, sceado swiðredon:
neowle nihtscuwan nēah ne mihton
heolstor āhȳdan. Heofoncandel barn:

Ex. 120. Hæfde foregenga fȳrene loccas,
blāce bēamas, bēllegsan* hwēop
in þām hereþrēate, hātan līge.

El. 91. wæs sē blāca bēam bōcstafum āwriten
beorhte *and* lēohte

B. D. D. (Exon.) 66. on ful blācne bēam bunden fæste

Wyrde 41. blāc on bēame bīdeð wyrde

Almosen (Grein, II, p. 350) 6. lēg ādwæsce, þæt hē leng ne mæg
blāc byrnende burgum sceððan.

Ex. 496. sāwlum lunnon
fæste befarene, flōdblāc here

B. 2487. gūð-helm tō-glād, gomela Scylfing
hrēas [heoro-] blāc.

Ex. 204. werud wæs wīgblāc

Run. 90. Ēar [tir] byþ egle eorla gehwylcun,
ðonn fæstlīce flæsc onginneþ
hrāw cōlian, hrusan cēosan
blāc tō gebeddan blēda gedrēosaþ
wynna gewītaþ, wera geswīcaþ.

Seaf. 91. Yldo him on fareð, onsyn blācað
gomelfeax gnornað.

* *Sweet*, bælegsa.

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unquestionable. The apparently literal instances are cited below.[1]

In addition to these literal uses of the word, there are a number of cases in which *hwīt* is used to emphasize the shining of light, or of a roof, or a helmet, or a gem, or the gleam of silver.[2]

On the border between mere white and shining may be the use of *hwīt* to describe the raiment of the blessed.[3] In such cases some degree of symbolism is doubtless introduced, a symbolism as old as Christianity. Largely symbolic too must be the instances in which *hwīt* is applied to the angels

[1] *Zaubersegen*, I, 54. *and* þǣre brādan bere wæstma
and þǣre hwītan hwǣte wæstma
Brun. 62. þone hasu-pādan
earn, æftan hwīt
Ph. 297. sindon þā fiþru
hwīt hindan-weard
Rid. 16:1. Hals is mīn hwīt and hēafod fealo.
Rid. 41:98. ne hafu ic īu hēafde hwīte loccas
Chr. 1110. þā hwītan honda *and* þā hālgan fēt.
Run. 25. Hægl byþ hwītust corna; hwyrft hit of heofenes lyfte.
[2] *Gen.* 614. nū scīneð þē lēoht fore
glædlic ongēan, þæt ic from gode brōhte
hwīt of heofonum.
Gen. 1820. Abraham maðelode, geseah Egypta
hornsele hwīte *and* hēa byrig
beorhte blīcan
B. 1448. ac sē hwīta helm hafelan werede
Rid. 11:8. sume wǣron hwīte hyrste mīne.
Met. 19:22. gimmas
hwīte and rēade.
Ex. 301. Hōfon hereciste hwīte linde,
segnas on sande.
Reim. 66. græft hafað
searo hwīt solaþ, sumur hāt cōlað.
Gen. 2731. ac him hygetēonan hwītan seolfre
dēope bete.
[3] *Chr.* 447. þæt þǣr in hwītum hræglum gewerede
englas ne oðēowdun
Chr. 454. þæt hȳ in hwītum þǣr hræglum oðȳwden.
in þā æþelan tīd swā hīe eft dydon.

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who live in the light of heaven. The examples explain themselves.[1]

Fāmig, foamy, occurs nine times,[2] always in a literal sense.

[1] *Gen.* 254. Hæfde hē hine swā hwītne geworhtne;
Swā wynlic wæs his wæstm on heofonum, *þæt* him
[cōm from weroda drihtne:
Gelīc wæs hē þām lēohtum steorrum.

Gen. 349. Wæs ǣr godes engel,
hwīt on heofne, oð hine his hyge forspēon

Chr. 895. engla *and* dēofla
hwītra *and* sweartra

Gen. 265. cwæð, *þæt* his līc wǣre lēoht *and* scēne,
hwīt *and* hīowbeorht.

El. 72. þūhte him wlitescȳne on weres hāde,
hwīt *and* hīwbeorht hæleða nāthwylc.

Chr. 1017. ðonne sīo hālge gecynd
hwīt *and* heofon-beorht hēag-engla mægen.

B. D. D. 289. þǣr þǣra hwīttra hwyrfð mǣdenhēap.
blōstmum behangen.

Gen. 603. *þæt* hire þūhte hwītre heofon *and* eorðe
and eall þēos woruld wlitigre *and* geweorc godes
micel *and* mihtig.

Chr. 545. ǣr þon ūp-stige, ealles waldend,
on heofona gehyld hwīte cwōman,
eorla ēad-giefan, englas tō-gēanes.

C. and S. 200. *and* ymb *þæt* hēhsetl hwīte standað
engla fēðan *and* ēadigra.

[2] *Gen.* 1417. Fōr fāmig scip l *and* c
nihta under roderum

Met. 26:26. ferede on fifelstrēam fāmigbordan
þrīerēðre cēol.

A. 1524. fāmige walcan
mid ærdæge eorðan þehton.

El. 237. Lēton þā ofer fifelwǣg fāmige scrīðan,
bronte brimþisan.

Sol. 156. oð þæt him heortan blōd
fāmig flōdes bæð foldan gesēceð.

Rid. 4:19. fāmig winneð
wǣg wið wealle.

Rid. 4:32. fēore bifohten fǣmig rīdan
ȳða hrycgum

Gen. 1452. hwæðer fāmig sǣ
dēop þā gȳta dǣl ænigne
grēnre eorðan ofgifen hæfde.

Gen. 2213. fāmige flōdas

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Fāmig-heals,[1] foamy-necked, the beautiful epithet applied to the ship, is found three times. *Fāmig-bosma*, *fām* and *fām-gode* occur once each.[2] These words may not in the strictest sense be regarded as color-words, but they certainly suggest color, and white more definitely than any other. The examples given below are grouped according to their relations.

2. BLACK. To the black group belong *blæc*, *sweart*, *swear-tian*, *(ge)sweorcan*, *gesweorc*, *wann*, *salowigpād*, *earp*, and probably some of the other words already given in the list of terms denoting darkness. Just as the words of the white group pass by insensible stages into meanings that suggest light, so the words of the black group shade insensibly into those suggesting a mere absence of light. The indefiniteness with which words like *mirc* and *deorc* are used leaves us somewhat in doubt as to whether a color-effect is really intended. Opinions on this matter will necessarily differ, and the decision must be subjective.

Blæc is our modern black, and is used comparatively seldom—once in describing the black sea-roads,[3] once as

[1] *B.* 218. flota fāmi-heals fugle gelīcost.
B. 1908. sǽ-genga fōr,
flēat fāmig-heals forð ofer ȳðe.
A. 496. is þēs bāt ful scrid,
færeð fāmigheals fugole gelīcost.
[2] *Ex.* 493. Fāmigbōsma flōdwearde slōh.
Rid. 3:3. gifen bið gewreged,
[flōd āfȳsed], fām gewealcen.
Ex. 481. flōd fāmgode
[3] *A.* 1261. īs brycgade
blæce brimrāde
B. 1799. reced hlīuade
gēap ond gold-fāh; gæst inne swæf,
oþ þæt hrefn blaca heofones wynne
blīð-heort bodode; ðā cōm beorht scacan
[sunne ofer grundas].
Sol. 471. blōdige earnas and blace nǽdran
Rid. 58 : 1. þēos lyft byreð lītle wihte
ofer beorghleoðu, þā sind blace swīðe,
swearte salopāde.

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applied to the raven, once in referring to adders, and a few times in other cases cited in the examples. Conventional and symbolical is the use of black in mentioning evil spirits.[1]

The most characteristic word for black is *sweart*, which is used more frequently than all the other words of this group combined. Eighty-four instances occur, if we count the adv. *swearte*. In the religious poems its use is mainly symbolic, figurative and conventional, and it is applied to hell and black souls. But it is also used literally of black nights, of the black raven, of black mists, of black water. Nine times it is used as an epithet with *lēg*, flame. In these cases we may have to do with a pitchy, smoky flame, such as was doubtless very familiar to the Old English people, or possibly we may assume a certain degree of symbolism in the expression. The conception has long been a familiar one in English poetry. Compare Milton's lines:

> A dungeon horrible on all sides round
> As one great furnace flam'd; yet from those flames
> No light, but rather darkness visible
> Served only to discover sights of woe. *Par. Lost*, I, 61–64.

Quarles (*Emblem* XV) presents the same image:

Rid. 88 : 18. Nū ic blace swelge
wuda and wætre.
Rid. 52 : 1. Ic seah wrætlīce wuhte fēower
samed sīðian: swearte wæran lāstas
swaðu swīðe blacu.
[1]*C. and S.* 196. hū þā blacan fēond
for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon.
C. and S. 71. Blace hworfon
scinnan forscepene
geond þæt atole scref
Chr. 895. engla *and* dēofla,
beorhtra and blacra
C. and S. 721. blac bealowes gāst
Sol. 25. worpaŏ hine dēofol
on dōmdæge draca egeslīce
bismorlīce of blacere liŏran.

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a dying spark
Of Vulcan's forge, whose flames are dark,
A dang'rous, dull, blue-burning light,
As melancholy as the night.

We now pass to the cases under examination. The great number of examples, many of which are essentially of the same sort, makes it impracticable to present all of the citations in full. The more striking instances, however, are given, and all the examples and references are arranged in groups. As might be expected, the literal and symbolic uses of the word are not in all cases kept sharply apart, and some of the examples belong as much in one group as in another.

(1). In the first group the literal meaning is in the foreground, though the use of the word is doubtless influenced somewhat by conventionality and symbolism.[1]

[1] *Gen.* 1449. Hē þā ymb seofon niht sweartum hrefne
of earce forlēt æfter flēogan
ofer hēah wæter haswe culufran
on fandunga, hwæðer fāmig sǣ
dēōp þā gȳta dǣl ænigne
grēnre eorðan ofgifen hæfde.
Gen. 1438. lēt þā ymb worn daga,
1441. sunu Lameches sweartne flēogan
hrefn ofer hēahflōd of hūse ūt.
Rid. 50:4. Hwīlum on þām wīcum sē wonna þegn,
sweart and saloneb
Soul and Body 54. ne nænigum gesybban, þonne sē swearta hrefen.
Brun. 61. sweartan hrefn.
Finns. 35. Hræfen wandrode
sweart and sealobrūn, swurdlēoma stōd
swylce eal Finnsburuh fyrenu wǣre.
Rid. 13:3. fæste binde
swearte Wēalas
Rid. 22:10. and mīn swæð sweotol sweart on ōðre
Rid. 58:1. þēos lyft byreð lȳtle wihte
3. swearte salopāde
Met. 4:22. ær sē swearta storm
Jul. 472. sweartum scūrum
Gen. 1413. lago ebbade,
sweart under swegle

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(2). Conventional and symbolic are the following cases:[1]—

Gen. 1299. þū scealt friþ habban
mid sunum þīnum, þonne sweart wæter,
wonne wælstrēamas werodum swelgaþ.
Gen. 1325. symle biþ þȳ heardra, þe hit hreoh wæter,
swearte sæstrēamas swīþor bēataþ.
Gen. 1374. egorstrēamas
swearte swōgan
Gen. 1354. þā be ūtan bēoþ earce bordum,
þonne sweartracu stīgan ongīnneþ
B. 3144. wud[u]-rēc āstāh
sweart ofer swioþole
Rid. 4 : 46. feallan lætaþ
sweart sumsendu sēaw of bōsme
Rid. 41 : 31. and ic fūlre eom þonne þis fen swearte.
Rid. 41 : 92. sē micla hwæl
sē þe gārsecges grund bihealdeþ
sweartan syne.
Rid. 42 : 1. edniwu
þæt is mōddor monigra cynna,
þæs sēlestan, þæs sweartestan
Rid. 42 : 94. sweartan syne
Gen. 118. sweart synnihte
Met. 4 : 6. swylce sēo sunne sweartra nihta
Chr. 870. scīre gesceafte swā oft sceaþa fæcne
þēof þrīstlīce þe on þȳstre fareþ
on sweartre niht.

Other examples occur,—*B.* 167, *B. D. D.* 198, *Chr.* 934, *Gen.* 109, 134, *Guth.* 678.

Gen. 390. hafaþ ūs god sylfa
forswāpen on þās sweartan mistas
Met. 5 : 45. sunne for þæm sweartum mistum
Met. 23 : 5. and of him selfum þone sweartan mist.
B. D. D. 104. Eal biþ ēac ūpheofon
sweart *and* gesworcen, swīþe geþuxsaþ
deorc *and* dimhīw *and* dwolma sweart.
Rid. 52 : 2. swearte wæran lāstas.
Rid. 27 : 1. sīþade sweart-lāst.

[1]*Chr.* 1605. þæt sceolon fyllan firen-georne men
sweartum sāwlum
C. and S. 51. Đā him *and*sweradan atole gāstas,
swarte *and* synfulle.
Chr. 895. onhælo gelāc engla *and* dēofla
beorhtra *and* blacra weorþeþ bēga cyme
hwītra *and* sweartra

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(3). Hell is five times referred to in the interpolated portion of the Genesis with the accompanying epithet, *sweart*,

Chr. 1104. swearte syn-wyrcend.
Sol. 148. mānfullra hēap
sweartne geswencan
Guð. 650. mīne myrðran *and* mān-sceaþan
swearte sigelēase
Jul. 468. sweartra gesyrede
Partridge, 6. and gē hellfirena
sweartra geswīcað
Soul and Body, 73. swearte wihte
Chr. 268. æþelan rīce,
þonan ūs ǣr þurh syn-lust sē swearta gæst
fortēah *and* fortylde
Jul. 311. þūs ic wrāþra fela
mid mīnum brōþrum bealwa gefremede
sweartra synna
C. and S. 639. hū hīe him on edwīt oft asettað
swarte sūslbonan
Guð. 666. ðā ēow sē waldend wrāðe bisencte
in þæt swearte sūsl
El. 930. ond þec þonne sendeð in þā sweartestan
and þā wyrrestan wītebrogan
Gen. 72. hēo on wrace syððan
seomodon swearte sīðe
Gen. 732. ac hīe tō helle sculon
on þone sweartan sīð.
Chr. 1411. sār *and* swār gewin *and* sweartne dēað
Gen. 477. þonne wæs sē ōðer eallenga sweart,
dim *and* þȳstre: þæt wæs dēaðes bēam.

A few miscellaneous examples, not especially notable, occur,—*Rid.* 13:13, 18:7, 71:9, *Sol.* 488, *C. and S.* 704, *Gen.* 487.

The following instances of the figurative use of the adverb *swearte* seem to belong to group (2):—

C. and S. 371. Satanus swearte geþōhte
C. and S. 445. *and* hēo furðor sceaf
in þæt neowle genip nearwe gebeged,
þær nū Satanus swearte þingað
C. and S. 578. him þæt swearte forgeald
earm ǣglæca inn on helle.
Guð. 625. swearte beswicene, swegle benumene.

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but this precise combination appears not to be found elsewhere in O.E. poetry.[1]

Scarcely to be distinguished from genuine color-words are such terms as *gesweorc*, (*ge*)*sweorcan*, *sweartian*, but the literal uses shade easily into the figurative and the symbolic.[2]

[1] *Gen.* 312. on þā sweartan helle.
Gen. 345. Satan siððan, hēt hine þǣre sweartan helle.
Cf. *Gen.* 529, 761, 792.
Jul. 553. Đā hine sēo fǣmne forlēt
æfter þræc-hwīle þȳstra nēosan
in sweartne grund
Ps. 142 : 7. wese ic earmum gelīc,
þe on sweartne grund siððan astīgað.

With these cases may be compared the following, which might, perhaps, have been put into group (2):—

Gen. 1925. for wera synnum wylme gesealde
Sodoman *and* Gomorran, sweartan līge.
Gen. 2414. þæt sceal wrecan
swefyl *and* sweart līg, sāre *and* grimme
Gen. 2504. Unc hēht waldend for wera synnum
Sodoma *and* Gomorra sweartan līge,
fȳre gesyllan.
Gen. 2538. þā sunne ūp,
folca friðcandel furðum ēode,
þā ic sendan gefrægn swegles aldor
swefl of heofnum *and* sweartne līg
werum tō wīte.
Gen. 2856. *and* blōtan sylf
sunu mid sweordes ecge *and* þonne sweartan līge
lēofes līc forbærnan.
Chr. 983. færeð æfter foldan fȳr-swearta lēg
weallende wiga
Chr. 1531. þæt on þæt dēope dīcl dēofol gefeallað
in sweartne lēg.
Cf. also *Chr.* 966, 994.

[2] *B.* 1789. Niht-helm geswearc
deorc ofer dryht-gumum.
A. 372. wedercandel swearc
Guð. 1279. swearc norð-rodor
Ex. 461. lyft ūp geswearc:
fǣgum stǣfnum flōd blōd gewōd.
Gen. 807. gesweorc ūp færeð

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Wann,[1] dark, dusky, is also a favorite word, being found thirty-seven times. Unlike *sweart* it is commonly used in a literal sense. It is thus applied to a variety of objects,—to the raven, to the dark waves, to the gloomy height overlooking the sea, to the murky night, to the dark armor, etc. The examples given below supply the details. Now and then the word seems to be a mere conventional epithet and to be introduced largely for the sake of the alliteration.[2]

B. D. D. 108. *and* sēo sunne forswyrcð sona on morgen
ne sē mōna næfð nānre mihte wiht,
þæt hē þǣre nihte genipu mæge flecgan.
C. and S. 78. hē sweartade, ðon*ne* he spreocan ongan,
fȳre *and* āttre.
Guð. 1052. hefige æt heortan hreþer innan swearc
B. 1766. oððe ēagena bearhtm
forsiteð ond forsworceð.
Jul. 78. geswearc þā swið-ferð swōr æfter worde
Wand. 58. forþon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þās woruld
for hwan mōd-sefa mīn ne gesweorce.
Deor. 28. Siteð sorgceorig sælum bidæled
on sefan sweorceð.

[1] For *brūnwann*, see *brūn*.

[2] *B.* 3024. ac sē wonna hrefn.
Gen. 1983. Sang sē wanna fugel
under deoreðsceaftum, dēawigfeðera
hræs on wenan.
Jud. 205. Þæs sē hlanca[l]gefeah
wulf in walde *and* sē wanna hrefn
El. 52. hrefen uppe gōl
wan *and* wælfel.
Ex. 164. wonn wælcēasega.
B. 3154. wæl-fylla wonn.
Rood. 52. þȳstro hæfdon
bewrigen mid wolcnum wealdendes hræw,
scīre scīman; sceadu forðēode,
wann under wolcnum.
B. 702. Cōm on wanre niht
scrīðan sceadu-genga
Guð. 1028. in þisse wonnan niht
Rid. 85:8. wudubēama helm wonnan nihtum
Met. 11:61. Hwæt! þā wonnan niht
mōna onlīhteð

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B. 649. oþðe nīpende niht ofer ealle,
scadu-helma gesceapu scrīðan cwōman,
wan under wolcnum
Wand. 103. hrīð hrēosende hrūsan bindeð
wintres wōma þonne won cymeð
nīpeð niht-scua norþan onsendeð.
hrēo hægl-fare hæleðum on andan.
Ph. 98. sēo deorce niht
won gewīteð
Gen. 108. geseah deorc gesweorc
semian sinnihte, sweart under roderum
wonn *and* wēste
Guð. 1279. swearc norð-rodor
won under wolcnum
A. 836. sceadu sweðerodon
won under wolcnum
Met. 5:4. gif him wan fore wolcen hangað.
Gen. 118. wonne wǣgas
Gen. 1301. wonne wælstrēamas
A. 1168. þā for þǣre dugoðe dēoful ætȳwde
wann *and* wlitelēas, hæfde wēriges hīw.
Gen. 1378. wrēah *and* þeahte
mānfǣhðu bearn middangeardes
wonnan wǣge.
Gen. 1460. Gewāt sē wilda fugel
on ǣfenne earce sēcan
ofer wonne wǣg
Gen. 1429. þā hine on sunde geond sīdne grund
wonne ȳða wīde bǣron.
Rid. 4:37. won wægfatu
B. 1373. þonon ȳð-geblond ūp āstīgeð
won tō wolcnum.
Rid. 4:19. fāmig winneð
wǣg wið wealle; won ārīseð
dūn ofer dȳpe.
Gen. 210. Fægere lēohte
þæt līðe land lago yrnende,
wylleburne; nalles wolcnu ðā gīet
ofer rūmne grund regnas bǣron
wann mid winde.
Chr. 1422. *and* mec þā on þēostre ālegde
biwundenne mid wonnum clāþum
Rid. 54:7. wonnum hyrstum.
Rid. 50:4. Hwīlum on þām wīcum sē wonna þegn.

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Salowigpād,[1] dark-coated, is applied a few times as an epithet to the raven, the eagle, and to gnats: *Wyrde* 37, *Jud.* 211, *Brun.* 61, *Rid.* 58:3. *Salo* and *salonebb* are also slightly used. *Earp* (*eorp*), dusky, dark, is used three times: *Rid.* 4:42, *earpan gesceafta*; *Ex.* 194, *eorp werod* (of the Egyptians); *Rid.* 50:11, *eorp unwita*.

3. GRAY. Remarkable in Old English poetry is the fondness for mixed and neutral colors. A group of such colors is found in the words *grǣg*, *flōdgrǣg*, *flintgrǣg*, *hār*, *hasu*, *blondenfeax*, *gamolfeax*. The color gray lies somewhere between white and black, with nothing to determine precisely where.

Grǣg is used seven times, and its compounds are found once each.[2] In every case it is used literally. It describes

Rid. 41:105. Māra ic eom and fǣttra, þonne āmǣsted swīn
bearg bellende on bōc-wuda
won wrōtende wynnum līfde

Rid. 85:14. is mīn bæc
wonn and wundorlic.

Chr. 1564. won *and* wlitelēas hafaþ werges blēo.

Rid. 53:5. þāra ōðrum wæs ān getenge
wonfāh Wale

A parallel to the expression, sē swearta lēg, is found in sē wonna lēg; and a similar explanation doubtless applies to both.

B. 3114. Nū sceal glēd fretan
(weaxan wonna lēg)

C. and S. 715. hwīlum sē wonna lēg
læhte wiþ þes lāþan

Chr. 964. ðonne eal þrēo on ēfen nimeð
won fyres wælm wīde tōsomne
sē swearta līg

[1] For the etymology of *salo*, see Uhlenbeck in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, 20, 564.

[2] *Gen.* 2864. ac hine sē hālga wer
gyrde grǣgan sweorde.

B. 2680. Nægling forbærst,
geswāc æt sæcce sweord Biowulfes,
gomol ond grǣg-mǣl.

Finns. 6. gylleð grǣghama, gūðwudu hlynneð,
scyld scefte oncwyð.

B. 333. fǣtte scyldas,
grǣge syrcan ond grim-helmas.

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the sword, the shirt of mail, the wolf, the seamew, the flood of the sea, the ash-spear with the gray bark still left on the shaft, the curling smoke, the hoar-frost. Especially picturesque is the mention in one of the Riddles (4:19) of the *flintgrægne flōd.*

Hār, hoary, is used more conventionally than *grœg*, and appears at times to be chosen more for the sake of the alliteration than for the sake of the color. *Hār* occurs twenty-seven times,[1] and *unhār*, *feaxhār* and *rœghār* once each. Seven times *hār* is applied to the hoary, gray stone, once to the gray cliff, four times to armor, once to a sword, once to the ocean, once to the gray heath, three times to the wolf, twice to the frost, and seven times to warriors, in each case with some touch of conventionality and with an apparently slight feeling for the color. Even *unhār* seems to emphasize the age of Hrōðgār quite as much as his grayness. In *feaxhār cwēne* the color element appears to predominate.

Brun. 64. þæt grǣge dēor,
wulf on wealde

Gnom. (Ex.) 149. Gryre sceal for greggum, græf dēadum men.
Hungre hēofeð, nales þæt hēafe bewindeð
ne huru wæl wēpeð wulf sē grǣga.

A. 370. horufisc plegode,
glād geond gārsecg *and* sē grǣga mǣw
wælgifre wand; wedercandel swearc.

Gnom. I. 30. Ēa of dūne sceal
flōdgrǣg fēran.

Met. 7. Swā oft smylte sǣ sūðerne wind
grǣge glas-hluttre grimme gedrēfed

B. 330. æsc-holt ufan grǣg.

Rid. 4:19. Ic sceal tō staðe þȳwan
flintgrǣgne flōd.

[1]*B.* 887. hē under hārne stān,

B. 1415. ofer hārne stān.

B. 2552. stefn in becōm
heaðo-torht hlynnan under hārne stān.

B. 2743. Nū ðū lungre geong
hord scēawian under hārne stān,
Wīglāf lēofa.

A. 841. ymbe hārne stān
tigelfāgan trafu

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Ruin. 40. weal eall befēng
beorhtan bōsme, þǣr þā baþu wǣron
hāt on hreþre; *þæt* wæs hȳðelīc:
lēton þonne gēotan .... ofer hārne stān
hāte strēamas
Rid. 41 : 74. sē hāra stān
Met. 5 : 12. Swā oft æspringe ūt āwealleð
of clife hārum cōl and hlūtor.
Heil. 210. þænne embe ealhta niht
and fēowerum *þætte* fān gode
besenctun on sǣgrund sigefæstne wer,
on brime hāran
Jud. 327. lǣddon
tō ðǣre beorhtan byrig Bethuliam
helmas *and* hupseax, hāre byrnan,
gūðsceorp gumena golde gefrætewod
Wald. II. 16. feta, gyf ðū dyrre,
æt ðus heaðowērigan hāre byrnan.
B. 2153. hāre byrnan
B. 2988. hāres hyrste Higelāce bær.
Wald. I. 2. huru Welandes geworc ne geswīceð
monna ænigum, ðāra ðe Mimming can
hēarne gehealdan.
Ex. 117. þȳ lǣs him westengryre
hār hæð
Rid. 22 : 3. hār holtes fēond
Wand. 82. sumne sē hāra wulf
dēaðe gedǣlde.
Wyrde. 12. sceal hine wulf etan
hār hæðstapa.
Rid. 88 : 7. hwīlum hāra scōc
forst of feaxe.
A. 1257. swylce hrīm *and* forst,
hāre hildstapan hæleða ēðel
lucon, lēoda geæetu.
Brun. 38. on his cyððe norð Constantīnus,
hār hilderinc; hrēman ne ðorfte
mēca gemānan.
B. 1306. þā wæs frōd cyning
hār hilde-rinc
B. 3135. æþeling boren,
hār hilde [-rinc], tō Hrones næsse.
Mald. 168. þā gȳt *þæt* word gecwæð
hār hilderinc

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Haso, 'gray,' is found seven times,[1] and the compounds *hasofāg*, *hasupāda*, *haswigfeðra*, once each. *Haso* is used with an apparent definiteness of color-feeling, and is applied to the dove, to the eagle, to the curling smoke, to the leaves of plants, and even to the *herestrāta*, the highways with their dusty, dirty-white surfaces. The examples are not sufficiently numerous to enable us to decide whether it was often used conventionally, but there is certainly little evidence in the instances cited that such was the case.

Blondenfeax, blended-haired, that is, gray-haired, is hardly a color-word at all, but it occurs four times in Beowulf, twice

B. 1677. Đā wæs gylden hilt gamelum rince,
hārum hild-fruman, on hand gyfen.
Ex. 240. Gamele ne mōston,
hāre heaðorincas, hilde onþēon
Ex. 181. hāre heorawulfas hilde grēttọn
B. 356. þǣr Hrōðgār sæt
eald ond un-hār.
Rid. 73 : 1. Ic wæs fǣmne geong, feaxhār cwēne.

The picturesque word *ræghār*, meaning gray with moss or lichen, is used in describing a broken wall in the *Ruin* 9–10.

Oft þæs wāg gebad
ræghār *and* rēadfāh rīce æfter ōþrum.

[1]*Gen.* 145. haswe culufran
Rid. 25 : 4. hwīlum ic onhyrge þone haswan earn
Ph. 121. swā sē haswa fugel.
beorht of þæs bearwes bēame gewīteð
Rid. 12 : 1. Hrægl is mīn hasofāg.
Brun. 62. þone hasu-pādan
earn, æftan hwīt
Ph. 153. ðonne bið gehefgad haswig-feðra
gomol gēarum frōd [g]rēne eorðan
Rid. 2 : 6. rēcas stīgaþ
haswe ofer hrōfum.
Rid. 14 : 8. mealhtum āweahte mūðum slītan
haswe blēde.
Rid. 41 : 60. swylce ic eom wrāðre þonne wermōd sȳ,
[þe] hēr on hyrstum heasewe stondeð.
Ex. 283. Wegas syndon drȳge,
haswe herestræta.

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in Genesis and once in the Battle of Brunanburh with about the same meaning as hār.[1] Gamolfeax, old-haired, gray-haired, occurs three times, *Beow.* 608, *Seafarer*, 92, *Edg.* 46.

4. BROWN. Brown is an indefinite color, which may shade through various degrees of duskiness into black or red. We may, however, properly enough speak of a brown group, though the variants *brūnfāg*, *brūnwann*, *sealobrūn* occur but once each. *Brūn* is used eleven times, apparently with a variety of meanings.[2] *Brūnecg* is found twice. When applied to helmets or to the edge of the sword the term *brūn* possibly

[1] *B.* 1593. þæt wæs ȳð-geblond eal gemenged
brim blōde fāh. Blonden-feaxe
gomele ymb gōdne on geador sprǣcon
B. 1790. Duguð eal ārās;
wolde blonden-feax beddes nēosan,
gamela Scylding.
B. 1872. hruron him tēaras
blonden-feaxum.
B. 2961. þǣr wearð Ongenðīow ecgum sweorda
blonden-fexa, on bīd wrecen.
Gen. 2600. Ne wiste blondenfeax
Gen. 2340. self ne wēnde, þæt him Sarra,
brȳd blondenfeax, bringan meahte
on woruld sunu.
Brun. 44. gylpan ne þorfte
beorn blandenfex billgeslihtes.

[2] *B.* 2614. ond his māgum ætbær
brūn-fāgne helm.
Jud. 318. hyrsta scȳne,
bord *and* brād swyrd, brūne helmas,
dȳre mādmas.
Rid. 18:7. hwīlum ic sweartum swelgan onginne
brūnum beaduwǣpnum.
B. 2577. þæt sīo ecg gewāc
brūn on bāne.
B. 1545. Ofsæt þā þone sele-gyst, ond hyre seax getēah
brād, brūn-ecg.
Mald. 162. Đā Byrhtnōð brǣd bill of scēðe,
brād *and* brūneccg [sic]
Ex. 69. wiston him be sūðan Sigelwara land,
forbærned burhhleoðu, brūne lēode
hāte heofoncolum.

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means bright, glittering, or flashing, with a suggestion of redness. In the Ep. Gloss. *burrum* is glossed by *bruun*, and *burrum* is the equivalent of *rufus*. As applied to the sword-edge, the word appears to be used somewhat conventionally. In the Exodus the Ethiopians are called *brūne lēode*, brown people. In the poem on the Phoenix (296) that wonderful bird has a tail partly brown. But the Latin original (l. 31) reads:

Caudaque porrigitur fulvo distenta metallo,

which implies a reddish-yellow or tawny cast. The raven is referred to in the *Fight at Finnsburh*, 36, as *sweart and sealobrūn*, which means a sallow or dusky-brown. This I take to be the dull, rusty, brownish black color which dark feathers may assume in some lights. In the *Andreas*, 1306, night is described as *brūnwann*, a color that can scarcely be distinguished from 'dark.' Milton twice uses a similar expression:

To arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves.
Il Pens., 133, 134.

and where the unpierc't shade
Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.
Par. Lost, IV, 245.

Ph. 295. þon*ne* is sē finta fægre gedǣled
sum brūn sum basu sum blācum splottum
Ex. 497. fæste befarene, flōdblāc here
siððan hīe onb*ugon* brūn yppinge
Rid. 88 : 9. Siððan mec īsern innanweardne
brūn bennade.
Rid. 27 : 8. spyrede geneahhe
ofer brūnne brerd.
A. 519. sē ðe brimu bindeð, brūne ȳða
ðȳð *and* þrēatað.
Rid. 61 : 6 ac mec uhtna gehwām ȳð sīo brūne
Met. 28. þā weard ceald weden
stearc storma gelāc: stunede sīo brūne
ȳð wiþ ōðre.
Finns. 35. Hræfen wandrode
sweart and sealobrūn
A. 1304. oð ðæt sunne gewāt tō sete glīdan
under niflan næs: niht helmade,
brūnwann oferbræd beorgas stēape.

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The passages where the waves are called 'brown' may mean simply that they are dark, with perhaps a trace of muddiness. Yet possibly the suggestion of Merbach[1] has some force, when he says that the waves may mirror the sky and thus seem like a molten mass of bronze.

Brown was a favorite color with English poets of the eighteenth century,[2] but it appears in our own time to be much less popular.

5. RED. No color is more distinctive than red, yet its use in Old English poetry is comparatively restricted. The only words properly belonging to the red group appear to be *rēad*, *rēadfāh*, and *baso*. Such words as *blōd*, *blōdig*, *blōdfāg*, *swātig*, have only a secondary claim to be regarded as color-words.

1. *Rēad.* Of the twenty passages in which *rēad* occurs, all but four are found in the religious poems. The four exceptions occur in the Riddles. But the word *rēad* does not once occur in the Beowulf or in any other heroic poem or in the lyrics. In the *Ruin* (10) occurs the compound *rēadfāh*, describing the shattered walls of the desolate city.

The various objects with which the word is used are as follows: Flame or fire is five times described as red, partly perhaps for the sake of the alliteration. Roses are twice called red. In *Exod.* 296 the waters of the Red Sea are referred to as *rēade strēamas*, as though the poet really imagined them to be red.[3] We have also four passages in which gold is called red. This is a familiar convention of the Middle Ages, which may be due to the fact that the gold of that time was often darker than that of our own, and contained a considerable alloy of copper. Red trappings are referred to in the Riddles. The cross, reddened with blood, is mentioned in *Chr.* 1101; the red edges of the sword are

[1] *Das Meer in den Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, p. 16.

[2] Ellis, *The Colour-sense in Lit.*, p. 720.

[3] This is very different from the cases in which the Red Sea is merely referred to by name. Cf. *Ex.* 134; *Ps.* 105: 8, 9, 18; 135: 13, 15.

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spoken of in describing the sacrifice of Isaac (*Exod.* 412). Some other miscellaneous examples are found in the list given below.[1]

We see, then, that the color which is strongest and most effective has a relatively restricted use, and that an obvious convention has determined the choice of the word in many passages where it occurs.

Red is probably suggested now and then by the words

[1] *Ruin.* 9. Oft þæs wāg gebād
rægħār *and* rēadfāh rīce æfter ōþrum
ofstanden under stormum.

Gen. 41. þā hē hit geare wiste
sinnihte beseald, sūsle geinnod,
geondfolen fȳre *and* fǣrcyle,
rēce *and* rēade lēge.

Chr. 807. þonne frætwe sculon
byrnan on bǣle; blac rāsetteð
recen; rēada lēg rēþe scrīþeð.

B. D. D. 149. rēadum līge
biþ emnes mid þȳ eal gefylled.
Ðonne fȳren līg blāweð *and* braslaþ
rēad *and* rēðe

Wyrde, 46. rēad rēðe glēd.

Met. 9:12. gif þæt fȳr meahte
līxan swā lēohte and swā longe ēac
rēad rāsettan.

B. D. D. 286. þǣr þā ǣrendracan synd ælmihtiges godes
and betweoh rosena rēade hēapas
þǣr symle scīnaþ.
Þær þǣra hwīttra hwyrfð mædenhēap,
blōstmum behangen, beorhtost wereda.

Ex. 295. nū sē āgend ūp ārærde
rēade strēamas in randgebeorh.

Rid. 49:6. Ryne ongietan rēadan goldes
guman galdorcwide

Gen. 2403. gesāwon ofer since salo hlīfian,
reced ofer rēadum golde.

Jud. 338. sweord *and* swātigne helm, swylce ēac sīde byrnan
gerēnode rēadum golde.

Dan. 59. berēafodon þā receda wuldor rēadan golde

Met. 18:5. Hwæðer gē willen on wuda sēcan
gold þæt rēade on grēnum trēowum?

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blōd, blōdig, blōdfāg, drēorig, heolfor, swātig, which in the aggregate are used much more frequently than *rēad.* One cannot always be sure that a color effect is intended, but some passages appear unmistakable. I present a few selected examples:[1]

6. YELLOW. From the frequent reference to gold in Old English poetry one might perhaps expect yellow to be often

Rid. 12 : 1. Hrægl is mīn hasofāg, hyrste beorhte
rēade and scīre on rēafe [mīnum].
Reden der Seelen. 57. Ne magon þē nū heonon ādōn hyrsta þā rēadan.
Chr. 1101. ðonne sīo rēade rōd ofer ealle
swegle scīneð on þǣre sunnan gyld
on þā forhtlīce firenum fordōne
swearte syn-wyrcend sorgum wlītað
Ex. 411. wolde slēan eaferan sinne,
unweaxenne ecgum rēodan.
Met. 19 : 22. æðele gimmas
hwīte and rēade and hīwa gehwæs.
Rid. 27 : 15. Nū þā gerēno and sē rēada telg.
Chr. 1174. ðā wearð bēam monig blōdigum tēarum
birunnen under rindum rēade *and* þicce
æp wearð tō swāte.
Rid. 70 : 1. Ic eom rīces ǣht rēade bewǣfed,
stīð and stēap wong.

Baso, purple or crimson, occurs twice,—once in *Dan.* 724, *baswe bōcstafas,* and once in the *Phoenix* 296, in describing the bird's tail:

þonne is sē finta fægre gedæled
sum brūn, sum basu, sum blācum splottum.

[1]*B.* 484. Ðonne wæs þēos medo-heal on morgen tīd
driht-sele drēor-fāh, þonne dæg līxte,
eal benc-þelu blōde bestȳmed,
heall heoru-drēore.
B. 847. Ðǣr wæs on blōde brim weallende,
atol ȳða geswing eal gemenged
hāton heolfre, heoro-drēore wēol.
B. 446. ac hē mē habban wile
d[r]ēore fāhne, gif mec dēað nimeð
byreð blōdig wæl.
B. 934. þonne blōde fāh,
hūsa sēlest heoro-drēorig stōd.
B. 1416. wæter under stōd
drēorig ond gedrēfed.

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mentioned. But of the use of *geolo* only four instances occur, and three of these are plainly conventional. Twice the word is used in the compound *geolorand*, once alone in referring to linden shields, and once in describing fine cloth.[1]

Fealo. This is a somewhat indefinite color which occurs seventeen times. The prevailing meaning appears to be a pale yellow shading into red or brown, and in some cases into green. Two compounds, *fealohilte* and *appelfealu*, occur once each. A tolerably clear use of the word is in the *Battle of Maldon*, 166, where the sword is called *fealohilte*. This evidently means 'golden-hilted.' *Fealwe mēaras* (*Beow.* 865) are probably bay horses of a golden color shading into red. *Fealwe strǣte* (*Beow.* 916) may be roads covered with pale yellow sand or gravel. *Fealwe linde* (*Gen.* 2044) probably means the yellow borders of the linden shields (cf. *geolo*), which were either painted or gilded. The most common use of *fealo* is in connection with water. Some of the examples already cited appear to involve a genuine realization of the color. But the various passages in which the sea is referred to as the fallow flood seem to be more conventional and to introduce the word, in part, perhaps, because of the convenient alliteration. I hardly think that in these passages the word means dusky, as is sometimes suggested, but per-

Ex. 448. Wǣron beorhhliðu blōde bestēmed,
holm heolfre spāw.
Ex. 571. Gesāwon hīe þǣr wealles standan;
ealle him brimu blōdige þūhton
Chr. 934. sunne
on blōdes hīw
Chr. 1085. bēacna beorhtast blōde bestēmed
Wald. 153. sē full cāflīce
brǣd of þām beorne blōdigne gār.
[1]*B.* 2609. hond rond gefēng
geolwe linde, gomel swyrd getēah.
B. 438. geolo-rand tō gūðe
El. 118. gāras ofer geolorand on gramra gemang
Rid. 36:9. Wyrmas mec ne āwǣfan wyrda cræftum
þā þe geolo godwebb geatwum frætwað.

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haps yellowish green, a common color in the English and Irish channels.

A more vivid sense of color is found in *fealo līg* (*Ph.* 218), the yellow flame in which the Phœnix is consumed, and in a few other examples cited below.[1]

[1] *B.* 1949. syððan hīo Offan flet
ofer fealone flōd be fæder lāre
sīðe gesōhte.

A. 420. Lang is þēs sīðfæt
ofer fealuwne flōd

Brun. 35. crēad cnear on flot, cining ūt gewāt,
on fealone flōd feorh generode

A. 1536. Wēox wæteres þrym; weras cwānedon,
ealde æscberend; wæs him ūt myne
flēon fealone strēam.

A. 1588. þǣr in forlēt
flōd fæðmian, fealewe wǣgas.

Wand. 45. Ðonne onwæcneð eft winelēas guma
gesihð him beforan fealwe wǣgas

Gnom. II. 51. Storm oft holm gebringeþ
geofen in grimmum sælum; onginnað grome fundian,
fealwe on feorran tō lande.

Bī Monna Cræftum, 53. sum fealone wǣg
stefnan stēoreð.

B. 865. on geflit faran, fealwe mēaras

B. 916. Hwīlum flītende fealwe strǣte
mēarum mæton.

Gen. 2043. þæt meahte wel ēghwylc
on fyrd wegan, fealwe linde.

Ph. 217. hrēoh ōnetteð
fealo līg feormeð *and* Fēnix byrneð.

Ph. 310. sindon þā scancan scyllum biweaxen
fealwe fōtas

Ph. 74. ne fealleð ðǣr on foldan fealwe blōstman

Rid. 72 : 15. and swīora smæl, sīdan fealwe.

Rid. 56 : 9. þǣr wæs hlin and āc and sē hearda īw
and sē fealwa holen.

Rid. 16 : 1. Hals is mīn hwīt and hēafod fealo.

Mald. 166. fēoll þā tō foldan fealohilte swurd

B. 2163. Hȳrde ic, þæt þǣm frætwum fēower mēaras
lungre gelīce lāst weardode,
appel-fealuwe.

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Gold. In addition to the strict color-words we may have to include in the yellow group the word *gold*, which in some passages appears to suggest a color effect.[1] There is room for much difference of opinion as to how many of the passages are genuine instances of the use of the word for this purpose, but such compounds as *goldfāh*, *goldtorht*, *goldbeorht* appear unmistakable. The primary word with its various derivatives is used something like a hundred times in Old English poetry. How many of these cases are to be taken as clear instances of color-words can be shown only by detailed discussion, for which I have not space here. I will, therefore, reserve the topic for later examination.

7. GREEN. As might perhaps be expected, the favorite color in Old English poetry, taken as a whole, is green, the color of growing plants. The extraordinary fondness for this color in English ballads has been often pointed out. But, singularly enough, the examples in Old English poetry are found almost wholly in the religious poems, one-third in the Genesis alone. Yet not a single example occurs in the Beowulf or in any other heroic poem. In the religious poems the word is commonly used in a somewhat conventional way, and seldom with a keen appreciation of the color. The earth, the fields, the grass, the trees, the hills, and other objects are mentioned, but the color-word appears to be added in many cases as a mere epithet. Now and then, however, the color-word seems to be used in order to make the passage more vivid. Thus the rod of Moses is called a *grēne tāne* (*Exod.* 281). Green streets leading to the home of the angels are once mentioned (*C. and S.* 287). Two instances of the deliberate use of green for descriptive purposes are found in the Phœnix, a somewhat artificial poem based upon a still more artificial Latin original, but nevertheless containing a greater variety of color-words than any other Old English poem. We read (l. 293) that the back of the bird's head is

[1] Etymologically, gold is, of course, "the yellow metal."

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green, *hēafod hindan grēne*, and then (l. 298), *sē hals grēne nioðoweard and ufeweard*. In these passages the Old English poet is evidently trying to reproduce the *viridante zmaragdo* of his Latin original (l. 135). Yet in no passage do we find anything like the easy mastery of color-phrases that is so marked in Tennyson and Shelley and Keats.

The examples given below are intended to be complete, and they are self-explanatory.[1]

[1] *Gen.* 1517. eorðe ælgrēne *and* ēacen feoh
Chr. 1128. eorðan eal-grēne *and* ūp-rodor
A. 797. hwā æt frumsceafte furðum tēode
eorðan eallgrēne *and* ūpheofon.
Gen. 1453. þā gȳta dæl ænigne
grēnre eorðan ofgifen hæfde.
Ph. 154. [g]rēne eorðan
Gen. 1560. þa him wlitebeorhte wæstmas brōhte,
geartorhte gife grēne folde.
Ex. 311. wōd on wǣgstrēam, wigan on hēape
ofer grēnne grund.
Rid. 67 : 3. sǣs mē sind ealle
flōdas on fæðmum and þās foldan bearm,
grēne wongas.
Guð. 476. Sægde him tō sorge þæt hȳ sigelēase
þone grēnan wong of-giefan sceoldan.
Heil. 206. þæt ūs wunian ne mōt wangas grēne
foldan frætuwe.
Guð. 746. Stōd sē grēna wong in godes wære
Gen. 1655. Gesetton þā Sennar sīdne *and* wīdne
1657. heora gēardagum, grēne wongas.
Rid. 41 : 50. Eom ǣghwǣr brǣdre
and wīdgielra þonne þēs wong grēna.
Rid. 13 : 1. Fōtum ic fēre, foldan slīte,
grēne wongas, þenden ic gæst bere.
Rid. 16 : 5. ordum ic steppe
in grēne gras.
Gen. 1137. siððan Adam stōp
on grēne græs, gāste geweorðod.
Gen. 116. Folde wæs þā gȳt,
græs ungrēne: gārsecg þeahte,
sweart synnihte sīde *and* wīde
wonne wǣgas. þā wæs wuldortorht

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IV.

We have thus gone through the color-words found in Old English poetry and rapidly observed the way in which they are used. If the list is somewhat disappointing, it is at all events far more striking than anything that the Old High

heofonweardes gāst ofer holm boren,
miclum spēdum. Metod engla hēht,
līfes brytta, lēoht forð cuman.

Gen. 510. brāde synd on worulde
grēne geardas *and* god siteð
on þām hēhstan heofna rīce

Gen. 1017. forðon hēo þe hrōðra oftīhð
glæmes grēne folde.

Gen. 1920. Him þā Loth gewāt land sceawigan
be Iordane, grēne eorðan:
sēo wæs wætrum weaht *and* wæstmum þeaht,
lagostrēamum lēoht

Ph. 33. sun-bearo līxeð
wudu-holt wynlic wæstmas ne drēosað
beorhte blēde, ac þā bēamas ā
grēne stondað swā him god bibēad.

Ph. 78. on þām græs-wonge grēne stondaþ
gehroden hyhtlīce hāliges meahtum,
beorhtast bearwa.

Gen. 1479. ac hēo land begeat,
grēne bearwas.

Ph. 13. þæt is wynsum wong, wealdas grēne

Gen. 841. on þone grēnan weald

Sal. 312. Lȳtle hwīle lēaf bēoð grēne.

Met. 19:5 Hwæðer gē willen on wuda sēcan
gold þæt rēade on grēnum trīowum.

Gen. 1472. līðend brōhte
elebēames twig ān tō hande,
grēne blædæ.

Dan. 517. oð þæt eft cyme
grēne blēda

Ex. 280. hū ic sylfa slōh *and* þēos swīðre hand
grēne tāne gārsecges dēop.

Gen. 2548. Līg eall fornam,
þæt hē grēnes fond goldburgum in.

Ph. 293. hēafod hindan grēne

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German literature has to offer, for this, as represented by Otfrid and other versifiers, is almost utterly destitute of color-words. The Old Saxon, as represented by the Heliand[1] is almost equally barren. The equivalents of O.E. *blœc*, *brūn*, *feala*, *grāg*, *hār* and *haso* are not found at all. *Blêk* (O.E. *blāc*) occurs four times; *gelo* (O.E. *geolo*) once; *rōd* (O.E. *rēad*) once; *grōni* (O.E. *grēne*) six times; *swart* (O.E. *sweart*) five times. *Berht* and *torht* are also found, but they play a minor role. Not much perhaps is proved by such a comparison, for if more poems, of a different type, had been preserved, we might have a different story to tell. But there is nevertheless some interest in finding that several of the rarer color-words of Old English poetry are rare or non-existent in Old Saxon poetry, and that green and black (*swart*) hold a prominent place in Old Saxon, as they do in Old English poetry.

In so far, then, as Old English poetry is compared with contemporary Germanic poetry it more than holds its own. When, however, it is put beside the Celtic poems contained in the so-called *Four Ancient Books of Wales* or the Icelandic poems found in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, it is seen to be lacking in vividness and richness of color. In the Welsh

Ph. 297. sindon þā fiþru
hwīt hindan-weard *and* sē hals grēne
nioþo-weard *and* ufe-weard.
Ps. 141 : 4. On þyssum grēnan wege.
C. and S. 286. Gemunan symle on mōde meotodes strengðo,
gearwian ūs tōgenes grēne strǣte
ūp tō englum.
A. 775. foldweg trēdan
grēne grundas.
Guð. 231. sceoldon wræc-mægas
ofgiefan gnornende grēne beorgas.
Gnom. I. 34. Beorh sceal on eorþan
grēne standan.
Rid. 22 : 9. mē bið gongendre grēne on healfe
Met. 11 : 57. lēaf grēnian.

[1] The recently discovered O.S. original of the interpolation (ll. 235–858) in the O.E. Genesis, is of course to be credited with all the color-words occurring in that long passage.

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poems we meet twelve times the color blue—which is found but once in Old English poetry. In every case the word seems to be used with a sharp definition of the object, even though the exact shade of color may vary. Note these lines:

> A shield, light and broad,
> Was on the slender swift flank,
> A sword blue and bright,
> Golden spurs and ermine[1]—

or this,

> With his blue streamer displayed, while his foes range the sea.[2]

Yellow occurs thirteen times; black, fourteen times; brown, seven times; green, nineteen times; red or purple, thirty-five times; white, fifty-three times. Lack of space forbids further illustrations, but they would show brilliantly beside almost any example from Old English poetry.

Very different too from the Old English color-scheme is that presented by the Old Icelandic poems. I have gone through the first volume of the *Corp. Poet. Bor.* (comprising 374 pages) and collected all the color-words. The first notable fact is the comparative lack of words for light and darkness, words which play so prominent a part in Old English poetry. The symbolic use of color is also less marked than in Old English. The leading color in Icelandic poetry is red—the most brilliant color of all. This occurs forty-six times, and, it must be confessed, is often used somewhat conventionally. The suggestive phrase, to 'redden the spear,' or to 'redden the sword,' occurs more than once. 'Red rings' and 'red gold' are also favorite expressions. White occurs thirty-one times, usually with a keen appreciation of the value of the color. We find the phrases 'sun-white,' 'swan-white,' 'drift-white maid,' 'whiter than egg-film,' 'linen-white,' 'white-throated,' 'red and white shields,' and the like. Black occurs thirteen times. We read

[1] *Four Anc. Books*, I, 374.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 402.

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of bears with black hide, of something blacker than a raven, of black targets, of a coal-black ox, and so forth. Gray is found eight times, in every case apparently used for the sake of a genuine color-effect. The wolf is once called 'the gray-coated beast,' as in Old English poetry, and the eagle is referred to as 'the gray bird of carrion.' A novelty is found in the mention of a gray mouse and of gray silver. Blood is used eight times, and bloody five times, with a sort of color-effect; but the favorite way of referring to blood is to suggest it by indicating the color which it gives to the sword or to the field. Green occurs but six times, and is used in the most commonplace way. It is applied as a mere epithet to the fields, to paths, herbs, and the forests, once to the ash-tree Yggdrasil, and once to the city of the gods. When we remember how freely green is used in Old English poetry, we see that the difference is remarkable.[1] Brown is found only three times, and twice is used as an epithet describing hair. Yellow occurs twice, once as an epithet for the sword and once in describing hair. A fallow steed is mentioned once. Blue is twice used, once to describe a coverlet and once to describe a sark. But this blue was probably not blue in our sense, but more like a deep raven black—*hrafnblár*.[2]

I need hardly say that this sort of numerical comparison is very rough and arbitrary, and that it attempts merely to point out some broad lines of difference in two or three considerable bodies of poetry. In order to make the comparison perfectly fair, we ought, if possible, to take pieces of about the same length and of the same general type, but in so rapid a sketch as the present one I can do no more than call attention to salient characteristics. I cannot undertake in the present paper to make generalizations or to enter upon theoretical explanations of the facts, and I cannot, therefore, make further comparisons, for which I have collected material. I

[1] Yet the rarity of green in most of the O.E. secular poems must be remembered.

[2] Cf. Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Phil*, II., II, 237.

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realize clearly the tentative character of the paper in its present form, but I cannot do more without opportunity for more extended discussion. The two notable facts to consider are, that the color-sense in the Old English poets is comparatively feeble, and that conventionality plays a large part in the passages where color is used at all. Genuine freedom in the employment of color-phrases does not come until long after the Norman Conquest, but the tendency to individuality in this respect is one of the most striking characteristics of Elizabethan poetry, as it is also of nineteenth century literature.

WILLIAM E. MEAD.

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V.—FROM FRANKLIN TO LOWELL.

A Century of New England Pronunciation.

Sǫ̣ hwen sʊm endʒel, bʊi divʊin komænd,
wið rʊizin̨ tempests ſę̣ks e gilti lænd
(sʊtſ æz ov lę̣t ǫ̣r pę̣l Britænyʊ pæst),
kælm ænd sirîn hi drʊivz ði fyûriʊs blæst;
ænd, plîzd ð ɔlmʊitiz ɔrdʊrz tû pʊrfɔrm,
rʊidz in ði hwʊrlwind ænd dʊirekts ði stɔrm.

Sǫ̣ ði pyûr limpid strîm, hwen fǫ̣ul wið stę̣nz
ov rʊſin̨ torents ænd disendin̨ rę̣nz,
wʊrks itself klîr, ænd æz it rʊnz, rifʊinz;
til, bʊi digrîz, ði flǫ̣tin̨ mirʊr ſʊinz,
riflekts ît∫ fǫ̣ur ðæt on its bɔrdʊr grǫ̣z,
ænd e nû hevn in its fę̣r bʊzʊm ſǫ̣z.

This passage from Addison, reproduced, in a slightly modified version of the American Dialect Society's alphabet,[1] from

[1] Phonetic spellings and all phonetic symbols (except *ſ*) will be printed, in this article, in Roman type. A dot and a hook under a vowel letter (as ę, ę) indicate respectively the close and the open sound. The only characters that require explanation are the following:—

a : *a* in *father*	î : *ea* in *beat*
ʊ : *u* in *hut*	ŋ : *ng* in *sing*
à : French *a* in *patte*	o : *o* in *hot*
â : French *â* in *pâte*	ð : New England *o* in *whole*
æ : *a* in *hat*	ô : *o* in *hole*
ǣ : Western *a* in *fast*	ǫ : German *o* in *Sonne*
dʒ : *j* in *jug*	ǫ̣ : German *oh* in *Sohn*
ð : *th* in *this*	ɔ : *o* in *born*
e : *e* in *bet*	u : *oo* in *foot*
ə : *a* in *sofa*	û : *oo* in *boot*
ê : *ai* in *bait*	ſ : *sh* in *ship*
ę̄ : German *ee* in *See*	tʃ : *ch* in *chip*
ę̂ : French *ê* in *bête*	þ : *th* in *thin*
ë : *u* in *hurt*	y : *y* in *yet*
i : *i* in *bit*	ʒ : *si* in *vision*.

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a phonetic transcription by Benjamin Franklin himself, may be taken as a sample of Franklin's pronunciation. *Angel* was more commonly ændʒel in the 18th century, and *chamber*, *danger* had the same vowel; êndʒel, tʃêmbər, dêndʒər, according to Noah Webster, were less elegant. The use of ðĭ before consonants as well as vowels is noteworthy, and may be due to carelessness. For tû = *to*, Franklin also said tǭ. Bɐzəm was perfectly good in his day.

From Franklin to Lowell is almost exactly a century, 1790 to 1891, if we reckon from the death of each. A longer period—1706 to 1819—separates their dates of birth. As to the qualifications of these men to represent New England, no one will question those of Lowell; but as Franklin went to Philadelphia in 1823, one may at first be inclined to doubt the purity of his Boston accent. He had, however, at least one trait that (according to Webster) was peculiar to the East—the pronunciation ɐiðər for îðər = *either;* and he had, as far as we can tell, no characteristic that was foreign to his birthplace. It should be added that in his day Boston and Philadelphia were linguistically far closer together than they are now. The distinctive features of the present New England speech are the suppression of consonant r unless it precede a vowel, the use of a and o where other dialects have respectively æ and ɔ, and the shortening of ô to ò: all these phenomena, except perhaps the last, have developed since Franklin's time.

The purpose of this paper is to trace, as well as may be with the scanty material available, the history of the principal changes in Yankee pronunciation from the middle (roughly speaking) of the last century to the middle of our own, and even, in many cases, to the present day. The period of rapid transformation, from 1775 to 1825, will receive especial attention. My treatise, though limited thus in scope, may be regarded as a continuation of the investigations of Vietor,[1]

[1] *Die Aussprache des Englischen nach den deutsch-englischen Grammatiken vor* 1750, Marburg, 1886.

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Bohnhardt,[1] Löwisch,[2] Holthausen,[3] and Luick,[4] or as a small supplement to the monumental work of Ellis[5] and the invaluable compendium of Sweet.[6] I need hardly say that it is very imperfect, as many sources of information must have escaped me; subsequent research may, therefore, invalidate some of my conclusions.

Franklin's pronunciation is known to us through *A Scheme of a New Alphabet and Reformed Mode of Spelling*,[7] which he prepared in 1768. His phonetic alphabet is ingenious and simple, although it calls for several new characters, and leaves at least one important sound unrecognized. The remarks on the vowels and consonants and their symbols are very brief; the chief value of the little work lies in a few texts, written in the proposed orthography, which represent the author's pronunciation. They were reprinted (from a very faulty edition) by Ellis in the fourth volume of his *Early English Pronunciation*. There is in Franklin's alphabet no letter for ə, which is noted sometimes e, sometimes ɐ; a, also unmentioned, probably did not exist in his language; ë and ɐ were in his speech distinguished only by quantity; î, û were monophthongs, and "long *a*," "long *o*" were respectively ę̄ and ǭ.

The Lowell who concerns us here is the Lowell of the *Biglow Papers*. The two series appeared in 1848 and 1867, and each contains some interesting remarks on pronunciation in the introduction. As the *Papers* are based on the poet's recollection of the rustic speech he heard during his boyhood, we may infer that they represent the country usage of eastern Massachusetts from 1825 to 1835. A sample of the Biglow

[1] "Zur Lautlehre der englischen Grammatiken des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts," in *Phonetische Studien*, II (1888), 64.

[2] *Zur englischen Aussprache von 1650–1750*, Kassel, 1889.

[3] *Die englische Aussprache bis zum Jahre 1750 nach dänischen und schwedischen Zeugnissen*, Göteborg, 1895.

[4] *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, Strassburg, 1896.

[5] *On Early English Pronunciation*, London, 1869–89.

[6] *A History of English Sounds*, Oxford, 1888.

[7] *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1840, VI, 295.

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pronunciation will be found at the end of this article. Many features of this dialect had certainly found a place, at that time, in the language of the well-educated. Holmes, in his *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, 1857, gives us a few hints concerning the Boston practice of the forties and fifties.

Between these two extremes we find, published in Boston in 1789, a treatise of great importance for our subject, Noah Webster's *Dissertations on the English Language*, which, although it has been carefully examined by Ellis, in his *Early English Pronunciation*, IV, is not widely known. Another authority, of considerable interest but of less weight than the preceding, is an *Essai Raisonné sur la Grammaire et la Prononciation Angloise, à l'usage des François qui désirent d'apprendre l'Anglois*, par Duncan Mackintosh et ses deux filles, Boston, 1797. This work has, I believe, never before been utilized. Its value is somewhat impaired by the dogmatism of the author, who advocates a very elaborate style of utterance, and has a tendency to describe what should be rather than what is. Moreover, his pronunciation is unmistakably Scotch in some respects.

In addition to the sources mentioned, we have at our disposal not only the dictionaries of Webster and Worcester, but a host of grammars, primers, and spelling-books published between 1777 and 1840. Not less surprising than the multitude of these text-books, and the great number of editions attained by many of them, is the variety of places of publication: no hamlet in those days was too insignificant to support a printing-office and aid in the diffusion of learning. The best known works of this class are those of Noah Webster and Lindley Murray and the American (frequently more or less Americanized) editions of Perry and Walker.

Authorities of this sort are, of course, to be used with caution. The orthoepist is by nature conservative, more given to copying his predecessors than to recording actual usage. Occasionally, however, we come upon an author whose independence or ignorance enables or forces him to listen for

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himself; and even in the more conventional treatises we sometimes find innovations, which can immediately be discerned if we are well versed in the foregoing literature.

The present study is based on an examination of some two hundred text-books, most of which are contained in the Library of Harvard University. Nearly all were printed in New England, but I have in some rare cases taken the testimony of a work published in a neighboring state. I have, moreover, consulted a score of German grammars written in America. As was to be expected, the great majority of these volumes yielded no results whatever. In fact, only twenty-two of them are worth quoting. I give below a chronological list of these and of the other authorities I have mentioned, with the abbreviations which I shall use in referring to them hereafter:—

FRANKLIN.—Benjamin Franklin: *A Scheme of a New Alphabet and Reformed Mode of Spelling*, 1768. Franklin was born in Boston in 1706.

GR. INST.—Noah Webster: *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, Hartford, Conn., 1784 (3d ed.). Webster was born in Connecticut in 1758.

PERRY.—W. Perry: *The Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue*, Worcester, Mass., 1785 (8th ed.). The work was originally written in Edinburgh in 1777. Perry was "Lecturer in the English Language in the Academy, Edinburgh."

ASH.—John Ash: *Grammatical Institutes*, Worcester, Mass., 1785 (new ed.).

THOMAS.—Isaiah Thomas: *New American Spelling-Book*, Worcester, Mass., 1785.

DISS.—Noah Webster: *Dissertations on the English Language*, Boston, Mass., 1789.

AM. SP. B.—Noah Webster: *The American Spelling-Book*, Boston, Mass., 1794 (9th ed.).

BINGHAM.—Caleb Bingham: *The Young Lady's Accidence*, Boston, Mass., 1794 (8th ed.).

FRASER.—Donald Fraser: *The Columbian Monitor*, New York, 1794.

DEARBORN.—Benjamin Dearborn: *The Columbian Grammar*, Boston, Mass., 1795.

Y. L. G. SP. B.—*The Young Ladies' and Gentlemen's Spelling-Book.* Title-page lacking. Probably published in Boston, Mass., about 1795.

MACKINTOSH.—Duncan Mackintosh (and Daughters): *Essai Raisonné*, etc., Boston, Mass., 1797.

HALE.—E. Hale: *A Spelling-Book*, Northampton, Mass., 1799.

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MURRAY.—Lindley Murray: *English Grammar*, Boston, Mass., 1802 (2d Boston ed.). Murray was born in Pennsylvania in 1745, went to England in 1784, and died there in 1826.

COMPANION.—Caleb Bingham: *The Child's Companion*, Boston, Mass., 1805 (11th ed.).

WEBSTER.—Noah Webster: *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*, Hartford and New Haven, Conn., 1806.

ALDEN.—Abner Alden: *An Introduction to Spelling and Reading*, Boston, Mass., 1813 (6th ed.).

WARE.—Jonathan Ware: *A New Introduction to the English Grammar*, Windsor, Vt., 1814. This book has, for correction, texts spelled phonetically according to the rural pronunciation.

CUMMINGS.—J. A. Cummings: *The Pronouncing Spelling-Book*, Boston, Mass., 1822 (3d ed.).

HAWES.—Noyes P. Hawes: *The United States Spelling-Book or English Orthoepist*, Portland, Me., 1824. Based on Walker.

KIRKHAM.—Samuel Kirkham: *English Grammar*, New York, 1830 (20th ed.).

CLARK.—Schuyler Clark: *The American Linguist*, Providence, R. I., 1830. Clark has a curious system of phonetic notation, in which sounds are represented by dots, dashes, and curves.

WORCESTER.—J. E. Worcester: *A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language*, Boston, Mass., 1830.

FOLLEN.—C. Follen: *A Practical Grammar of the German Language*, Boston, Mass., 1831.

FOSDICK.—David Fosdick: *An Introduction to the German Language*, Andover, Mass., 1838.

WILLARD.—Samuel Willard: *The General Class-Book*, Greenfield, Mass., 1840 (19th ed.). Willard was the author of the *Franklin Primer* and *Reader*. He was a much better observer than most of the authors enumerated.

MONTEITH.—A. H. Monteith: *A Course of Lessons in the German Language*, New York, 1844.

LOWELL.—James Russell Lowell: *The Biglow Papers*, 1848 and 1867. Lowell was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1819.

HOLMES.—Oliver Wendell Holmes: *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, 1857. Holmes was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1809.

If, now, we compare Franklin's pronunciation with that of the *Biglow Papers*, or with that of our own childhood, we are struck by several marked divergences; and there are many others that are not so apparent. These various differences I shall now consider in detail, treating first the vowels, next the diphthongs, and then the consonants.

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A.

[*a* in *father*.]

In England, from 1550 or 1600 down to about 1780, there was no long a, except perhaps in a few foreign words. The Middle English ā had become æ. Sheridan, 1780, has no a in his vowel-scheme. In Nares' *Elements of Orthoepy*, London, 1784, we find a vowel resembling our a before f, s, þ, n + consonant, lm, and even in *trans-* and *-graph*, but apparently not before r, as *clerk* and *sergeant* have æ. Walker, in 1791, is the first to report a return of the full a-sound: according to him, a was used universally before an r that was final or followed by a consonant; before spirants, usage was divided; before n + consonant, a was going out of use, and was regarded as inelegant. This would seem to indicate a very sudden incursion of a into London pronunciation between 1780 and 1790; it may have existed a decade or so earlier in vulgar speech. But for many years after Walker a and æ struggled for the supremacy. The German grammars written in English in the early years of our century give as the equivalent of German *a* either English *aw* or something between *aw* and *a* in *father*. In our own time, before an r that is final or precedes a consonant, we find that a has prevailed everywhere, except in some rural dialects; before a voiceless spirant, and before n followed by a consonant, a has gained the upper hand in southern England, but not in the north.

In America a was apparently slower in making its way. Franklin did not know it: he said fæðər and hærdli; and Thomas, 1785, said sɔm for *psalm*. Nowadays a is universal before r final or + consonant; moreover, in the greater part of New England, in about 150 words, for *a* (or *au*) before a voiceless spirant,[1] a nasal + cons.,[2] or an *lm* = m,[3] a is in

[1] *Laugh, pass, path*, etc.
[2] *Aunt, branch, can't, chance*, etc.
[3] *Calm, salmon*, etc.

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common use, and prevails in about fifty of them. But west of the Connecticut River, as in almost all the rest of the United States, a is scarcely heard, except before r, in *father*, and occasionally before m = *lm*. In words that have *au* followed by *nch*, *nd*, or *nt*,[1] a has had to contend both with æ and with ɔ: in New England a prevails decidedly, æ being almost unknown; all the rest of the country favors ɔ, although a and æ may be heard in most regions.

I have found but few traces of a in America in the 18th century. Perry, 1785, recommends what is probably ǣ in *bask*, *blanch*, *blast*, *brass*, *chant*, *glance*, etc., and also in *aunt*, *craunch*, *daunt*, *flaunt*, *haunch*, *jaunt*, *paunch*, *scraunch*, although he admits ɔ as well in *haunch* and *paunch*; *part* has æ (possibly à). Webster, *Diss.*, 1789, prefers ǣ in *aunt*, *jaunt*, *sauce*, although the English use ɔ. Fraser, 1794, has "aa" (ǣ or a?) in *aunt*, *launch*. Mackintosh, 1797, gives æ before spirants and nasals (bæþ, dæns, kwæf) and generally before r (ært, fær, færs, lærdʒ), but a in *arm* and *are*;[2] in *augment*, *aunt*, *balm*, *qualm*, *vaunt* he uses ɔ; he ascribes a pronunciation with a to many words of French or Latin origin (*clamor*, *claret*, *Paris*, etc.), but I do not feel sure that this represents the New England practice of his day. Hale, 1799, seems to have short æ before r (gærd, kærv, mærʃ, pært, skærf), long æ before spirants and nasals (ǣft, bǣm, bǣsk, drǣft, gǣnt, hǣf, tǣnt, etc.).

Early in our own century, however, a had established itself. Murray, to be sure, 1802 (2d Boston ed.), mentions no a: with him *aunt*, *flaunt*, *gauntlet* have æ. And Alden, 1813 (6th ed.), does not recognize our vowel: his *back* and *bark* have respectively short and long æ; *draught*, *laugh* have ɔ. But Webster, in 1806, finds a place for "Italian *a*," and sharply criticizes Sheridan for "omitting" it; he says it is

[1] *Launch*, *laundry*, *haunt*, etc.

[2] This is the only instance of a in *are* that I have found before 1830. The word is regularly êr or ær in the 18th century. Franklin always writes it er.

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used in such words as *ask, dance, demand, father, psalm.* Kirkham, N. Y., 1830 (20th ed.), has "Italian *a*" in *bar, farther,* but æ in *glass.* Willard, 1840 (19th ed.), speaks of "long Italian *a,*" as in *aunt, calf, cart, gaunt.* Clark, 1830, knows our a, and prescribes it in *aunt, father, guard, heart, ma, pa.* In the same year appeared Worcester's first dictionary, containing both a and the intermediate à, which latter sound he uses before spirants and nasals: he declares that "to pronounce the words *fast, last, glass, grass, dance,* etc., with the proper sound of short *a,* as in *hat,* has the appearance of affectation; and to pronounce them with the full Italian sound of *a,* as in *part, father,* seems to border on vulgarism." This compromise vowel, which was recommended also in England, does not seem to have been adopted, in actual speech, by any considerable number of Americans; it may be heard, however, on Cape Cod. Lowell, 1848, shows an extension of a to some words outside our class, such as *handsome;* and Holmes, 1857, condemns as vulgar such pronunciations as "sahtisfahctory," "a prahctical mahn." One may still hear, from elderly New England rustics, apl, hamə, matə, pantri, satdi for *apple, hammer, matter, pantry, Saturday.* It seems likely that the present cultivated eastern New England usage was established between 1790 and 1800, although there were doubtless sporadic cases of our vowel before that. Whether the a was a native growth, or was imported from England, I cannot say. In vulgar Yankee speech the a may have developed, or been adopted, a little earlier, and it certainly spread with great rapidity, forcing its way into many words that have since cast it out. It was probably at the height of its popularity between 1830 and 1850. At present it seems to be declining, both in urban and in rural speech. The vicissitudes of this vowel afford a striking refutation of the doctrine that a phonetic development cannot retrace its steps.

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Ê, Î, Ô, Û.

[*Ai* in *bait*, *ea* in *beat*, *oa* in *boat*, *oo* in *boot*.]

These vowels were certainly monophthongs in the 18th century: î, ô, û were probably close; ê was doubtless ę̄ in England until 1750 or thereabouts, and then gradually became ę̄. With Franklin, ê is still open: he describes it as a long e. In Mackintosh, 1797: *e* in *scene* is like French *î*; *oa* in *boat* is like French *ô*; *u* in *rule* is like French *ou* in *roule*; *a* in *hate* is like French *é*, but English *ai* and also *a* in *-age*, *-are*, *-ation*, *-ave* and in *acre*, *april*, *bathe*, *cane*, *capable*, *range*, *same*, *tame*, and many other words, are like French è. The change from ę̄ to ę probably took place in New England during the last quarter of the century.

All these vowels, unless they be followed by *r*, are now strongly diphthongal in southern England, and more or less so in America. The amount of breaking depends, with us, on the length of the vowel, and that is regulated by its position in the word or phrase. The extreme types, in New England, rarely go beyond ę́ę̣, ı́ı̣, ǫ́ǫ̣, ų́ų̣, but ê, ô may sometimes reach the stage ę́ı̣, ǫ́ų̣. When did this development take place? Smart, in 1810, identifies English *ā* with French *é*, and French and German grammars of 1814, 1821, 1823, and 1832, written for Englishmen, describe the "long *a*" as French *é* or German *eh* or *ee*. Readers of Miss Edgeworth will remember that the Irish lady, in *The Absentee*, who tries to affect an English accent, substitutes î for her native ę̄ in such words as *taste*; this could hardly happen unless the sound imitated were ę. I do not know when the breaking began in England. In America the first mention of it that I have been able to find is in Willard (19th edition in 1840); he is very explicit: "*o* begins with a sound, which is never heard alone, except in the New England pronunciation of such words, as *whole*, *home*, *stone*, which they pronounce shorter than *hole*, *comb*, *bone*," and ends with û, "as in *do*;"

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the *a* of *cane* begins with the *e* of *men* and ends with the *e* of *me*. He says nothing about ɪ̂ and ʊ̂, but the diphthongal character of these sounds is not so easily recognizable. By 1820, then, the development of ê, ô, and doubtless of all four vowels, was complete in New England. Follen, 1831, says that the German *e* is "nearly like *a* in *fate*, yet closer, and without the sound of an *e* which is slightly heard at the end of long *a* in English."

In a great many words ô is shortened and slightly advanced, in rustic New England speech, becoming ò. This vowel is used by educated New England speakers in about fifty common words and their derivatives, and it certainly prevails in the cultivated usage of this region in *Polk*, *polka*, *whole*, and probably in *both*, *folks*, *Holmes*, *most*, *only*, and some others. Franklin does not mention the sound; but Webster says in his *Diss.*, 1789: "*o* is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in *colt*." Among Dearborn's "Improprieties," 1795, we find "hum." Hale, 1799, remarks: "the short sound of ō is found in too few words to make a distinct class: they are *home*, *none*, *stone*, *whole*, and their compounds." Willard's observation concerning "the New England pronunciation of such words, as *whole*, *home*, *stone*" has already been quoted. Dearborn's "hum" is doubtless intended to represent hòm, not hʉm, although ʉ is actually used in Connecticut; I have never heard it elsewhere, and Lowell once told me he had never heard it. Similar, in a way, to short ô is the short u in such words as *hoof*, *proof*, *roof*, *room*, *soon*. It goes back to the last century, but was probably regarded until recently as a vulgarism. Dearborn, 1795, gives "huff, ruff, spunfull" in his list of "Improprieties."

When these vowels are followed by *r*, as in *pare*, *peer*, *pore*, *poor*, their fate is different: the vowels do not break, but an indistinct vowel-glide develops before the r. This glide will be discussed under r; it goes back certainly to Franklin's day, and probably much farther. The "long *a*," under these

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circumstances, retains either its old ę or its older æ sound; the pronunciations pęər and pæər exist side by side, æ being perhaps the commoner in New England. They have both been in use during our whole period: Franklin notes *fair* as fęr, *there* both as ðæər and as ðęr. Hale, 1799, has before r a sound that is probably ǣ. Cummings, 1822, gives ǣ in *layer, mayor*, ê (= ę?) in *care, pair*. Willard observes: "*a* in *care*, and *a* in *carry*, are exactly alike in everything, but the time that is spent in pronouncing them, as much alike as a dollar and a half-dollar." "Long *e*" is frequently lowered to i; and, although none of our informants mention it, we may be tolerably confident that a pronunciation pi̯ər has existed beside pi̯ər throughout our period. Similarly, *pore* may be either pǫər or pǫ̣ər. The southern English pronunciation pɔə has become very popular in the vicinity of New York and Boston; I have found no trace of it before 1850, but it may have existed very much earlier as a vulgarism. Such words as *for, short*, where *o* precedes an *r* that is final or followed by a consonant, form a different class, and in them *o* has been ɔ for a couple of centuries or longer; the exceptional cases, such as *porch, pork, port, sport*, in which the *o* is sounded ô, have, as far as I can discover, been pronounced substantially in the same way, in New England, during our whole period,[1] although nowadays, in the neighborhood of Boston, they share the fate of words like *pore*. "Long *oo*," like î and ô, may have either the close or the open pronunciation, pu̯ər or pu̯ər. In some dialects this u̯ is further lowered to o̯, ǫ, and even ɔ; in New England this practice exists only for a few words, such as *sure* and *your*, and is frowned upon everywhere but in Boston, where yɔəz = *yours* is very common. It certainly goes back to 1795, when we find *ʃǫ̣ər* for *sure* noted as an "impropriety."

[1] Dearborn, 1795, condemns "coard" for *cord*. Hale, 1799, has ô in *four, hoar, hoard, store, worn*, and o (!) in *forge, horse, snort*. Willard has ô in *roar*, etc., but, very curiously, ɔ in *board*.

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ɔ AND O.

[*Au* in *caught*, *o* in *cot*.]

These two vowels, in England, are rounded, and are uttered with a tongue-position similar to that of ọ and ǫ, but lower. This was doubtless the American practice in the 18th century, although some speakers, while sounding the *o* of *or* as ɔ, apparently gave to *au* and *aw* the value â. Nowadays American ɔ is nearly always unrounded, and is formed by drawing the tongue as far back and as low down as it will go; American o has generally become a retracted a, or â, but in Maine, and with many speakers in all eastern New England, it retains a little rounding.

Franklin makes no distinction between the vowel of *storm* and that of *awl;* moreover, according to him, the ɔ of *ball* and the o of *folly* differ only in quantity, both of them "requiring the mouth opened a little more [than for ô], or hollower." Mackintosh, 1797, identifies *o* in *dot* with French *ŏ;* *o* in *born* is the same sound lengthened; but *au* in *haul* is like the French *â*, "mais plus long encore." Our other authors throw but little light on the subject: Ware, 1814, in his clumsy phonetic spelling, represents ɔ by *aw*, o by *au;* Willard describes ɔ as "the long German sound," o as short ɔ. If this last description is to be trusted, ɔ and o must have lost their lip-modification by 1820; but they evidently had not acquired their present character, for our ɔ and o could never have been regarded by a careful observer, like Willard, as the long and short of the same sound. It is possible that our unrounded ɔ is the descendent of Mackintosh's â = *au*, *aw*, which has attracted and swallowed up the original rounded ɔ = *o*(*r*); in Franklin's pronunciation, on the other hand, ɔ had apparently absorbed â.

In very many cases there is in America a difference of usage between ɔ and o. The doubtful words may be classified

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as follows: those containing *a* or *au* before l + consonant;[1] those containing *o* (or, after *w* or *u*, an *a*) before a voiceless spirant,[2] a voiced spirant,[3] a nasal,[4] a voiced stop,[5] an l or an r.[6] All these words commonly have o in England. In America those of the first class have ɔ almost universally, although o is sometimes heard in New England; those of the third and sixth classes, and most of those of the fourth and fifth, have o in New England, but *long*, etc., *dog*, *gone*, *want*, and a few others are usually pronounced with ɔ; those of the second class have both sounds in New England (ɔ predominating), and almost always ɔ everywhere else. This confusion has probably lasted through our whole period, but I find nowhere any mention of the third and fifth classes, nor any recognition of the sixth except sɔlv (Perry): in these the ɔ was doubtless regarded as vulgar. Perry prescribes ɔ in *cloth*, *cross*, *loft*, *moth*, *off*, etc., and also in *solve*. Mackintosh, 1797, gives the sound ɔ to the *a* of *salt*. Hale, 1799, has ɔ in *cost*, *dross*, *frost*, *froth*, *moth*, *scald*, *soft*, *tongs*, o in *fault*,[7] *gone*, *halt*, *malt*, *swan*, *vault*,[7] *wand*, *wash*. It seems likely that o has gained a little, in the last hundred years, in cultivated New England pronunciation.

Ë AND V.

[*U* in *hurt*, *u* in *hut*.]

These two vowels, ë and ɐ, are now generally distinguished, although both of them are differently pronounced in various localities. In central New York and southern New Jersey they are said to be regularly identical, both being sounded ɐ; this may be the case in some other regions; it is also the Irish pronunciation. On the other hand, the substitution of ë for ɐ before r + vowel, as in *courage*, *hurry*, is very common

[1] *Also*, *alter*, *fault*, *scald*, etc.
[2] *Cloth*, *lost*, *often*, *wash*, etc.
[3] *Bother*, *novel*, *rosin*, *was*, etc.
[4] *Long*, *on*, *romp*, etc.
[5] *Dog*, *God*, *squab*, etc.
[6] *Doll*, *horrid*, *quarrel*, *swallow*, etc.
[7] The earlier 18th century pronunciation was fɔt, vɔt.

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in the West and South. The vowel ɐ in England and in Maine is formed nearly as far back in the mouth as ô; in the greater part of the United States it is less retracted, and in the South it has a decidedly "mixed" quality. The English ë is unrounded, and is described by Sweet as "low-mixed;" the American sound is very often slightly rounded, and requires the tongue a little higher than the English variety.

By the middle of the 18th century "short *u*" had probably been unrounded and lowered into ɐ, and it has not materially changed since then, except before r final or + consonant. Here, also, in the neighborhood of 1750, *u* (and *o* in *word*, etc.) had the sound ɐ; while *e* and *i* vacillated between ɐ and e. In the second half of the century popular usage tended to level all these groups to ɐr, and good speakers were divided between this practice and an effort to keep the value er, or something approaching it, for at least a part of the words with *er, ir*. Sheridan, 1780, seems to follow no method in this matter: he has e, for instance, in *firm, herb, pearl, stern*, ɐ in *fir, first, her, stir*. Walker, 1791, says that *er, ir* + consonant have "the sound of short *u* exactly," except in *birth, firm, girl, girt, girth, mirth, skirt, whirl; er, ir* at the end of a syllable (and in the words just mentioned) "approach the sound of short *u;*" many people "corruptly" give the sound ɐ to *er, ir, ur* indiscriminately. We should like to know more of the nature of the vowel resembling ɐ—a sound obscurely described by several authors long before our period: was it a stressed ə, or was it already the American type of ë? Some kind of ë was in regular use in 1810, when Smart wrote his *Practical Grammar of English Pronunciation: ur*, he says, "has an open[1] which corresponds with the shut[1] sound," ɐ . . .; "this open sound is never heard on any other occasion;" *er, ir*, he adds, are usually pronounced like *ur*, "but with polite speakers, we hear a deviation from the latter pronunciation," approaching er. The foreign grammars of

[1] With Smart, "open" means *close*, and "shut," *open*.

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English that I have been able to examine, down to 1832, make no distinction between ɐ and ë; Gratte, *Cours de Langue anglaise*, Brussels, 1814, for instance, says that *i* in *birch, bird, fir, third*, etc., is "comme *o* ouvert," which is also his definition of "short *u*." Ollendorff, in 1839, defines German ö as English *i* in *bird*. We may safely infer that ë was developed and came into general use in England between 1780 and 1810;[1] but whether it grew out of ɐr, or out of er, or, as is far more likely, out of a compromise between ɐr and er, we cannot be surè.

When did ë first appear in America? Franklin does not distinguish it from ɐ; both *ur* and *er*, *ir* he sounds ɐr. The *Gr. Inst.*, 1784, tells us that "the proper sound of *e* and *i* before *r*" is "short *e*, nearly," a vowel different from e and from ɐ, as in *birth, earth, firm, person;* but ɐ is heard in *bird, fir, her*. Perry, 1785, defines *er, ir, ur* as ɐr, without exceptions. Ash, 1785, has ɐ in *bird, third*. In the *Diss.*, 1789, Webster informs us that "marcy," etc., is common in the vulgar dialect of New England (and "clark, sargeant" in cultivated speech), while "murcy" is an error of "fine speakers," the correct form being mersi. Fraser, 1794, recommends i for *i* before r final or + consonant, but cites numerous exceptions. Mackintosh, 1797, says that the French *e* of *je* is used in *but, cur, fir, her, under;* he gives no exceptions. Hale, 1799, prefers i in *whirl*. Murray, 1802, gives us ɐ in *first* and *flirt*. The *Companion*, 1805, makes no distinction between *fir* and *fur*. Alden, 1813, has ɐ in *birch*,

[1] A sound resembling ë, probably accented ə, must have existed in the dialect of some speakers at a much earlier date. Bolling (cited by Holthausen in his *Englische Aussprache*), a Norwegian, whose *Fuldkommen Engelske Grammatica* was published in Copenhagen in 1678, says that *first, thirst* have Danish ø, while *church, nurse* have u. Sterpin, a Frenchman living in Denmark, brought out, about 1665 or 1670, a French-English-Danish grammar called *Institutiones glotticæ*, in which *ir* is said to be equivalent to Danish ør: see Holthausen in the *Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Lit.*, XCIX, 3–4. See also Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, pp. 264–5.

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bird, dirt, first, flirt, shirt, sir, stir, third, thirst, e in *chirp, dirge, firkin, firm, gird, girl, girt, mirth, skirmish, skirt, smirk, stirp, twirl, virge, virgin, virtue, whirl.* Ware, 1814, in his popular pronunciation, always has *ur* ("burd," "purfec," "survant," "vurtoo"), except in *earth*, which is "arth." Willard affirms that "*e* before *r* in *serve, sermon, serpent,* and the like, is to have the same kind of sound, which it has in *berry,* but it is to be nearly twice as long . . . ." "it is not to be pronounced like *u* in *surly,* nor like *a* in *Sardis,* nor like *a* in *care;*" *ur* in *burst,* on the other hand, has long ə, or, as he tells us, a vowel of the same quality as that of *bur, burrow, dove, worry.* In Worcester, 1830, we find ë recognized as a vowel distinct from all others, and as the regular pronunciation of *er, ir, ur.* Turning to the German grammars, we find in Follen, 1831, that ö has "no correspondent sound in English;" while Fosdick, 1838, regards ö "nearly as the English *u* in *fur.*" Monteith, 1844, says: "ö is pronounced like the French *eu.* The inflection given by a native of London to *ir,* in such words as *birth, mirth,* is a still more correct pronunciation of the ö." We may gather from all this testimony that a sound approaching ë was sometimes used by 1784, but that ɐr (and, in artificial speech, er) prevailed until the neighborhood of 1820; that ë was fully developed and much employed by 1830, but that it could still appear a foreign sound in New England in 1844. In America, as in England, it seems likely that ër first belonged to the *er, ir* words, and was the result of a conscious or unconscious compromise between ɐr and er.

Û AND YÛ.

[*Oo* in *food, eu* in *feud.*]

The pronunciation of "long *u*" has long been a source of trouble to orthoepists. At present, in New England, the sound is: yû at the beginning of a word or after h[1] (in this

[1] *Use, hue,* etc.

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latter case the y is often unvoiced); yû (rustic ïû) after b, f, g, k, m, p, v;[1] regularly û (but sometimes, especially in the country, ïû) after l, r, s, *ʃ*, y, z, *ʒ*;[2] û or ïû (about equally common) after d, n, t, *þ*.[3]

Franklin probably pronounced ïû in the first two cases, û in the last two: we find in his texts fiû, nû, rûl, trû. Webster, *Diss.*, had a different pronunciation: according to him, "long *u*" always had the same sound, which was neither û nor a diphthong, but "a separate vowel, which has no affinity to any other sound in the language," and is best pronounced by countrymen and children; in *new*, he says, no *e* is heard, except in Virginia, where they affect to say "ne-oo, fe-oo." In Webster's Connecticut pronunciation, apparently, something resembling the old ü still remained, perhaps a "high-mixed" vowel. This sound, though doubtless foreign to Franklin's Boston pronunciation, was probably common in rural New England, and must have been an important factor in the later confusion of û and ïû in rustic speech. Some of the English country dialects point to a similar preservation of a "high-mixed" vowel. Perry calls for "long *u*" (does he mean ïû or ü?) in *June, luce, prune, ruse, spruce, strew, sure, truce, truth, yew*, and condemns û in *absolute, presume, true*. Walker, on the other hand, advocates the three treatments of "long *u*" represented by tyûn, fîtʃər, rûd, for which he is roundly abused by Webster in 1806.

There is no doubt that the counsels of Perry and Webster were misunderstood by later orthoepists, and led to an introduction of yû or ïû, in polite speech, after dentals, and to heroic attempts to pronounce one of these groups after all consonants. The ensuing confusion probably did much to mix up û and ïû in the rural dialect. This mixing we see already in Ware's representation of Vermont speech in 1814: "tu"=*two*, "trooth," "hooman," "redoosing," "obskoor,"

[1] *Beauty, few, Gulick, cue, muse, pew, view*, etc.
[2] *Lure, rheum, sue, sure, yew, resume, juice*, etc.
[3] *Due, new, tune, thews*, etc.

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"noomerator," "dootee," "dispooted," "constitooshun," "du" = *do*. Hawes, 1824, gives as words pronounced alike *rood* and *rude*, *room* and *rheum*. The *Biglow Papers* are full of instances. Willard says of *eu*, *ew*, *ue*: "these diphthongs, when they follow *r*, Mr. Walker pronounces like *o* in *do*, as in *brew*, *true*, etc. In most other cases, they have the natural sound of *u* [i. e. ïû], as *blue*, *blew*." He criticizes the pronunciation "juty, chune, multichude," which, he says, "is affected by some persons, who pretend to follow Mr. Walker." Dʒûti, tʃûn, etc., which are mentioned by Webster, 1789, as common but undesirable pronunciations, are no longer used here, except by the Irish. The confusion between û and ïû was probably at its height about 1820; the present tendency seems to be to revert to Franklin's practice.

When "long *u*" follows the principal or secondary accent, it is, of course, shortened to yu or u, and frequently obscured to yə or ə. After n, as in *continue*, the suppression of the y is now vulgar. Otherwise this "ū" is treated like the accented one, unless it be preceded by t, d, s, or z: in this case the consonant combines with the first element of the "ū," and *tū*, *dū*, *sū*, *zū* become tʃə, dʒə, ʃə, ʒə. This pronunciation is practically universal among good speakers, in spite of the efforts of modern orthoepists to force upon the public such combinations as nêtyur, verdyur, isyû, plezyur; in the country, however, a different treatment of *tū*, *dū* is to be found, namely, the omission of the y, and the development tə, də. These last two groups are probably the only ones whose pronunciation has changed during our period. But for these two the developments tə, də (or tü, dü) and tʃə, dʒə existed side by side in the 18th century, and in New England the former certainly prevailed. Franklin said nætərəl. Webster, 1789, declares that nêtür, vɐrdür (or nêtər, vɐrdər?) is the only good usage. Thomas, 1785, says *century* is pronounced like *sentry*. Perry, 1785, condemns both nêtər and nêtʃûr (as well as ʃûprîm). The *Y. L. G. Sp. B.* has: *captor* = *capture*, *coulter* = *culture*, "feter" (defined as "a bad smell") = *feature*, *jester* = *gesture*.

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Murray, 1802, favors dyu in *verdure*. Nêtər, etc., probably became vulgar early in this century.

Ware's Vermont forms, 1814, show the same confusion for unaccented as for accented "ū:" "vallooing," "vurtu," "figyur," "misfourtins," "unokkoopiid," "kreetyoor," "absoloot," "kontinoos," "naychoor," "nayter," "nacher," "sitooashun," "kontribbited." The forms without y prevail in the *Biglow Papers*. Cummings, 1822, gives as identical *captor* and *capture*, *valley* and *value*. Kirkham, 1830, tells us that *d* is to be sounded "j" in *educate*, *grandeur*, *verdure*. Willard says: "*tu*, in the syllable following the accent, has a sound resembling that of *chu*, as in *nature*, *virtuous;*" the *d* in *assiduous*, he remarks elsewhere, has "very nearly the sound of *j*."

The Short Vowels.

[Æ, e, ə, i, u: *a*, *e*, *a*, *i*, *oo* in *fat*, *fet*, *sofa*, *fit*, *foot*.]

The short ɐ, as in *hut*, and o, as in *hot*, have already been discussed. There remain æ, e, ə, i, u, which have probably not changed in sound during the epoch we are studying. Early in the 18th century, "short *a*" was perhaps ă, but it must have become æ before Franklin's time. Mackintosh, 1797, informs us that *a* in *arc* ("short *a*") is like French ă, that *e* in *bed* is equivalent to French è, that the vowel in *bit* is "plus brève et plus gutturale que l'*i* François le plus bref," and that *u* in *pull* is the same thing as French *ou* in *poule;* he does not speak of ə. Franklin confuses ə both with e and with ɐ. We have no specific mention of this sound until we reach Willard, who says it is identical with ɐ.

The rustic use of e for i, so common in Lowell, can be traced back to the 18th century: Dearborn, 1795, criticizes "sense" for *since* and "sperrit" for *spirit;* Hale, 1799, has "ben" for *been;* in Ware, 1814, we find "entu" for *into;* Cummings, 1822, mentions without condemnation "desk" for *disc*, "set" for *sit*. Lowell's use of e for ɐ, in words like *brush*, *such*, is exemplified in Webster, who says that "shet"

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for *shut* "is now becoming vulgar," and condemns "sich" for *such;* in our century it has existed only as a dialect pronunciation, and it seems now to be disappearing. The substitution of e for æ in certain words, now a characteristic of rustic speech, we find in Franklin, who said hez for *has;* The *Y. L. G. Sp. B.* has ketʃ for *catch;* Ware has "hev" and "hed;" Lowell furnishes numerous examples. According to Webster, *Diss.*, *quadrant, qualify, quality, quandary, quantity, shall* are pronounced both with æ and with o; he prefers æ. Webster tells us also that such words as *drop, oft, soft* are often spoken with æ among the descendants of Scotch and Irish. In a few words, such as *friend, get, yes, yesterday,* the *e* (or *ie*) was usually sounded i in the 18th century: Franklin said frind and git; Mackintosh has blis for *bless;* in the 19th century this practice ceased to be fashionable, but git still lingers among the uncultured, and i for e is a regular feature of the Irish brogue.

The Diphthongs.

[Ai, oi, au: *y, oy, ough* in *by, boy, bough.*]

"Long *i*," in New England, is now generally sounded ai, less frequently ʊi or æi. Franklin pronounced it ʊi, as in ʃʊinz = *shines,* ʊiðər = *either.* Webster, 1789, defines it as ai, and condemns a fashionable pronunciation "keind, skey gueide," meaning kyæind, skyæi, gyæid, forms that flourished through the first quarter of our century, and have not yet entirely gone out of use. Mackintosh, 1797, says *i* in *ice* is like French *aï.* Clark, 1830, tells us that *mine* is equivalent to *ma in* in the sentence "is ma in?" Willard, on the other hand, has ʊi, the vowel of *bur* + that of *me.*

The usual pronunciation of *oi* is now oi. This is also the sound given to it by Webster, 1789, and Perry, 1785. Mackintosh, 1797, says that the *oi* of *point* is like French *oi* in *pointe*—probably an erroneous statement. Ware, 1814,

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represents oi as "aw-i:" *joys* = "jawis." Willard describes it as made up of the vowel of *north* + that of *pin*.

The confusion of ai and oi, which has now become very vulgar, was extremely prevalent throughout the 18th century. Fraser, 1794, contains this couplet:

> "The sound of *o i* custom reconciles
> With that of *i* spoke long; as, witness *toils*."

All lists of words pronounced alike contained such pairs as *bile boil, engine enjoin, file foil, pint point, tile toil*. These we find, without condemnation, as late as 1822. Dearborn, 1795, on the other hand, mentions "bile" and "brile" as "improprieties," and Willard calls "ile, pint, line," for *oil, point, loin*, "very old-fashioned."

The diphthong *ou* was "ou" (probably ǫu) in the speech of Franklin and of Webster. From the *Diss.*, 1789, we learn that *ou*, especially after p and c, is often improperly sounded "iou," as "kiow," "piower;" but *ground, round*, etc., are pronounced "with tolerable propriety" by "the most awkward countryman." Mackintosh, 1797, analyzes *ou* as French *aou*, which may indicate æu, but more probably stands for au. Willard defines it as ɔu, and remarks: "many persons give to the *o* in this diphthong the Italian sound of *a* in *car:* and what is unspeakably worse, many others give it a flat sound, as in *care*." He adds careful directions for the pronunciation of *cow*. Lowell shows regularly the form yæu or æu, which has become a striking feature of our rural dialect. The urban pronunciation is now au.

H.

The suppression of initial h followed by an accented vowel, a vulgarism that has flourished for some time in England, perhaps existed here toward the end of the 18th century. Franklin has no trace of it, and I do not find it mentioned in Webster. Perry, 1785, says that the *h* in *hewer, human*, etc., "sounds as if it began with a *y;*" does this mean that the *h*

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is silent? The *Y. L. G. Sp. B.* gives as words pronounced alike: *alter halter, am ham, and hand, arbor harbor, ark hark, arm harm.* Murray, 1802, says: "From the faintness of the sound of this letter, in many words, and its total absence in others, added to the negligence of tutors, and the inattention of pupils, it has happened, that many persons have become almost incapable of acquiring its just and full pronunciation." It is very likely, however, that this was written with reference rather to English than to American usage; and the list of homophones just quoted may have been copied from an English book. The practice certainly never took root in America; there is no evidence of it in Lowell.

NG.

In the 18th century, both in England and in America, final unaccented *-ing* was currently pronounced -in. Franklin, however, has -iŋ, and the American authorities do not countenance -in, being stricter in this respect than the English. Dearborn, 1795, classes it among his "Improprieties." Murray, 1802, says: "The participial *ing* must always have its ringing sound; as, writing, reading, speaking. Some writers have supposed that when *ing* is preceded by *ing*, it should be pronounced *in;* as, singing, bringing should be sounded *singin, bringin:* but as it is a good rule, with respect to pronunciation, to adhere to the written words, unless custom has clearly decided otherwise, it does not seem proper to adopt this innovation." In Lowell, -in is regular, and this is still the rustic and the vulgar urban usage; among cultivated people it has become rarer and rarer, although it is still occasionally heard from educated speakers.

In the reaction against -in, the sound ŋ was substituted, by the ignorant, for the n of final unaccented -in, as in *curtain, fountain, mountain.* This pronunciation, which is still alive in many rural dialects, goes back at least to the latter part of the 18th century. Dearborn, 1795, includes in his "Improprieties:" "brethering," "linning," "sarting," "sovering."

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R.

At present, with most speakers in eastern New England, *r* is sounded as a consonant only before a vowel; before a consonant, or at the end of a phrase, it is either silent or pronounced as a vowel; in the speech of old-fashioned rustics it is sometimes omitted even before a vowel, as in bei = *bury*, fəm = *from*, wëi = *worry*. But in most of Connecticut and Vermont, and in Massachusetts west of the Connecticut River, *r*, with the majority of speakers, always has its consonantal value, although of course it is never trilled. This is the practice in the rest of the North and the West, while the South agrees with eastern New England. The r-country seems to be increasing rather than diminishing; and even in the r-less region, especially in cities, consonant r is probably gaining ground, partly through school training and partly through Irish influence.

In southern England the usage is almost identical with that of eastern New England and our South; in northern England r has been better preserved, although the r of that region is not so strong as the usual American type. The loss of consonant r, both in England and in America, probably took place, in the main, during the latter part of the 18th and the first years of the 19th century. Sheridan's dictionary, 1780, and Smith's *Attempt to Render the Pronunciation of the English Language easy to Foreigners*, London, 1795, admit for *r* only one sound, doubtless meaning the tip-trill. Noehden's *German Grammar*, however, in 1800, informs us that r "is deprived of much of its force and shrillness by the English mode of pronunciation . . . .;" "in English the sound is particularly slight at the end."

Meanwhile Walker, 1791, distinguishes two kinds of r:[1] "the rough *r* is formed by jarring the tip of the tongue

[1] Ben Jonson's *English Grammar*, 1640, says that r is "sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more *liquid* in the middle, and ends"—a statement that lends itself to various interpretations. It indicates, at any rate, a difference in the sound of r according to its position.

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against the roof of the mouth near the fore teeth: the smooth *r* is a vibration of the lower part of the tongue, near the root, against the inward region of the palate, near the entrance of the throat;" the first is to be used before vowels, the second under all other conditions; but "in England, and particularly in London, the *r* in *lard, bard, card, regard,* etc., is pronounced so much in the throat as to be little more than the middle or Italian *a*, lengthened into *laad, baad, caad, regaad.*" This statement, if it be at all correct, teaches us three intercsting things: in the first place, *r* before a vowel was still sounded, in 1790, as a tip-trill; secondly, *r* before a consonant (and *r* final?) had already been reduced, in London and elsewhere, to a vowel glide; thirdly, in the speech of many Englishmen, *r* final or + consonant was a sort of velar spirant, possibly a trill. In some regions a "burred" r still persists, having crowded out the lingual roll;[1] while in other dialects a weak open velar consonant, a kind of unrounded w, takes the place of "rough r," the "smooth" variety being completely lost or vocalized.[2] With most speakers, however, r not followed by a vowel first developed into our modern unrolled type, which then supplanted the "rough r" before vowels, at the same time weakening into an ə when no vowel followed.

This development is indicated by Smart, in his *Grammar of English Pronunciation,* London, 1810. The "rough r" he defines as a trill of the tongue-point against the gums; the "smooth *r* is produced by curling back the tongue till its tip almost points toward the throat, while its sides lean against the gums of the upper side teeth and leave a passage in the middle for the voice"—an excellent description of the modern consonant r. "Rough r," he says, is to be used before vowels, "smooth r" under all other circumstances. This consonant, he adds, "is more frequently the cause of a defect in pronun-

[1] See Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics,* Oxford, 1890, § 211.

[2] I have noted this pronunciation in nearly all the Oxford men I have met. It is occasionally heard in America.

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ciation than any other." In London, he continues, "smooth r" is often substituted for "rough," and a vowel sound for the "smooth;" the Irish, on the other hand, use the "rough" for the "smooth;" some persons can pronounce no r, others have a guttural "burr."

Just when the "rough r" was discontinued in England, and the London substitution of a vowel glide for "smooth r" ceased to be a local peculiarity, I cannot tell. The actual fall of r before a consonant, in many cases, must have begun long before Walker's time. It doubtless disappeared first before s and *ſ*: in *harsh* its fall dates back to Middle Englllsh, in *marsh* at least to the 17th century. In many other words it must have vanished before s, in the vulgar speech of England and America, before ʉr became ër and before ær became ar—that is, probably, before 1780: witness *burst* = bʉst, *curse* = kʉs, *first* = fʉst, *nurse* = nʉs, *purse* = pʉs, *worse* = wʉs, and *arse* = æs, *dar'st* = dæs, *scarce* = skæs.

Let us now trace the history of r in New England. Franklin's r is made with "the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating;" the word *there* he writes both ðe̤r and ðæer, the latter form indicating the development of a glide before the r. Perry observes: "If *r* be preceded by a vowel, and followed by *e* in the same syllable, in spite of every effort to the contrary, there will appear *two* distinct sounds in that pretended syllable, as in *Hare, sere, dire*, etc." Webster says in the *Gr. Inst.*, 1784, that *r* "always has the same sound, as in *barrel*, and is never silent;" *higher* and *hire* he pronounces alike. In the *Diss.*, 1789, he remarks: "Some of the southern people, particularly in Virginia, almost omit the sound of *r*, as in *ware, there*. In the best English pronunciation the sound of *r* is much softer than in some of the neighboring languages, particularly the Irish and Spanish." In the *Am. Sp. B.*, 1794, he repeats the statement that "*r* has only one sound, as in *barrel*." Bingham, 1794, cites as a vulgarism "voff" for *wharf*. In the *Y. L. G. Sp. B.* we find among

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the pairs of words "similar in sound:" *bust burst, calk cork, dust durst, father farther, fust first.* Dearborn's list of "Improprieties," 1795, contains: "dazzent," "gal," "kose" = *coarse,* "skase" = *scarce,* and also "feller," "lor," "sor," "taters," "widder," "winder," showing the addition of r, now very prevalent in eastern New England after ə, a, ɔ, especially when the next word begins with a vowel. Hale, however, in 1799, tells us that r "is formed by turning up and quickly vibrating the end of the tongue in the middle of the mouth."

Passing to our own century, we find Murray, 1802, following Walker: "*r* has a rough sound; as in Rome, river, rage: and a smooth one; as in bard, card, regard." "*Re,* at the end of many words," he adds, "is pronounced like a weak *er;* as in theatre, sepulcre, massacre." In Ware, 1814, occur the forms "galz," "konfeeld." Cummings, 1822, includes among his homophones: *alms arms, bust burst, calk cork, dust durst, father farther, fuzz furze, pillow pillar.* Hawes, 1824, repeats Webster's statement with a significant modification: "r has one sound only, with little variation, as in *barrel,* and is never silent." According to him, *dire, hire, lore, lyre* are pronounced like *dier, higher, lower, liar.* Kirkham, 1830, copies Murray. Willard is more independent: "*R* is never silent. In the beginning of a word, and when it comes between two vowels, as in *rag* or *very,* it has a great deal of sound; but when it comes before a consonant, as in *harm* or *bird,* it has very little sound. After several vowels, however, it is heard almost as a distinct syllable, thus *hire, more,* and the like are necessarily pronounced like *higher, mower,* while *feared, corn,* etc., differ little in pronunciation from *fe-ud* and *caw-un.*" "The long common sound of *i, o,* and *u,*" he says elsewhere, meaning ë, "is often pronounced short, so as to make *first* appear like *fust, worth* like *wuth,* and *burst* like *bust.* This is very improper." According to Lowell, "the genuine Yankee never gives the rough sound to *r* when he can help it, and often displays considerable ingenuity in avoid-

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ing it even before a vowel." From his spellings ("ap'il," "f'om," "fust," "the winta of"), and from the actual practice of his generation, it seems tolerably clear that the "rough sound" meant to Lowell merely the unrolled consonant r, the trill being unknown to him as an element of English speech. Some of the 19th century orthoepists who copied Walker or Smart may have used "rough" in the same sense.

Can we draw any conclusions from this testimony? In the first place, we can, I think, safely assume that from the beginning of our period an *r* final or + consonant, when pronounced with a consonantal value, has been preceded by an indistinct glide, which, however, is hardly noticeable after the low and "mixed" vowels, a, ɐ, æ, ë, ə, and ɔ; this glide was probably short and weak as long as the *r* was trilled, but became conspicuous as soon as the rolling ceased, and in modern New England speech has taken the place of the r. We may infer, moreover, that in Franklin's day *r* was trilled under all circumstances; that Webster always pronounced it as a consonant, but perhaps without vibration, although the rolled r remained in use in some regions until the end of the century; that the modern practice was established at least as early as 1820. There is no trace of velar r, nor of the peculiar New York ï. In the vulgar dialect (and doubtless sporadically in cultivated usage) r was frequently vocalized or lost before consonants in the latter part of the 18th century; this weakening of r final or + consonant probably became universal in the rustic speech, and was extended to many cases of r + vowel, during the first ten or twenty years of our century.

V AND W.

Webster wrote, in 1789: "The pronunciation of *w* for *v* is a prevailing practice in England and America; it is particularly prevalent in Boston and Philadelphia. . . . Many people say *weal, wessel* for *veal, vessel.*" He adds that this pronunciation is not heard in Connecticut, his native state.

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We have abundant evidence that the substitution of w for v (and, in a misdirected effort at correctness, of v for w) was very general in England in the second half of the 18th century, and was not necessarily a sign of illiteracy. In the first half of our century this practice came to be regarded as a Cockney vulgarism, and it has now almost disappeared.

In America I find no traces of its existence except in Atlantic seaport towns, whither it was doubtless imported from the mother country. Bingham's *Young Lady's Accidence*, Boston, 1794, contains, in a list of incorrect sentences: "I cotch a werry bad cold" and "The wessel lays at the voff." This pronunciation must have died out in Boston early in our century. In New York, judging from dialect stories, it lingered in the slums as late as the sixties. In Philadelphia it could still be occasionally heard, about 1850, from elderly and not necessarily ill-educated people.

W AND *WH*.

In the 18th century most speakers, both cultured and ignorant, used w for hw, and this practice still prevails in southern England. However, the pronunciation hw (or voiceless w) either was kept alive by some purists, or was resuscitated (in America, at least) about the time of the Revolution. Perry, 1785 (Edinburgh, 1777), says that *h* is silent in *wharf*, but not in *which*. Thomas, 1785, tells us that *weal* and *wheel*, *wet* and *whet*, *wight* and *white*, *witch* and *which* are "nearly alike in sound." "Voff" and "wether" (= *whether*) are given as vulgarisms in 1794 and 1814. Cummings, 1822, puts into a list of homophones *wet* and *whet*, *wight* and *white*, *witch* and *which*. Lowell, in 1848, declares that the Yankee "omits altogether" the "*h* in such words as *while*, *when*, *where*." This practice has almost died out in New England, even among the uneducated. It is still to be found, however, in Salem and Gloucester. In the words *whoa!* and *why!* the use of w for hw is common everywhere, and wɔəf for *wharf* is usual in seaport towns.

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Accent.

One of the striking differences between American and English pronunciation is due to our development (or the English loss) of a secondary accent in such words as *difficulty*, *necessary*, where the main stress is on the fourth syllable from the end. It is interesting to read in the *Gr. Inst.*, 1784: "It is a general rule that every third syllable has some degree of accent. . . . When the full accent is on the first syllable, there is generally a half accent on the third." In the *Diss.* he mentions also the New England drawl.

I quote the following passage from Murray, 1802: "There is scarcely anything which more distinguishes a person of a poor education from a person of a good one, than the pronunciation of the *unaccented* vowels. When vowels are *under the accent*, the best speakers and the lowest of the people, with very few exceptions, pronounce them in the same manner; but the unaccented vowels in the mouths of the former, have a distinct, open, and specifick sound, while the latter often totally sink them or change them into some other sound."

Influence of Spelling.

The printed form of words has long had, both in England and here, a powerful influence on their development. That influence seems, at the present day, to be considerably stronger in America than in the old country. Webster complained of it in 1789. He cites as instances kuld, wuld, pîrt, nêtaiv in the Eastern States, and in the Middle States "prejudīce" and "practīse." Pîrt is still to be heard in the country.

Miscellaneous.

The following pronunciations, noted between 1788 and 1814, perhaps deserve special mention:—

again: Alden, əgen; so always in the 18th century.
beard: *Diss.* approve bêrd, condemn bîrd.

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because: *Diss.* say bikêz is frequent in N. E.
chaise: *Diss.* condemn ʃê.
china: Alden, tʃênə.
chorister: Alden, kwiristər; common in English manuals.
clerk: Alden, klærk.
clothes: Alden and *Y. L. G. Sp. B.*, klôz.
colonel: Perry, Mackintosh, Alden, kɐrnəl.
deaf: according to *Diss.*, the English say def, the Americans usually dîf.
deceit (conceit, receipt): in N. E., according to *Diss.*, the accented vowel is ê, in the Middle and Southern States and in England, î.
door (floor): *Y. L. G. Sp. B.*, û.
either (neither): *Diss.*, ai only in N. E., in Middle and Southern States and in England, î; Murray, î.
European: *Diss.* approve accent on the *o*, but say that the modern fashion is to stress the *e*.
ewe: *Diss.*, yû in America, yô in England.
fierce (pierce, tierce): *Diss.*, e in England, î in Middle and Southern States.
heard: *Diss.*, American pronunciation is hîrd, but since the Revolution fashionable people imitate the English herd or hɐrd.
immediate (comedian, commodious, tragedian): *Diss.*, dʒ for *di* is common in good society, but not to be recommended.
keg: Alden, kæg.
leap: *Diss.*, lîp in America, lep in England.
leeward: Alden, lïûərd.
oblige: *Diss.*, ai and î equally good.
once (twice): *Diss.*, in Middle States wɐnst, twaist, these pronunciations being common among well educated people in Philadelphia and Baltimore.
quay: Alden, kê.
quote: *Y. L. G. Sp. B.*, kôt.

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raisin: *Diss.*, rîzn very popular in two or three principal towns in America; often recommended in text-books.
Rome: *Diss.*, ô and û both in good use.
sacrifice: *Diss.*, in America ê in first syllable.
salad (ballad): Perry, *d* = t; common in English manuals.
schedule: Murray, *sch* = s.
sewer: Alden, *ʃ*ôər.
sigh: Perry, saið; condemned by Dearborn.
tempt (empty): Murray, *p* silent.
to: Franklin, tô; cf. Lowell, also Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit.*
tyranny: *Diss.*, in America ai in first syllable.
vat (veneer): Alden, *v* = f.
wound: *Diss.*, in England û, in America generally ǫu.
wrath: *Diss.*, in America nearly always æ.
yellow: Alden, æ.
zealous: *Diss.*, zîlʊs in America.

In Dearborn's *Columbian Grammar*, Boston, 1795, is a list of "Improprieties," some of which are quoted below:—

acrost	furder
artur = after	gin = given
bamby = by and by	ginerally
batchelder	hankicher
bekays = because	hearn = heard
cheer = chair	hizzen = his
chimbley	housen = houses
clostest = closest	keer = care
cornder = corner	keerds = cards
cotch = caught	kivver = cover
crap = crop	larnin
disjest = digest	lemme = let me
drap = drop	mild = mile
dreen = drain	neest = nest
drownded	nunder = under

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ourn
outdacious
pardener = partner
parson = person
quoin'd = coined
reasons = raisins
riz = risen
rozom = rosin
scythe = sigh
seck = sex
seed = saw
shear = share
shot, shet = shut
sildom
sitch
sot
sparrowgrass
speek = spike
study = steady
theirn
townd = town
want = was not
war = were
watermilyon
week = wick
yourn.

The Biglow Dialect.

In the introduction to the *First Series* of the *Biglow Papers*, Lowell gives the opening speech of *Richard III* in the rustic New England pronunciation, as well as he could reproduce it in the ordinary characters. Here it is in phonetic spelling:—

Næu iz ðə wintə əv æuə diskəntent
med glôriəs sʉmə bə ðis sʉn ə Yok,
æn ol ðə klæudz ðət læuəd əpʉn æuə hæus
in ðə dîp bʉzəm ə ði ôʃin berid;
næu eə æuə bræuz bæund iðˇ viktôriəs rîðz;
æuə brïûzid amz hʉŋ ʉp fə moniməns;
æuə stan ələrəmz tʃændʒd tə meri mîtinz,
æuə drefl matʃiz tə dələitfl mêʒəz.
Grim-vizidʒd wə heþ smïûðd hiz riŋkld frʉnt,
æn næu, instid ə mæuntin beəbid stîdz
tə frait ðə sôlz ə fëfl edvəseriz,
hi kêpəz nimli in ə lêdiz tʃæmbə,
tə ðə ləsiviəs plîzin əv ə lût.

C. H. Grandgent.

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VI.—THE WORK OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.[1]

In one of his most characteristic essays Matthew Arnold has discussed the literary influence of academies. He reminds us that "In the bulk of the intellectual work of a nation which has no centre, no intellectual metropolis like an academy . . . . there is observable a *note of provinciality*." This note of provinciality, he further says, is due to one or both of two causes: (1) To remoteness from a "centre of correct information;" and (2) to remoteness from a "centre of correct taste." Remoteness from a centre of correct information gives rise to provinciality of ideas; while remoteness from a centre of correct taste gives rise to provinciality of style. Arnold declares, for example, that Addison, though free from provinciality of style, is yet provincial in his ideas. He is not a moralist of the first rank, says Arnold, because "he has not the best ideas attainable in or about his time, and which were, so to speak, in the air then, to be seized by the finest spirits. . . . He is provincial by his matter, though not by his manner."

I have quoted these words of Arnold because they seem to me to express with admirable clearness the purpose of our Association. That purpose is by united effort to establish a centre of correct information for the settlement of questions relating to the Modern Languages and Literatures. We wish to make accessible to every advanced student and to every teacher of the Modern Languages "the best ideas attainable in or about his time." When Sir Isaac Newton was asked why he was able to see into the secrets of nature farther than other men, his reply was, "Because I stand on the shoulders

[1]Address of the President of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, at its Annual Meeting held at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., December, 1898.

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of giants." And so the teacher of Modern Languages who does not stand upon the heights already reached, who does not utilize the results already attained, not only misses the Pisgah sights but dooms his own labor to the realm of the provincial and the fragmentary.

Of course books may do much, but I question whether any number of books can create the atmosphere that one finds at an association of representative scholars. The various points of view represented, the unexpected suggestions, the stimulus of personal contact and intercourse, the assaults upon positions long considered unassailable, the very titles of papers read, will often do more toward lifting the teacher out of the routine of thought or method into which he may have drifted, than any book or books can possibly do.

Teachers and students of language are in constant danger not only of working in grooves, but of announcing discoveries that are not discoveries. The editors of philological, educational, and literary journals all agree that the articles that fill their waste-baskets and "go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire," owe their rejection not to lack of conscientious and prolonged effort on the part of those who write them, but to lack of enlightened up-to-date effort. Every department of Modern Language study is to-day occupied by busy workers, the results of whose labors must be known, at least in part, to every teacher or student who aspires to eminence or influence in his work.

Let us take a practical illustration. I do not believe that our country has ever had a more devoted toiler in philology than Noah Webster; but, largely on account of conditions unalterable by him, he was an isolated toiler. He died in 1843, and all his etymological work had at once to be revised, for it was hopelessly behind the times. He had access to no "centre of correct information;" he was not in touch with "the best ideas attainable in or about his time."

Where can you find a better illustration of the note of provinciality than in Webster's labored and conscientious

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efforts to explain the linguistic difficulties that confronted him? He noticed, for example, that his New England countrymen said *kiow* instead of *cow* and he declared, after due meditation on the subject, that the New England people owed this peculiarity of pronunciation to "the nature of their government and the distribution of their property." With this clue can you divine his meaning? It is in substance as follows: The country people of New England have few slaves, few large fortunes, and few social distinctions. Hence they have a "drawling nasal tone" instead of that air of authority found among those who own slaves and pride themselves on social distinctions. Thus in the South the master says to his slave, "Milk the cow;" but in New England they advise: "Will you please milk the kiow?"

Now I do not censure Webster for not belonging to the Modern Language Association of America, but I use his revered name as an illustration of the misdirection and futility that so often attend the best laid efforts of those who have access to no centre of correct information and who are therefore not in touch with the best ideas attainable in or about their time. Webster lived at a time when Jacob Grimm had laid securely the foundation of historical grammar, when August Wilhelm von Schlegel had laid the foundation of Sanskrit philology, when Franz Bopp had laid the foundation of comparative grammar, and when August Friedrich Pott had laid the foundation of scientific phonetics; but, like Gallio, Noah Webster "cared for none of those things."

Arnold tells us again that the provincial spirit invariably "exaggerates the value of its ideas for want of a high standard by which to try them." Hence we find Webster declaring that he has pushed his philological inquiries "probably much farther than any other man," and has made discoveries that will "render it necessary to revise all the lexicons—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—now used as classical books." But it need not be further emphasized that in a department so broad,

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so varied, so filled with illustrious names, as that of language study, isolated effort means futile effort.

Now the Modern Language Association of America stands for united effort. It seeks by annual meetings and by publications to organize the agencies and to elevate the standard of Modern Language study in every State and County of the Union. It endeavors to educate public sentiment in regard to the Modern Languages so that the note of provinciality shall no longer characterize either the investigations of American scholars or the methods of American teachers. This Association does not believe that the profoundest scholar or the most successful investigator is always the best teacher; but it does believe that without the atmosphere of investigation, without the spirit of research, teaching becomes formal and learning fragmentary.

That there is need for an Association of this sort, will be apparent to any one who will review, even cursorily, the trend of opinion in regard to the Modern Languages. It is astonishing to see how slow these languages and literatures have been in coming to their own. Every inch of ground has been contested. There was not a professorship of Modern Languages in this country until 1816, when the Smith Professorship of French and Spanish was founded at Harvard. There was no regularly appointed tutor of French at Harvard before 1806, though Harvard was founded during the lifetime of Corneille, Molière, and La Fontaine; nor was there an official teacher of German before 1830. The Modern Languages, says an honored President of the Modern Language Association of America, James Russell Lowell, were not deemed worthy to be taught except "as a social accomplishment or as a commercial subsidiary." It has been shown by statistical investigation that, in the Southern States of the Union, the study of the Modern Languages did not find a recognized place in higher education until after 1870; that before 1860 there were, in the South, probably not more than three Modern Language professorships.

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English, on the whole, has fared, I think, worst of all. "It was in 1874," says President Eliot, "that we established, for the first time, an examination in English for admission to Harvard College." It is well known that in the Grammar Schools of England, from the foundation of Winchester in Chaucer's time to the present day, Latin has been the dominant subject of study, and in many cases the only subject. The first book ever used for the formal teaching of English grammar was Dr. John Colet's *Introduction to Lily's Latin Grammar* written in the beginning of Henry VIII's reign. This book remained the standard of grammatical reference in England for over two hundred years. Now the significant fact is that neither Colet's *Introduction* nor any book emanating from it was properly an English grammar at all. They were translations of Latin grammars and were designed to introduce the pupil to the study of Latin, not to the study of English. Colet himself calls his book "An Introducyon of the Partes of Spekyng for Chyldren and Yonge Begynners in to Latyn Speche," and there is no reason to believe that he ever anticipated the use of his *Introduction* except as an elementary text-book of Latin.

It hardly needs to be said that the teaching of English out of books like these was simply Procrustean, because the grammatical rules of a highly inflected ancient language were foisted upon a Modern Language that had been steadily dropping its inflections from the dawn of its historical period. English grammar was defined as an art, but it was taught as a science; for there was no attempt made to give practice in composition or to increase the range and fulness of the pupil's power of interpretation. And it is only in recent years that English grammars have begun in some measure to throw off the incubus of a servile adherence to Latin grammars, and to claim the right of a separate and independent language to a separate and independent treatment.

And yet one becomes somewhat reconciled to the neglect of English grammar in Renaissance times when one considers the

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remarkable treatment that other Modern Languages received at the hands of the Englishmen of that day who essayed to write popular text-books. One of the French grammars most widely used in England during the sixteenth century was prepared by John Palsgrave, a native Londoner. Palsgrave, it seems, had made some original investigations in French phonetics, and had arrived at the conclusion that the French people covet harmony in their speech above all else. By way of simplifying the matter to young and tender minds Palsgrave thus explains how the Parisians attain their harmony of speech: "To be armonyous in theyr speking, they use one thyng which none other nation dothe, but onely they. That is to say, they make a maner of modulation inwardly; for they forme certayne of theyr vowelles in theyr brest and suffre not the sounde of them to passe out by the mouthe, but to assende from the brest straight up to the palate of the mouth, and so by reflection yssueth the sounde of them by the nose." Palsgrave taught French to Henry VIII's sister. She died early.

The vicissitudes of the Modern Languages in their struggle for recognition by the side of the Classical Languages form an interesting and in certain aspects a unique chapter in the history of education. It is held by all writers on the origin of grammatical study that grammars were first written for the purpose of expounding to later generations some great literary masterpiece that had made its language the norm for the period. Grammars were at first, therefore, merely expository, not at all regulative. Thus if a Shakespeare or a Dante should happen to be born among the negroes of the South, the negro dialect would soon have its grammar so as to make possible to a wider circle the interpretation of its dramatic or epic literature. Literature naturally precedes grammar, or rather grammar follows literature, for grammar is the key by which we unlock the treasures of literature. And yet when it could no longer be denied that masterpieces of prose and poetry *had* been produced in the Modern Lan-

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guages,—when Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Luther, Molière, and Cervantes had spoken into existence a sovereign literature, responsive to the newer needs and pulsing with the newer life of their centuries, the language of this literature was deemed unworthy of scientific study. The literature had come, but the language in which this literature lay incarnate had to plead for centuries for even the most meager recognition, and still pleads for adequate recognition.

The most significant lines, in my judgment, that Ben Jonson ever wrote, are those in which he confidently pits the work of his dead friend, William Shakespeare, against the sum

> "Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come;"

and yet a reading of Ben Jonson's *English Grammar* demonstrates that his appreciation of the height to which English literature had risen in Shakespeare had yet left him an unbeliever in the corresponding worth and dignity of the language that Shakespeare used. Indeed the only writer throughout the whole of the sixteenth century, so far as I know, who dared to raise his voice in behalf of English as against Latin was the now forgotten Richard Mulcaster (died 1611). "I love Rome," said he, "but London better; I favor Italie, but England more; I honor the Latin, but I worship the English."

I shall not enter into any discussion of the relative merits of the Ancient and the Modern Languages. The task is one of peculiar difficulty, and, like the fox in the fable, I find some tracks leading into this den, but none leading out. The Société de Linguistique de Paris, founded in 1865, wisely forbids in its constitution the reading of any paper devoted either to the origin of language or to the creation of a universal language. We would do well to incorporate these inhibitions into our constitution (though I believe we have never violated either of them), and to add a malediction on him who should essay to hold the balance between the

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Modern Languages and the Classical. This Association does not seek to depreciate any language, far less the almost sacred tongues of Homer and Vergil.

But I wish to touch upon a certain attitude of mind toward the Modern Languages that has served, I think, to retard a proper estimate of their structural peculiarities. These languages differ most obviously from the Classical Languages in retaining but a small number of their earlier inflections. Now comparative philologists habitually speak of the loss of inflections as a sign of decay, a sort of autumnal stage through which some languages pass. The Modern Languages, therefore, are but worn-out relics of their originals, whether these originals be the Classical or the earlier Teutonic tongues. The throwing off of inflections is regarded as a form of degeneration and corruption. Phonetic change is called phonetic decay. The earliest known form of a language is taken not only as the starting point, but as the standard. Accordingly, such poor languages as French, English, and Danish, which have lost most of their patrimony of inflections, are looked upon as prodigal sons, who have wasted their substance with riotous living.

Ampère, in his recent *Histoire de la langue française* (2nd ed.), speaks of the processes necessary "to repair the ruins," "to remedy the disease," "to avoid the confusion," caused by the dropping of inflections. Schleicher, whose influence has dominated Indo-Germanic philology since the publication of his famous *Compendium* in 1861, declares that the languages spoken now are "senile relics;" that in historical times "all languages move only downhill." Schleicher was doubtless led to these extreme views from two causes: first, from the emphasis that he placed on the Indo-Germanic parent language, or "Ursprache" (he being the first to introduce the term); and, second, from his conception of language as an organism, not unlike a tree. His estimate of a language, therefore, was purely the morphological estimate. He even instances modern English as an example of "how rapidly the

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language of a nation, important both in history and literature, can sink." One of his expressions deserves especial notice, for in it Schleicher seems to me to reduce his own theory perilously near to absurdity: he speaks of "the subjugation of language through the evolution of the mind."

A few dissident voices, but only a few, have from time to time been raised. Madvig, the Danish grammarian of Latin, affirms that the analytic languages are just as good as the synthetic, because thought can be expressed in both with equal clearness. Jacob Grimm maintained fifty years ago that the Modern Languages, though they have fewer means than the ancient, are more effective. The most decided statements on this subject have been made by two scholars in the last decade,—Kräuter (in Herrig's *Archiv*, 57, 204) and Jespersen (in his *Progress in Language*, p. 14). Kräuter asserts that "The dying out of forms and sounds is looked upon by the etymologists with painful feelings: but no unprejudiced judge will be able to see in it anything but a progressive victory over lifeless material. Among several tools performing equally good work, that is the best which is simplest and most handy." Jespersen takes still more advanced ground: "The fewer and shorter the forms, the better; the analytic structure of modern European languages is so far from being a drawback to them that it gives them an unimpeachable superiority over the earlier stages of the same languages. The so-called full and rich forms of the ancient languages are not a beauty but a deformity."

An American scholar, widely known as an appreciative commentator on Shakespeare and as a popular writer on the use and abuse of words, has called English "a grammarless tongue;" but English is not a grammarless tongue, nor is even Danish a grammarless tongue. Their grammar is not the grammar of elaborate inflections nor of varied verb-forms, but it is none the less grammar. Every falling away of inflection, provided the linguistic consciousness does not take a different turn, is followed at once, or rather is preceded, by

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some equivalent syntactical formation. Language maintains its old function of expressing thought. As the mood-endings are dropped, the auxiliaries take their places; as the case-endings weaken, the prepositions step into the breach; and if the nouns lose their terminal distinctions of subject and object, the order in which these nouns stand in the sentence proclaims their relations as plainly as if they wore the frontlets of inflection. There is no loss,—there is only replacement. Grammatical distinctions have come to be differently expressed; but tense, mood, case, subject and predicate are still there, because these things are of the very essence of thought itself. Grammatical facts are mental facts, because they express logical processes.

The insistence on these simple truths is the more important because the opinion is almost universal that the analysis of the Modern Languages does not furnish the mental discipline offered by the Classical Languages. I believe, on the contrary, that while Latin and Greek make heavier demands on the memory, the uninflected languages make the stronger appeal to the reasoning faculties. You can *see* syntactical distinctions in the ancient languages, because each word wears the inflectional badge of its function; but in the Modern Languages you must *feel* these distinctions. It is for this reason that I have always considered the study of Old English as valuable not merely as an historical introduction to the structure of Modern English, but as a logical introduction through patent forms to the implied relations of our uninflected speech.

It is only in this sense that the words of Whitney find their justification. "Give me a man," says he, "who can with full intelligence take to pieces an English sentence—brief, and not too complicated even—and I will welcome him as better prepared for further study in other languages than if he had read both Cæsar and Vergil, and could parse them in the routine style in which they are so often parsed."

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It is thus seen that the claims of the Modern Languages and Literatures have met with determined opposition; but their course has been steadily onward. Not a backward step has been taken, and no position once gained has ever been lost. It was only after vigorous fighting that science was given a place in the schools, the champions of science being usually the champions also of the Modern Languages. To a reader of Combe's famous lectures on *Popular Education*, delivered in 1833 before the Edinburgh Philosophical Association, there is much significance in the fact that during the second meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, a committee from the Society of Naturalists for the Eastern United States presented the following resolution: "That the Society of Naturalists of the Eastern United States, recognizing the great importance of a thorough knowledge of Modern Languages, especially of German and French, to students of Natural History, regard it as a hopeful sign that a Conference of Professors in this department is now assembled at Columbia College, and hereby express their hearty sympathy with this work."

But science was not the only ally that came to the aid of the Modern Languages; a little later, the study of history was extended so as to include modern movements, modern social developments and sociological questions. Both of these advances, the scientific and the historical, have been of great service in accelerating the recognition of the Modern Languages; for it is beginning to be perceived that these languages and literatures are a part of modern history; that they alone bind nation with nation, and link the present with the past; that they furnish worthy material for most rigid scientific study; and that so far from diminishing the interest in the Ancient Languages, they add to that interest by furnishing an invaluable basis for comparative study. They exhibit the principles of linguistic growth, of phonetic change, of the influence of race and environment on idiom and vocabulary,

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in a way that makes their study indispensable to the investigator in any department of language.

These are some of the considerations that make the student of the Modern Languages enthusiastic in his work and justly hopeful of the future.

I have stated what I conceive to be the central purpose of our Association, and have enumerated some of the difficulties and misconceptions that the Modern Languages have had to contend with in their struggle for academic recognition. It remains now to trace briefly some of the movements that facilitated the founding of the Modern Language Association of America, and some of the results that it has already attained; for, though it is true that our Association finds the reason of its existence in the problems that still confront it, it finds no less surely the warrant of its perpetuity in the results that lie behind it. Few if any language associations have better vindicated the wisdom of their founders or attested the timeliness of their organization.

The Modern Language Association of America is not of a fortuitous birth, but is the product and continuation of forces that have found increasing expression from the very beginning of our century. The centuries that are gone have had their renaissance, their new learning; and this century, too, has ushered in a new learning, but it is the learning stored in the Modern Languages not in the tongues of Greece and Rome.

In the earlier part of the century, the influence of Walter Scott's writings was an important factor in the formation of numerous Scotch clubs and societies organized for the purpose of publishing the historical and literary matérial which, till his time, had been almost totally neglected. One of these clubs, the Bannatyne, Scott himself founded, and became its first president. The publications of these societies marked a new era in the efforts made in English-speaking countries toward the rescue of the materials on which the study of our vernacular must be based. Attention was thus

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called afresh to the vast stores of *inedita* that lay idle in the libraries of Scotland and England. In 1842 the English Philological Society was organized, and fifteen years later began to agitate the publication of a great dictionary that should trace the life-history of every word that forms, or has ever formed, a part of the English vocabulary. The appearance in 1884 of the first instalment of this dictionary, known as *The Oxford Dictionary*, marks an epoch in English. Such a work as this, however, would have been impossible had it not been for the beneficent activity of Dr. Furnivall, who in 1864 organized the now famous Early English Text Society. The publications of this society alone have not only made possible the scientific study of Old English and Middle English, but have stimulated a new interest in the whole subject of dialectology. "Members of the Society will learn with pleasure," said Dr. Furnivall, in 1890, "that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders, Professors Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, etc." It is gratifying to know that amid all the discouragements incident to the work of the Early English Text Society, Dr. Furnivall has found "aid and cheer" in the sympathy and ready help extended by scholars in the United States.

In 1869 the American Philological Association was organized, the influence of which has been felt not only in the Classical and Oriental Languages, but in the Modern Languages as well. Its annual meetings are held during the summer months, and its membership is now about four hundred and twenty-five. In 1876 the Johns Hopkins University was founded and the scientific study of the Modern Languages first introduced. It would be hard to overestimate the influence of this University in giving full academic recognition to the Modern Languages, in stimulating original

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research by basing it on purely scientific methods, and in bringing about a more enlightened attitude toward these languages in other centres of learning. In 1880 the *American Journal of Philology* was founded, and Professor Gildersleeve became its editor. It is open to original communications in all departments of philology,—classical, comparative, oriental, and modern. The name of its editor is a sufficient guarantee of the standard of scholarship that it has maintained; but I wish to add a personal tribute to the suggestiveness of its articles and reviews to the student of the Modern Languages. To the domain of English syntax, at least, the *American Journal of Philology* has made permanent contributions.

But a growing need had long been felt for some organization devoted exclusively to the Modern Languages and Literatures, and in December of 1883, at Columbia College, New York, the first meeting of the Modern Language Association of America was held. To no two men does the Association owe so much as to Professor A. M. Elliott, who laid its foundation and shaped its policy, and to Professor James W. Bright, whose loyalty to its interests and whose exacting labors in its behalf have made every member his debtor. The Association has grown steadily from the beginning and now numbers about five hundred members. The list printed after the second meeting of the Association, December, 1884, shows an enrolment of one hundred and thirty-five, twenty per cent. of whom represent states lying west of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. These states now furnish forty per cent. of the total membership, having just doubled their quota.

It was evident, therefore, almost from the start, that the formation of a Western, or Central, Section or Division would eventually become necessary. The meetings were very naturally held almost exclusively in the East. Distance and consequent expense thus made it impracticable for the members in the Western and Middle States, as well as for those along the southern course of the Mississippi, to attend

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as regularly as they desired. They received the *Publications* of the Association, but were deprived of the privilege of personal acquaintance and the mutual exchange of ideas enjoyed at the annual meetings. The initiative in the new movement was taken by representatives of the Universities of Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa; and in December of 1895, at the University of Chicago, the first meeting of our Central Division was held.

Such has been the history of the Modern Language Association of America. I wish that it were in my power to portray its influence as clearly as I recognize it and as strongly as I feel it. It found the Modern Language forces wholly unorganized; there was no centre, no coöperation; teachers in adjoining States or in the same State knew nothing of one another's methods except by the most casual intercourse. Able teachers were, of course, found here and there, but Modern Language instruction was not receiving, nor seemed likely to receive, the academic recognition that it merited; and scientific research, with a few exceptions, was practically unknown.

During the fifteen years of its existence, it has united and consolidated the Modern Language forces into an agency whose influence is recognized as paramount by the leading Colleges and Universities of thirty-nine States. It has not only caused the formation of smaller associations of like character in the different States, but has led to the organization of the first American Dialect Society. This Society issues independent publications, or *Notes*, and is gathering material for a compendious American Dialect Dictionary, similar to the *English Dialect Dictionary* now in process of publication.

Not only have graduate courses in the Modern Languages been introduced into many institutions since 1883, but fundamental courses also have been added, such as those in Old English, Middle English, Old Norse, Old High German, and Old French. In 1875 there were only twenty-three

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Colleges and Universities in the United States in which any instruction was given in Old English. The subject was not taught at such institutions as the University of Michigan, Dartmouth, Princeton, and Vanderbilt. To-day a college giving no instruction in Old English or in Chaucer is the exception rather than the rule. In 1887, as a further indication of the progress that the Modern Language sentiment had made, Harvard led the way in placing advanced admission examinations in French and German upon a level with those in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and all other subjects. For admission to Harvard, examinations must be passed in at least two advanced subjects. "These advanced subjects," said President Eliot, addressing the Modern Language Association in December, 1889,—"used to be with us, as in most other American institutions, only Latin, Greek, and Mathematics; but . . . . now any candidate for admission may present as advanced subjects, French and German, if he chooses . . . . and I submit to you that this is a considerable step towards the introduction of advanced teaching of these languages into the secondary schools."

It is only in the last fifteen years that the latest results of French and German investigation have begun to find widespread and appreciative welcome in the American centres of Modern Language instruction; and more gratifying still has been the reciprocal influence of American thought. The *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* not only take their place in the libraries of foreign Universities as aids in advanced investigation, but prove that the day has come when the organized efforts of our own country in behalf of the Modern Languages are beginning for the first time to receive accredited recognition wherever these languages are studied.

We make our appeal for coöperation, therefore, to all who are interested in the Modern Languages, to the teacher in the Secondary School as well as to the professor in the College and University. Ours is a common cause and we press

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toward a common goal. The good of the one is the good of the other, for the triumph of the one is the triumph of the other. Let us take with us into the discussions in which we are about to engage, and into the class-rooms that we have left for a season, these brave words of Milton: "The light which we have gained, was given us not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge."

C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

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VII.—ARE FRENCH POETS POETICAL?

The question is not an idle one. At least many persons of discernment have answered it in the negative, and it may be worth our while to try to find out what grounds there may be for a judgment which strikes a Frenchman as little short of stupendous. And first, when French poetry is criticized, we may be sure that popular poetry or folk song cannot be meant. Surely that country cannot be barren of folk poets which has given us such gems of folk song as *Jean Renaud*, and *Derrière chez mon père*, to mention only two of the best. France has always had plenty of popular poetry that appealed to the masses and fulfilled its function of intensifying their emotion. William's Frenchmen of Normandy rushed at their English foes with the song of Roland on their lips, and Beaumarchais' "tout finit par des chansons" is still true. Stand near a big factory in Paris between eleven and twelve when the workmen are having their midday meal: you will as often as not find them listening to a fiddler playing and singing a song on the latest event of public interest. To cite two cases that came under my observation, the death of Pasteur and the loss of La Bourgogne were thus commemorated.

As far as popular poetry is concerned there can be no question; that, at least, has always been poetical in that it has always fulfilled its function; it has always multiplied the people's emotions and set their hearts throbbing.

But the charge is rather made against the literary or artistic poetry of France.

When as kindly and humane a philosopher (or shall we say a poet?) as Emerson can write:—

> When France, where poet never grew,
> Halved and dealt the globe anew,
> Goethe, raised o'er joy and strife,
> Drew the firm lines of Fate and Life.
>
> Emerson, *Solution*.

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When one of England's greatest poets, who surely was anything but a foe to France, comes right out with this—

> And Boileau, whose rash envy could allow
> No strain which shamed his country's creaking lyre,
> That whetstone of the teeth—monotony in wire!
>
> *Childe Harold*, Canto IV, St. 38.

surely something is amiss. Either the charge is true, or some fatal dimness blinds the eyes of these men as soon as they take up a book of French verse.

That the first alternative is correct, no one whose heart has ever throbbed to the noble idealism which has made of France a beacon light of cheer to downtrod men in every land, and who has beheld the eyes of a French crowd light up as the rhythm of some mighty line stirred their very souls, will admit for one moment. Surely, he will say, both the substance and the form of poetry are here. Have we not love-sorrow breaking into verse through its very intensity in de Musset, the largeness of vision and rythmic sweep of Hugo, the intense coloring and noble world-sorrow of Leconte de Lisle, the white heat zeal for duty and honor of old Corneille, the fearless gaze and matchless song of Villon?

We are thus perforce driven on to the other horn of our dilemma; it must be that these men of English speech whom we have quoted, when it comes to French verse have eyes that see not, ears that hear not. Now what is this blindness and deafness of theirs due to? Perhaps some less sweeping judgments may assist us in reaching a conclusion.

First, to go for once beyond English or American expression of opinion, hear what one of the very greatest German lyric poets has to say.

Heine, protesting against the charge that he has become a Frenchman, writes:

"Ich habe auch nicht eine Borste meines Deutschthums, keine einzige Schelle an meiner deutschen Kappe eingebüsst, und ich habe noch immer das Recht, daran die schwarzrothgoldene Kokarde zu heften. Ich darf noch immer zu

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Massmann sagen: 'Wir deutsche Esel!' Hätte ich mich in Frankreich naturalisieren lassen, würde mir Massmann antworten können: 'Nur ich bin ein deutscher Esel, du aber bist es nicht mehr'—und er schlüge dabei einen verhöhnenden Purzelbaum, der mir das Herz bräche. Nein, solcher Schmach habe ich mich nicht ausgesetzt. Die Naturalisation mag für andre Leute passen; ein versoffener Advokat aus Zweibrücken, ein Strohkopf mit einer eisernen Stirn und einer kupfernen Nase, mag immerhin, um ein Schulmeisteramt zu erschnappen, ein Vaterland aufgeben, das Nichts von ihm weiss und nie Etwas von ihm erfahren wird—aber Dasselbe geziemt sich nicht für einen deutschen Dichter, welcher die schönsten deutschen Lieder gedichtet hat. Es wäre für mich ein entsetzlicher, wahnsinniger Gedanke, wenn ich mir sagen müsste, ich sei ein deutscher Poet und zugleich ein naturalisierter Franzose.—Ich käme mir selber vor wie eine jener Missgeburten mit zwei Köpfchen, die man in den Buden der Jahrmärkte zeigt. Es würde mich beim Dichten unerträglich genieren, wenn ich dächte, der eine Kopf finge auf einmal an, im französischen Truthahnpathos die unnatürlichsten Alexandriner zu skandieren, während der andere in den angebornen wahren Naturmetren der deutschen Sprache seine Gefühle ergösse. Und, ach! unausstehlich sind mir, wie die Metrik, so die Verse der Franzosen, dieser parfümierte Quark—kaum ertrage ich ihre ganz geruchlosen besseren Dichter.—Wenn ich jene sogenannte *Poésie lyrique* der Franzosen betrachte, erkenne ich erst ganz die Herrlichkeit der deutschen Dichtkunst, und ich könnte mir alsdann wohl Etwas darauf einbilden, dass ich mich rühmen darf, in diesem Gebiete meine Lorbern errungen zu haben. Wir wollen auch kein Blatt davon aufgeben, und der Steinmetz, der unsre letzte Schlafstätte mit einer Inschrift zu verzieren hat, soll keine Einrede zu gewärtigen haben, wenn er dort eingräbt die Worte: 'Hier ruht ein deutscher Dichter.'"—H. Heine, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Hoffman and Campe, Vol. 10, pp. 74–75.

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Here we find the "Alexandrin" held up to special ridicule. Again in Byron's note to the passage we have quoted we find, "Perhaps the couplet in which Boileau depreciates Tasso, may serve as well as any other to justify the opinion given of the harmony of French verse:

"A Malherbe, à Racan préférer Théophile,
Et le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile."

Again the unhappy "Alexandrin" is held up to our scorn.

Emerson once said that the only French poetry he appreciated was the song recited by Alceste in *Le Misanthrope*.

Si le roi m'avait donné
Paris, sa grand'ville
Et qu'il me fallût quitter
L'amour de ma mie,
Je dirais au roi Henri:
Reprenez votre Paris,
J'aime mieux ma mie, O gué!
J'aime mieux ma mie.

and this is far removed from "Alexandrin" verse.

Finally here is what one of the most conscientious and painstaking of English verse writers as well as one of the greatest of English poets, Tennyson, has to say:

"I never could care about the Alexandrines. They are so artificial. The French language lends itself much better to slighter things. Some of Béranger's chansons are exquisite, for example, his lyric to *Le Temps* with the chorus—"O par pitié, lui dit ma belle, Vieillard épargnez nos amours."

Alfred Tennyson. A Memoir. Vol. II, p. 422.

So we see that Tennyson, like Thackeray and so many other Englishmen, considers that Béranger is the French poet κατ' ἐξοχήν. Let us read the first stanza of this 'lyric' which he admires so much:

Près de la beauté que j'adore,
Je me croyais égal aux dieux,
Lorsqu'au bruit de l'airain sonore
Le Temps apparut à mes yeux.

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Faible comme une tourterelle
Qui voit la serre des vantours,
Ah! par pitié, lui dit ma belle
Vieillard, épargnez nos amours.

There we have them, the eighteenth century poetical platitudes which Béranger clings to so fondly: the *beauty I worship*, the *sounding brass;* and the *dove* and the *vulture.* If that is the kind of verse Heine is thinking of when he speaks of "Poésie lyrique," his "parfümierte Quark" comes very near hitting the mark.

Each poet then we find, either directly or by implication, especially damns the "Alexandrin," and those poets in whose eyes some French poets find favor chose poems with short lines, and this peculiarity makes them willing to overlook many obvious blemishes.

From all this it seems fair to presume, that the one unpardonable sin is the sin against rhythm. To the foreign poet's ear the "Alexandrin" has a fatal monotonous sing-song not to be endured. They crave a varied rise and fall of stress, which their reading of the French "Alexandrin" does not give them, and which they fancy they get in the short-line pieces. Here we touch, I think, the fundamental reason for the widespread lack of appreciation of French poetry.

Rhythmic sound moves the human animal and intensifies his life. Some kind of drum beat lies at the base of all poetry and music. At first they are hardly distinguished, though the music is by far the most moving of the two, and even now if we take the songs that stir men most, we shall find that it is the tune and not the words which give the heave, as it were, to the ground-swell of human passion. To take a very familiar instance, in *John Brown's Body* the poor words are nothing, the march is everything. This is so true that when Mrs. Howe wrote to the same tune the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, a song of distinct poetical value, the old words were still sung by the marching thousands, just because it was easier not to change, and each one could voice his unspoken

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passion in the almost meaningless jingle. And it is always so. In every large city, each year, above the hum and din of the street there rises some tune or other that seems to make the whole town vibrate; the words are but froth on the stream, most people hardly know more than the first line, and yet this silly song intensifies for the time being the passion and struggle of daily life and makes men's souls ring. For that is the function and use of song and poetry; they strike, as it were, a human sounding board, set it quivering, and so multiply our joy and sorrow. But in order that poetry may have this effect, the right sound must strike the right sounding board; otherwise no vibration, no emotion, and the poor poem is nothing but sorry, artificial prose, perfumed curds, strutting turkey-cock and the like. The whole fantasmagory of poesy fades away unless this first condition be fulfilled. Now that is just the trouble with French verse: it fails to make the English or German sounding board vibrate. The flow of French verse, like the flow of French speech in general, is too even, the rise and fall of stress are too slight to stir the pulse of those not to the manner born. The speech measure of French is the last thing a foreigner acquires. Though his French be otherwise flawless, something in the emphasis of his sentences will betray him. His emotional howl, to use a familiar though forcible expression, has not the right length or intensity; and so, when he reads French verse, he unconsciously uses the cadences of English or German verse: he exaggerates the emphasis, brings it out strong where he has been told it comes, and swallows up sounds which should be dwelt upon. And even if he hears French verse read as it should be, by a native, though it may not repel him, though it may even please him somewhat, it does not move him. He looks in vain for the rhythm of his own land and if he has learnt his prosody, he may, like Mr. Saintsbury, pity the French poet who has only iambics, and must struggle along without anapest or trochee.

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We have thus a physical reason. Is this reason sufficient to account for this damning faint praise or absolute dislike of most people, sufficient to account for the opinion of the poets we have quoted? We should expect them at least to base their judgment not wholly on this ground; we should hope that they at least could perceive other poetic qualities in verse besides those of rhythm. Perhaps the relation of English to French, and the history of French poetry as influenced by the history of the language itself may throw some light on the question, and show that our English poets are not without some excuse at least for their harsh judgment.

English, ever since the French or Norman conquest of 1066, has been flooded by successive alluvia of French and Latin words, which have wonderfully increased its efficiency and delicacy; but the backbone of the language is still Germanic, and elevated passion and deep-felt emotion are almost wholly expressed by words of Germanic origin. The words of French and Latin origin, weighed in the emotional scale, are lighter than the words of kindred meaning which go back to Anglo-Saxon: compare *love* and *amour*, *foe* and *enemy*, *heathen* and *pagan*. Hence for the English reader an impression of lightness, of trifling, of flimsiness almost, when the same French words are used by the French poet to express the deepest feelings of man.

There is one more fact which may be urged as an excuse for the English poets I have quoted; but I bring it forward with considerable diffidence, because it is difficult to measure its influence with any approach to accuracy; I mean the flood of borrowed words which covered the language during the sixteenth century and the resulting new poetic literary language of the seventeenth century. When we read Rabelais or Ronsard, we are astounded at the tropical exuberance of the speech which these men wield. The limited, but expressive and forceful vocabulary of Villon is replaced by a boundless virgin forest of struggling shoots; the language is a turbid though rich vintage and sorely needs clarifying. And sure

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enough with the next century the woodman and clarifier comes—"Enfin Malherbe vint"—and what was left of this vigorous young life when he had done his work? In the first place, by his hard and fast rules forbidding hiatus between words and *enjambement* he made the writing of verse so difficult that any patient workman who succeeded in putting down line after line of stiff cold writing of the required pattern thought himself a poet and, what was worse, made other people think him a poet, and that doubtless many a poetic temperament chafed and fretted against the bars of the new prosody and died with its message untold.

Then, in spite of what he said about going into the market-place to test your words, he did not, as Villon had done, use the old vigorous vernacular he would have found there. Was he not the king's poet, and a gentleman of ancient name? His verse must be noble, and so he may be said to have founded a new style. The bad taste of Ronsard is eliminated, but his exuberance, his life, his poetic sweep, and noble aspirations are gone too. Save in a few passages where the frenzy of passion bursts the bounds of artifice, the seventeenth and eighteenth century poetic language is pallid even to many modern Frenchmen who have been taught to admire it. The *crowning of flames*, the *beauties* and *charms* of the lady, and the rest of strange, vague love-terminology fling an ash-gray pall over the radiant muse of the Pléiade. The abstract learned words crowd out the old concrete words redolent of the soil, and for two hundred years French writers of verse stalk about on stilts, wondered at, admired, but rarely loved. And yet it would be a great mistake to deny that they were useful in their day, and that the splendid lyric blossoming of the present century owes much to them. They are pallid, for their speech is often painfully artificial, and they are a reflex of a reflex, a moon of the moon, as it were. They copy the Romans, who copied the Greeks; but they are at least thoroughly imbued with the sobriety, the measure and method of classic writers. They know and

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observe the rules of that necessary skeleton of all successful writing, rhetoric, they have learned to discard diffusiveness, and dilution, those besetting sins of the Renaissance poets. The qualities of clearness and of logical sequence which in our day have won for the French drama and the French novel a unique preëminence beyond the borders of France, those qualities which are termed the essentially French qualities, became a part of the intellectual inheritance of France during those two centuries.

And so, the pendulum having at last swung back, we have seen in our own day in France a renewal of the exuberance of the sixteenth century, but, in the best poets, the bad taste and diffuseness are delightfully absent. A modern French Browning is inconceivable. Rhythm has been enriched, color and music have flung their witchery over the best French verse of our day, delicacy and force and depth are all there. The strivers after art for art's sake, like the strivers after science for science's sake, have builded better than they knew. They have done their part towards making the present poetic speech of France a matchless instrument for a master hand.

We may excuse Byron and Emerson, we may even excuse Heine; having no ear for the music of French verse, to them its melody was a jingle, its as yet imperfect art was artifice. They doubtless would have agreed with Verlaine:

> Oh! qui dira les torts de la Rime?
> Quel enfant sourd, ou quel nègre fou
> Nous a forgé ce bijou d'un sou
> Qui sonne creux et faux sous la lime?

They would have agreed with this, exaggerated though it be, and would have shaken their heads pityingly at the next stanza:

> De la musique encore et toujours,
> Que ton vers soit la chose envolée
> Qu'on sent qui fuit d'une âme en allée
> Vers d'autres cieux à d'autres amours.
>
> Verlaine, *Art Poétique.*

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What an impossible dream for a French poet, they would have said?

But such talk will soon cease; it is ceasing already. Nowhere is there such vigorous and delicate poetry written as in France to-day. Nowhere is the idealistic side of life preserved as it is in France to-day. If I might venture to prophecy I would say that somewhere in that sweet land of beauty and love the future genius is even now struggling who is to join the band of the great world poets, and would call out to him:

Si qua fata aspera rumpas, tu Marcellus eris.

P. B. MARCOU.

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VIII.—LUIS DE LEÓN, THE SPANISH POET, HUMANIST, AND MYSTIC.

In the domain of Spanish letters, where the earnest student of literary history still finds himself lacking many necessary tools, there is a crying need of a new and critical edition of the works, and particularly the poetical works, of the monk Luis de León. One of the greatest of the Castilian lyric poets,—and, as such, a fellow to Garcilaso de la Vega and Herrera,—one of the most eminent among the masters of flexible and harmonious Spanish prose, which flows from his pen with none of the customary turgidness, he is best represented to-day only by the meritorious but rare edition of his works published by Merino in the early years of this century, and by the unsatisfactory edition of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Tome XXXVII, which has not made the proper use of Merino's collection.[1]

This neglect is astonishing,—if aught can astonish in the present state of early Spanish texts,—when we consider the real worth of this scholar and poet, the great interest and admiration which he excited in his contemporaries, and the influence which he has undoubtedly exercised upon later writers of prominence.

In the *Galatea* (libro VI.), published while León was still alive, Cervantes terms him

> "Un ingenio que al mundo pone espanto,
> Y que pudiera en éxtasis robaros,"

and affirms himself a disciple of so great a master. Somewhat later, Lope de Vega, dwelling at greater length in his *Laurel de Apolo* (*Silva*, 4ª) upon the excellent work done by the illustrious friar, and the persecution to which he had been

[1] The writer of the present sketch is preparing a monograph upon the life and work of León, and hopes, also, soon to render all his lyrics easily accessible in a new edition.

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subjected, heralds his fame as one of the first to recognize the dignity of the vulgar tongue, by placing it on a par with the language of Rome:—

> Tu prosa y verso iguales
> Conservarán la gloria de tu nombre
> * * * * * *
> Tú fuiste gloria de Augustino augusta,
> Tú el honor de la lengua castellana,
> Que deseaste introducir escrita;
> Viendo que á la romana tanto imita,
> Que puede competir con la romana.

So, also, the first editor to publish the lyrics of Luis de León was no less renowned a personage than Quevedo—Francisco de Quevedo Villegas—who, in 1631, sought to stem the tide of Gongoristic production, by opposing to its flood of insipidity and Browningesque obscurity the wholesome influence of a writer whose poems united clearness and graceful perfection of form to real solidity of content. The desired result was not at once attained, for even Quevedo himself yielded sometimes to the Gongoristic current; but when the Gongorists and conceptists did finally relinquish their hold upon Spanish letters, the regenerators who established a saner poetical style must have drawn much of their inspiration from the lyrics of León. Nor did his influence stop there, for in the eighteenth century he has had Diego González for a follower, and in the nineteenth century such disciples as Cabanyes, and especially Juán Valera, in whose work more than one note is an echo of the lyre of León.

The main facts of León's life are free from obscurity. They may be traced, with reasonable certainty, from his birth in 1527, through a childhood spent in Madrid, his early novitiate in the Augustinian Order and his student days at Salamanca, his successful career as the occupant of chairs of Thomistic philosophy and theology at that same university, his persecution and long imprisonment by the Inquisition, his acquittal and triumphant return to the University, and his

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constant rise to new honors in his Order, which culminated in his election as Provincial for Castile, but a few days before his death, in 1591.

There has been some uncertainty as to the place of his birth, the early biographers hesitating between Granada or Madrid, on the one side, and Belmonte in La Mancha, on the other; but reference to the documents of his trial before the Inquisition shows that he there declares himself a native of Belmonte. A point, too, which appears not to have been properly raised as yet, concerns the exact form of his name and, consequently, the real nature of his family connections. Of late it has been the habit to speak of him as Luis *Ponce* de León, and this name, if true, would make him a member of the noble Ponce de León family to which belonged the venturesome explorer Juán Ponce de León.[1] It seems, however, that his name was simply Luis de León, the sole form appearing in the papers relating to his trial, and the only one to be found in so early a biographer as Nicolás Antonio. At all events he was apparently of noble extraction, both on the side of his father, the jurisconsult and magistrate Lope de León, and of his mother, Ines de Valera. There is just a suspicion of Jewish blood in his veins, which may, in a measure, explain the vindictiveness of the Inquisition with respect to him.

At Salamanca, then one of the four great universities of Europe, he gained much respect for his scholarly attainments, ranking high as a theologian and as a linguist deeply versed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. At that time it was customary that the professors should be chosen by the students, and so, by the votes of the latter, he was in 1561 elected Professor of Thomistic Philosophy, with a large margin over his seven competitors. He apparently represented a strongly progressive party in the University, then rather a dangerous attitude for a man in his position, since, considering the close relations

[1] Sedano (*Parnaso español*, v, p. xviii, Madrid, 1771) already connects him with the *antiguos Ponces de Leon, Señores de Marchena.*

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between things academic and things ecclesiastical, it would not be difficult for his enemies to construe any theory of his reflecting upon older methods in matters of the purely learned world into an heretical disapproval of certain religious beliefs exacted of all the faithful. They soon found a chance to do so, for, in 1572, he was accused to the *Santo Oficio*, by his rabid foes, León de Castro and Bartolomé de Medina, of having declared the Vulgate false in many particulars, and of having, in contempt of the strict prohibition of the Inquisition, published a Castilian version of the *Song of Solomon*.

In his answer to these and minor charges, he declared that, as to the Vulgate, he had never maintained it to be a work containing falsehoods, but that he did consider it a somewhat defective translation of its originals, since it is in many places obscure, merely because it does not render all the senses of the corresponding passages of its originals. By this reply we recognize the theologian who is also a humanist and philologist, one whose motto is—"Philologia theologiae ancilla"—but who believes that the servant deserves considerate treatment from her mistress. As to the publishing of a Spanish translation of the *Song of Solomon*, he admitted having made the translation for the benefit of a nun then living in Salamanca, but affirmed that the publication had taken place without his knowledge or consent. In truth, the orthodoxy of León cannot be questioned for a moment; he never left the path of necessary faith and obedience to ecclesiastical authority.

The chief arguments of his enemies fell of their own malevolent weight, but, nevertheless, the trial dragged on for five years, during which time he was kept in prison at Valladolid, until, in 1576, he was finally set free by a decree of the High Court of the Inquisition overruling the condemnation of the lower court, which had even voted to put him to the torture.

At the beginning of his imprisonment he was treated with the harshest severity, but later on this rigor was so far relaxed as to allow him writing materials and certain books. Then,

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"On evil days tho' fallen, and evil tongues,
In darkness and with dangers compassed 'round,"

he placidly annotated the works of St. Jerome. In the volume of St. Jerome which he used in the prison, there are found certain verses that indicate an intention on his part of composing an epic poem on the reign of Alfonso VI. This design he did not carry out, but he undoubtedly wrote in prison several prose works (*los Nombres de Christo*, etc.), and some exquisite devotional poems, especially those in honor of Mary, and above all, the excellent one beginning

Vírgen que el sol mas pura.

Here also, as the time of his liberation drew near, he composed the verses

Aquí la envidia y la mentira
Me tuvieron encerrado;
Dichoso el humilde estado
Del sabio que se retira
De aqueste mundo malvado.

Y con pobre mesa y casa
En el campo deleitoso,
A solas su vida pasa,
Con solo Dios se compasa,
Ni envidiado ni envidioso.

Though that retirement from the world, and that communion with only God and nature, of which he sings in these *quintillas*, would have suited well the mystic side of the man, he was not destined to sink thus from public gaze. Envy now hung her head, as his Order and the University, both constantly loyal to him, welcomed him back with unfeigned delight. The civic, academic and clerical authorities marched out to meet him and escorted him into Salamanca in proud triumph. The University reinstated him in his honors and he began to teach again. Of course the curious flocked to his first lecture, hoping to hear some allusion to his recent persecution, or even, perchance, a fierce invective upon his enemies. But their hopes were dashed when León, taking up the thread

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of his last discourse delivered five years before, and beginning very simply with the words "As we were saying yesterday," ignored the intervening period of unmerited suffering.

Continuing to hold various posts at Salamanca, he published several works at the express command of his Provincial; drew up the constitution for the reform of his Order; commenced, but did not live to finish, a life of St. Theresa, that beautiful figure so closely akin to him in mysticism; applied himself with ardor to the study of that other noble mystic, Luis de Granada; and became successively Vicar-General and Provincial of the Augustinians of Castile, dying rather suddenly, it would seem, in 1591.

Such was the life of a man who gave himself up entirely to the service of Mother Church and the cause of learning, a man of sincere piety, as well as deep culture and devotion to the arts. If we may believe a story set afloat by Pacheco, he was skilled even in the fine arts, and at one time painted a portrait of himself.

As a figure in the history of Spanish literature, he must be judged by his works in Spanish, and therefore it is hardly necessary to enumerate his Latin works of expositive theology. Suffice it to say, that they give ample evidence of his humanistic bent.

Of his works in Castilian prose, the most important are; the *Nombres de Christo*, a devout discussion of the various terms by which reference is made to Christ in the Scriptures; the *Exposición del libro de Job;* a Spanish translation of his Latin Commentary on the *Song of Solomon;* and the interesting and even entertaining treatise, *la Perfecta Casada.* The last-named is really a series of sermons on the manifold duties of a wife, based upon texts from the book of Proverbs and addressed to a newly-married lady. This work alone could give an idea of the comprehensive reading of the man, who cites, in the discussion of his theories, Euripides, Phocylides and Simonides,[1] Homer, Plutarch, Aristotle, Vergil, Nau-

[1] His knowledge of these two writers was probably derived from the *Anthology* of Stobaeus.

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machius, etc., as well as SS. Basil and Cyprian, and other Fathers of the Church. He shows considerable insight into feminine character, and common sense in dealing with it, now jeering at the devotee wife who neglects her household duties to go and "warm a seat" in church, and again chiding the woman who paints her face, now laughing at her who "seeing her contrivances upon another,"—one may fancy him speaking of a new bonnet,—"begins to hate them and lies awake nights seeking to devise others," and again pouring out a passionate flood of vituperation upon the head of a wife untrue to her husband. He has also the idea that the less priestly interference there is in a family, the better. His point of view is never that of the ascetic, for he is the pupil of Horace, to whose doctrine of *measure*, or moderation in all things, borrowed from the Greeks, he adds but the necessary Christian modifications. Thus with regard to the boundaries between virtue and vice, he says:

"Just as there are certain vices which have the appearance and semblance of certain virtues, so also there are virtues which are, as it were, provocative of vices; *for although it be true that virtue consists in the mean*, yet as this mean is not measured by inches, but by *reason*, many times it departs more from the one extreme than from the other, as appears in the case of *liberality, which is a virtue measured off by reason between the extremes of avarice and prodigality, and is much less distant from prodigality than from avarice.* What is this but the Horatian "Virtus est medium vitiorum"[1] adapted to the requirements of Christian doctrine? Here, also, we find him striking the note of common sense, which resounds through all his work.

The style of León's Castilian prose is singularly pure and clear. His phrases are rhetorically constructed, sometimes rather long, but seldom unwieldy. He has a certain felicity in the handling of similes, of which he makes frequent use.

[1] Epistolarum, Lib. I, Ep. XVIII, v. 9:

Virtus est medium vitiorum, et utrinque reductum.

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Important as his prose works are, they do not possess for us a tithe of the charm which his lyrics afford. These their author long looked upon as the frivolous amusement of his earlier years, and neglected to edit properly, until the complaint of a friend—presumably the theologian Arias Montano—who was annoyed at the ascription of certain of them to him, led León to make a collection of his authentic poems. He divided the collection into three parts, containing, respectively, his original poems; those translated from profane poets, classic and modern; and those translated from sacred sources.

The third division, embracing, chiefly, versions of many of the *Psalms*, in various meters; of certain chapters of *Job* and a portion of the *Book of Proverbs*, in terza rima; and of the hymn *Pange linguam*, in *quintillas*, proves him a hymnologist of no mean order, wherein there is a resemblance between him and that other, but rebellious Augustinian, Martin Luther. Not included by the author in this division, and first published only by Merino in 1806, is his admirable translation of the *Song of Solomon*, composed in terza rima and arranged in the form of a pastoral poem.[1]

The second division displays well the humanistic range of his literary studies, and a fine appreciation of the spirit of beauty and balance found in the ancient world. The rendering of his originals is sufficiently close, and the Spanish form is well-nigh perfect in rhythm and smoothness of diction. Here, he has not only made versions of many odes of Horace, but he has rendered into Castilian, out of the Greek and Latin classic world,—using terza rima, octaves and other measures,—the *Bucolics*, the whole of the first and part of the second *Georgic* of Vergil; an elegy of Tibullus; an ode of Pindar; portions of the *Andromache* of Euripides and a fragment of the *Thyestes* of Seneca.[2] From the Italian *cinque*

[1] It is of interest to note that Milton, in his *Reasons for Church Government*, also considers the *Song of Solomon* a pastoral poem.

[2] The last two are not free from some doubt in their attribution to León.

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cento, he has taken a canzone of Pietro Bembo and another of Giovanni della Casa. Petrarch he did not directly translate, but imitated in a poem of several stanzas.

This work of translation prepared the way for his original poetry, which, written in diverse metres but chiefly in his favorite *quintillas*, and always sweetly melodious, derives from classic models its exterior correctness of form, and from sacred models that spirit of devout aspiration which characterizes so many of his lyrics. To these qualities we must add an element of gentle mysticism, inherent in the man and indigenous to the soil whence he sprang. In the novel *Halma* of Pérez Galdós, the cleric Don Manuel, protesting against the importation into Spain of Russian mysticism, says: "Why bring from so far that which is native to our home, that which we have in our soil, in our atmosphere, in our speech? Are abnegation, love of poverty, contempt for material goods, patience, self-sacrifice, an aspiration towards self-annihilation,—all natural fruits of our land, as our history and our literature demonstrate,—are all these to be brought from foreign countries? An importation of mysticism, when we have enough of it to supply the five parts of the world! . . . . Remember that we are here mystics from the cradle, and as such we unconsciously behave. . . . Here the statesman is a mystic, when he rushes into the unknown, dreaming of such a thing as perfection of the laws; the soldier is a mystic when he longs to fight, and fights without food to eat; the priest is a mystic when he sacrifices everything to his spiritual ministry; a mystic, too, is the schoolmaster, when, dying with hunger, he teaches his children how to read."

Born and bred, then, in this land of mysticism, where in literature the note of mysticism has sounded from Berceo down the ages, Luis de León has come naturally by this quality, but he is free from that spirit of extravagance by which it is often accompanied, and at which Galdós hints in the passage cited. His mysticism is tempered by his great common sense, by his respect for moderation or measure

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which he had gained from his humanistic studies. The expression of the importance of measure, which we have already noted in a passage from the *Perfecta Casada*, recurs in the ode *¿Qué vale quanto vée*, addressed to his friend, Felipe Ruiz,[1] and bearing, in one manuscript, the title, *On the Moderate and Constant Man*. The fifth stanza runs thus:

> Dichoso el que *se mide*,
> Felipe, y de la vida el gozo bueno
> á sí solo lo pide;
> y mira como ageno
> aquello que no está dentro en su seno.

As might be expected of a mystic poet, he esteems highly the charms of solitude and a contemplative life, which he praises in two remarkably beautiful odes, viz.; that entitled *Al apartamiento*[2] and the *¡Qué descansada vida!*[3] At times, he feels that the shackles of this life are too burdensome; the body is then a prison, and he longs for the final release of the spirit from its thraldom (Ode:—*Alma región luciente*).[4] Under the influence of music, as he tells us in his exquisite ode to Salinas, the famous organist, his spirit can temporarily obtain this release, and rise in aesthetic ecstasy to that exalted region where it can hear the harmony of the spheres (Ode:—*El ayre se serena*).[5] The great aim of his mystic elevation is the attainment of perfect knowledge. He longs for the moment when, released from this prison, he can tend towards heaven, and, in the sphere wheeling its course most remote from the Earth, contemplate the pure and unveiled truth (Ode:—*¿Quando será que pueda?*).[6] Nature is for him, as for St. Francis, the mirror of God; and he loves the mountain, the stream, and the field with its trees and beauteous flowers, all absorbed in a calm repose that is broken only by the sweet songs of the birds (Ode:—*¡Qué descansada vida!*). Occasionally he makes a bitter reference to his unjust im-

[1] *Bib. de autores esp.*, XXXVII, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., p. 8.
[3] *Bib. de autores esp.*, XXXVII, p. 3.
[4] Ibid., p. 8.
[5] Ibid., p. 3.
[6] Ibid., p. 6.

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prisonment, particularly in his songs to the Blessed Virgin composed in prison; but his bitterness is never very great or long sustained, for charity was his guiding-star.

A few sonnets in the Italian style, containing some reminiscences of Petrarch, belong probably to his earliest tentative period, when he must have been attracted into a momentary connection with the Italianizing school, to which belonged his predecessor, Garcilaso de la Vega, and his contemporary, Herrera.

Apart from all the rest of his original lyrics, stand two odes of a national character, the justly famous *Folgaba el rey Rodrigo*,[1] which may be considered his masterpiece, and the paean to St. James (*Á Santiago*).[2] In these he ceases to be merely the gentle lyric poet of a mystic temperament, and becomes the impassioned bard who strikes the epic lyre with tragic force. They both show what excellent results he might have attained, had he carried out his plan of composing an epic poem. In the former of the two, treating of the first invasion of the Arabs, brought into Spain, says the popular legend, by an outraged father, the Conde Julián, whose daughter Roderick the Goth had seduced, Luis de León imitates the situation of Horace's ode, *Pastor quum traheret per freta navibus*.[3]

Just as the sea-god Nereus prophesies the fall of Troy, as a consequence of the rape of Helen by Paris, and apostrophizes the Trojan prince, so does the river-god Tagus, rising from his watery bed, predict ruin to Spain through the sin of her ruler, and rebuke the feeble Roderick as he lies on the bank in the embrace of the fair but fatal Cava. It is the song of the patriot who foresees the tragic fate of his country, a prey to internal corruption and foreign rapacity. Like certain others of his original lyrics, it has been translated into French, German, Italian, and English. There is an English version by Mr. Henry Phillips (Philadelphia,

[1] *Bib. de autores esp.*, XXXVII, p. 5. [2] Ibid., p. 11.
[3] Carminum, Lib. I, 15.

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1883), who had printed but one hundred copies of his little book containing versions of six of the chief poems of León.

In conclusion, it must be obvious that the object of this sketch deserves more general attention than that usually accorded to him, for in the history of universal culture he is a figure lovable as a man, admirable as a poet and humanist, and highly respectable as a churchman and mystic. Although Spanish literature has had no concentrated humanistic movement as potent as that which directed the literary destinies of the sister Romance lands, it furnishes, in men of whom León is the type, individual instances of humanism carried to a noble degree of perfection.[1]

[1] The following is a list of the more important works dealing with León:

Antonio, Nicolás, *Bibliotheca nova*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1783–88, *ad verb. Ludovicus de Leon.*

Mayans y Siscar, Gregorio: Preface to his collection of the poems of León, published in Valencia, 1761. This account is also found in Mayans y Siscar's *Cartas de varios autores*, Valencia, 1773, and in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, tom. XXXVII, pp. i–xvi.

Sedano, Juan José López de, *Parnaso español*, tom. v, Madrid, 1771, pp. ix–xxix.

Colección de documentos ineditos para la historia de España, por don Miguel Salá y don Pedro Sainz de Baranda, toms. x, xi, Madrid, 1847–48. This collection contains the records of León's trial. A selection therefrom is found in the *Bib. de aut. esp.*, tom. XXXVII, pp. xvii–cxviii.

Ticknor, George, *History of Spanish Literature.*

Gonzales de Tejada, José, *Vida de Fray Luis de León*, Madrid, 1863.

Guardia, Joseph Michel, *Fray Luis de León, Sa vie et ses poésies*, in *Le magasin de librairie*, tom. XI (Paris, 1860), pp. 104 et seq.

Reusch, *Luis de León und die Spanische Inquisition*, Bonn, 1873.

Wilkens, C. A., *Fray Luis de León. Eine Biographie aus der Geschichte der spanischen Inquisition und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1866.

None of the more recent works mentioned can be termed really satisfactory. There is, however, an account of León as a mystic from the pen of a master in Menéndez y Pelayo's essay, *De la poesía mística* (*Estudios de crítica literaria*, Madrid, 1884). Señor Menéndez y Pelayo's definition of mysticism would exclude Berceo and other early writers.

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IX.—THE LATIN AND THE ANGLO-SAXON *JULIANA*.

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, volume II for February, being volume V of the whole work, under date of February 16th, the assigned date of her martyrdom, we find two lives of St. Juliana, both edited by Bolland himself. One of these lives is by an anonymous author, and is edited from eleven MSS., collected by Bolland from various libraries duly specified; and the other is by a certain Peter, a sub-deacon, and is edited from MSS. at Naples and at Capua. This Life is dedicated by Peter to an "Egregio Patri Domno Petro sanctae Parthenopensis Ecclesiae optimo Pastori," at whose request it claims to have been written, and who is identified by Bolland with Peter, Archbishop of Naples, 1094–1111. If this identification is correct, the second Life is much later than the first; and it is written in a much more ornate and elaborate style, frequently interspersed with hexameter verses.

Cardinal Baronius, who edited the *Martyrologium Romanum* at Rome in 1586, after stating that the Acts of Juliana are extant in Metaphrastes, *i. e.*, Symeon Metaphrastes (of whom more hereafter), says: "We have the same in an old MS. translated from Greek into Latin by a certain Peter, who

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addressed it to Peter, a Neapolitan bishop, as his preface informs us." But his preface does not state that he translated his work from Greek into Latin, unless we are to infer that from his words: "Sed ejus passio *propter incompositas dictiones* in coetu fidelium legi minime praevalet." It is barely possible that Peter may have spoken of the Greek original,—if he had one,—as *incompositas dictiones*, and so evidently Baronius understood him, but his Life seems to me to be based on the first Life, though written in a more elegant style, with some enlargement in certain parts. Symeon, however, the Byzantine hagiographer of the early tenth century, who lived to A. D. 965, *did* write in Greek, and has left us a very full Life of St. Juliana, which was translated into Latin by his editor Lip(p)oman, and incorporated by Surius into his work on the Lives of Saints. The Greek church, however, commemorates St. Juliana on December 21, her birthday. Symeon Metaphrastes may have drawn upon his imagination, as the older Latin writers did, but he has given us a very graphic picture of Juliana, her talks and her sufferings, her freedom from pain and her tears, that availed to quench the flames by which she was surrounded. (See Appendix II.)

But who was St. Juliana? In brief, she was the daughter of Africanus of Nicomedia, and was put to death, a martyr to her Christian faith, in the time of the Emperor Maximian, somewhere between A. D. 304 and 311, some think in 309. She had been betrothed to Eleusius in her ninth year, but in her eighteenth year, having become a Christian, she refused to marry him unless he too would renounce the heathen gods and embrace the religion of Christ. Her Acts include the various efforts made by Africanus and Eleusius to induce her to sacrifice and to renounce her God, both by persuasion and by punishments of various kinds—scourging, hanging by the hair, torturing on the wheel, and imprisonment in a dungeon, where she had a long interview with Satan arrayed as an angel of light; but, after prayer to God, she unmasks the

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deception, seizes and scourges the deceiver, and compels him to confess his various misdeeds as recounted in the Scriptures, and to beg for release. She is again summoned before the tribunal of the Prefect Eleusius, and leaves the prison, dragging the demon with her. She is still further tortured, but her constancy converts 130 men and women (or, if the omitted numeral is supplied after Metaphrastes, 500 men and 130 women) who are all beheaded by the Prefect under the orders of Maximian. Juliana is now plunged into a bath of molten lead, which leaves her uninjured but destroys 75 bystanders, and finally, as tortures have no effect, she is decapitated,—no remedy being found for the loss of a head.

It is very interesting to note the details of each of these Lives, their differences, their omissions and additions, each giving play for the individual writer's imagination, especially so the Life by Symeon, which is not found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but in the works of Symeon Metaphrastes, printed in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 114. The concluding sections of these Lives inform us that a certain woman of senatorial rank, Sophonia, or Sophronia, according to Peter, or Sophia, according to Symeon, journeying from Nicomedia to Rome, took with her the body of the Saint, and a tempest arising the ship was driven to Campania, to the territory of Puteoli (Pozzuoli), where she has a mausoleum one mile from the sea, as the first Life states. Peter still further informs us that, owing to imminent danger from the heathen (*imminente Ethnica feritate*), lest so great a treasure might be dishonored, her body was transferred to the city of Cumae and there placed in the basilica of herself and St. Maximus, where it does not cease to confer very many benefits to the glory of God on those seeking them even to this day.

A church was dedicated to her at Naples in 598 by order of Pope Gregory the Great. It was in the late *sixth* century that this translation was made to Cumae, and the body seems to have rested undisturbed there until 1207, when it was transferred to Naples, and placed in the convent of the nuns

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of Santa Maria Donna Romita, who bore the expense of building a church in honor of St. Juliana. Neapolitan writers assert that the remains are still there, but nobody knows where they are hidden, and many other cities in Italy, Spain, the Low Countries, Germany, and France, claim to possess them, or parts of them as relics. Brussels is one of the most noted of these cities.

Bolland is more occupied with giving an account of these various translations of the body than with the origin of his MSS., about which we should like further information. He simply states that the Acts of St. Juliana are "very ancient," and were written while her body was still in the territory of Puteoli, not later then than 568, the date of the Lombard invasion of Italy, and perhaps of the translation to Cumae. Hessels criticised these Acts very severely, pronouncing them to be false, and Bolland devotes much space to refuting his criticisms. He does not deny that scribes have added something to the Acts, but he affirms that they are extant in all the MS. Legendaries and Passionals, and that he has used the MSS. of the best character. Baillet calls it "a pitiable legend" and thinks that the most judicious *savants* would agree with Hessels.

That the meagre entries of the Martyrologies,—at first consisting merely of name, place, and date, compiled from the Calendars of the several churches,—were gradually added to, and at last comprehended voluminous Lives of the several Saints, more or less fictitious, is an undoubted fact; but even though these Lives are fictitious, they create a desire to know their origin. Nobody now blames Geoffrey of Monmouth for his additions to the life of King Arthur, even if William of Newberry, writing some fifty years later, did say "no one . . . . can doubt how flagrantly and boldly he lies about almost everything."

Did time permit, it would be interesting to trace the references to St. Juliana in the Martyrologies, but we may make only a hasty summary. The Fragments left us by Eusebius

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(Migne, vol. 20, of *Patr. Graec.*) do not contain her name, which is the more to be regretted because he was a contemporary, and would have known the facts. Baronius argues that the book of Eusebius on the martyrs was not a mere compendium such as at present exists. He holds that the first Martyrology was compiled in the time of "Pope Clement of Rome," *i. e.*, the close of the *first* century, but it is placed much later by others, e. g., by Baillet, who states that it was compiled in the fourth century in the time of Pope Liberius (352–366). Baronius states that Pope Gregory the First (*c.* A. D. 600) had all the names written in one MS., giving merely the name, place, and date of martyrdom. This is the form of the most ancient Martyrologies, as, for example, the *Martyrologium Vetustissimum*, the so-called Martyrology of St. Jerome (Migne, vol. 30, of *Patr. Lat.*),—though some deny his authorship,—which has under February 16, "Nicomediae, passio sanctae Julianae virginis et martyris," nothing more; and similarly in the *Liber Comitis*, also ascribed to St. Jerome, which has "Natale Sanctorum Onesimi et Julianae virginis," with the lessons for the day from the Book of Wisdom and from St. Matthew's Gospel. Beda (673–735) (Migne, vol. 94, of *Patr. Lat.*) is said to have been the first who added some particulars of the martyrdom of each saint. We have in Migne two texts of Beda's prose work, but in the existing form it is thought to have received additions from the work of Florus.[1] Beda's *Martyrologium Poeticum* contains under February *one* line

[1 Beda and Ado, with slight corrections, read as follows: "Et in Cumis natale sanctae Julianae virginis, quae tempore Maximiani imperatoris, primo a suo patre Africano caesa, et graviter cruciata, et a praefecto Eleusio, quem sponsum habuerat, nuda virgis caesa, et a capillis suspensa, et plumbo soluto capite perfusa, et rursum in carcerem recepta, ubi palam cum diabolo conflixit, et rursus evocata, rotarum tormenta, flammas ignium, ollam ferventem superavit, ac decollatione capitis martyrium consummavit. Quae passa est quidem in Nicomedia, sed post paucum tempus Deo disponente in Campaniam translata."]

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referring to her (XIV Kal. Mart.): "Sic Juliana et bisseptenas ornat honore" (Migne, vol. 123, of *Patr. Lat.*).

The Martyrology of *Ado*, Archbishop of Vienne (Migne, vols. 123, 124), who flourished in the ninth century, follows Beda almost *verbatim*. Usuard, of St. Germain des Près, Ado's contemporary, is more concise: "Civitate Cumis sanctae Julianae virginis, quae post varia tormenta, et carceris custodiam, palam cum diabolo conflixit. Dein flammas ignium et ollam superans ferventem, capitis decollatione martyrium consummavit."

But while the Martyrologies give us in very brief outline the particulars of the martyrdom, we have no complete Life, such as those published in the *Acta Sanctorum* and in Symeon's works. How then did such Lives originate and at what early period? It is plain that such Lives were very popular. In the dearth of literature they served as the novels of the Middle Ages, and were read for the entertainment, as well as for the spiritual improvement, of the monks and nuns. In addition to the authorized Lives false Lives arose, and the Church endeavored in vain to repress them.

Baillet tells us in the "Discours sur l'histoire de la Vie des Saints," prefixed to his *Les Vies des Saints* (4 vols., folio, Paris, 1701), that the Council of Constantinople in 692 condemned to the fire all the false histories of martyrs, and anathematized all who received them, or gave them credence. He informs us further that St. Ceran (Ceraunius) of Paris, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century under Lothair II., undertook to collect the Acts of the martyrs, and spared no pains to have copies made of those that were in the different churches of France. So, also, St. Prix (Praejectus) of Clermont in Auvergne, who lived fifty years after Ceran, not only collected the ancient Acts, but composed new ones. St. Aldhelm, too, of Sherborne, England, who died in 709, made extracts from the Acts of some of the martyrs for his works on the praise of virginity. Unfortunately he does not mention St. Juliana. We see, however, by the use that

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Aldhelm made of them, as Baillet says, that the false or falsified Acts of Saints of the most distant provinces of Asia were already current in the West in his time and had even reached England. He remarks further that almost all the histories turned into fables in the hands of those who treated them; the most conscientious thought themselves compelled to consecrate even falsehood to truth and to use pious impositions to the greatest glory of God. The Acts of Saints were brought into the Missals and Breviaries, and read just as the Epistle and the Gospel in the churches of the West. They had been brought into the Martyrologies still earlier. Baillet's work is published with the approbation and privilege of the King (Louis XIV), and is dedicated to his Eminence, Monseigneur le Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, so there is no question as to his orthodoxy. Much else of interest is found in this "Discours" of Baillet, but these quotations are sufficient to show that as early as the seventh century collections of the Acts of martyrs were made, both genuine and spurious, and that MSS. of these Acts had even reached England. Hence an English poet, who desired to extol in verse the praises of any particular saint, had at hand a Latin Life of that saint, and it did not become him to be very critical as to the truth or falsity of its contents.

As far as we can judge, the first Life of St. Juliana, published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, is the oldest, and must have served as the model, and MSS. of this Life must have been scattered through the monasteries of the Continent and of England. Such a MS. Beda must have had access to, and after him Cynewulf, who based upon it the Old English poem *Juliana*, certainly composed by him, for he has left his name imbedded in it in Runic letters, as in the *Christ*, the *Elene*, and the *Fates of the Apostles*. This is not the occasion to go into the question of the time of Cynewulf and of his genuine works, but we shall not go far wrong if we take him to have been a Northumbrian of the second half of the eighth century. He may easily have been acquainted with the

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works of Aldhelm and of Beda, and with their sources. If a man's name in his work means anything, he certainly wrote the *Juliana*, and a close comparison of his work with the first Latin Life of the *Acta Sanctorum* shows that he must have had such a Latin MS. to draw upon as his source. I shall not undertake now to read and to explain this minute and more or less technical comparison, but it has been made (see Appendix I), and with the result that, while Cynewulf at times omits and condenses, at times expands and dresses up the thoughts in poetical phraseology, and introduces allusions to native customs, he sometimes translates expressions *verbatim*, and with the poem in hand one can follow the Latin from beginning to end, and be convinced that he had no other source than a Latin Life similar to the one above-mentioned; all differences can be easily explained as due to his poetical imagination.

The work of Cynewulf is naturally the earliest English Life of St. Juliana, and we have to come down to the thirteenth century before we meet with another. It was in this century that the *Legenda Aurea* was compiled, but the Life of St. Juliana in that work is very brief, a mere epitome of the incidents, so that a translation of it is an incomplete Life. There is no English translation, as far as I know, of these Latin Lives of St. Juliana, or of the Greek of Symeon (*i. e.*, judging from the bibliographies in Brunet (1865) and in Lowndes (1860)), and we must resort to the originals to see with what skill, and often with what force, the writers of the Saints' Lives have embellished their meagre incidents. Peter is not satisfied with following the older Life in stating that Eleusius wrote to Maximian to inquire how the converted should be treated, and that Maximian replied that they must be beheaded, but he gives us in so many words the letters of each in full, as if he had access to the original documents. But did not Thucydides and Livy do likewise in their histories? Saints' literature in modern English seems to be very scanty, but we had much

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of it in Middle English. Rev. Alban Butler's *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints* (best ed., 12 vols., 1812 ff.; 1st ed., 5 vols., 1745) gives us a very brief account of St. Juliana (vol. II, p. 163), and he remarks that "Her Acts in Bollandus deserve no notice." On the contrary, I think that they deserve considerable notice, although we by no means pin our faith to them as to the truth of history. Baring-Gould, in his *Lives of Saints* (13 vols., 2d ed., 1872; 3d ed., 1898), is somewhat fuller as to our Saint (2d ed., vol. II, p. 316), but he too thinks it necessary to warn us that "The Acts are not to be trusted. They have apparently been interpolated by those who were not satisfied with their original brevity." Even so, but we are very thankful to the original interpolator, whoever he was, for having given us a most graphic and interesting picture of the faith and perseverance of a saint, who attracts us by her beauty of person and of character, who triumphs over all her enemies, her father, her espoused, and even the Devil himself, who converts hundreds by the example of her constancy amidst the most excruciating tortures, whom not even a bath of molten lead could harm, and who succumbs only to the inevitable axe.

Further, as to the value of the *Lives of Saints*, Horstmann, who, by his several publications, has made the Middle English Legendaries a province peculiarly his own, comments in his Preface to the *South English Legendary* (E. E. T. Society, 1887) on the neglect that these Lives have experienced at the hands of English writers, and argues for a wider knowledge of them, saying in conclusion (p. xii): "So the collection deserves attention not only from a hagiologic, but also from a poetic and literary point of view. In publishing it, we only pay a just debt to the past." The Laud MS., which he prints, does not contain the Life of St. Juliana, but he gives the contents of some half-dozen others which do contain it. He supports his own opinion by quoting in a Note (p. xi) from Rénan's *History of Israel*, I, Preface: Les légendes des Saints, pour la plupart, ne sont pas historiques, et néanmoins elles

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sont merveilleusement instructives pour ce qui tient à la couleur des temps et aux mœurs." These Middle English legends of saints depend for the most part on the *Legenda Aurea*, but we must go back to the Latin Lives for the earliest ones. The Middle English Life of St. Juliana is, however, a wide subject and must be postponed for a future occasion. It is sufficient if we have made better known the form that Cynewulf must have used for his poem. Cynewulf seems to have tried his 'prentice hand on the *Juliana*, and a part of his poem is lost, but what we have left is sufficient to enable us to judge of the treatment of his source, and of the incipient poetic power which was to be still further developed in his later works.

Appendix I.

The following Appendix contains a close comparison of the poem of Cynewulf with the original Latin by sections. It will give an illustration of the manner in which Cynewulf condenses and expands his source. It is manifest that, as stated above, the poet had before him a Latin Life similar to the first one printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Doubtless if a search were made through the collections of MSS. of the Lives of Saints in England, such a Life could be found, for Bolland had access to eleven such MSS. collected from different libraries on the Continent. The comparison shows that Cynewulf was not a slavish follower of his Latin text, but that he worked independently.

Comparison of Cynewulf's Juliana with the first Life in the Acta Sanctorum.

§ 1. Cynewulf omits the few lines of Introduction beginning *Benignitas Salvatoris nostri.* He expands lines 1–17 on the persecution of the Christians from the few lines, *Denique temporibus Maximiani Imperatoris persecutoris Christianae re-*

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ligionis; lines 17–26, about the power and wealth of Eleusius, are expanded from the brief statement, *erat quidam senator in civitate Nicomedia* (which Cynewulf calls *Commedia*) *nomine Eleusius, amicus Imperatoris,* which appellation is omitted; lines 26–37 are expanded from, *Hic desponsaverat quandam puellam nobili genere ortam, nomine Julianam,* and from the following description of Juliana; but the statements as to her father and mother are omitted, that her father Africanus was a persecutor of the Christians, and that her mother was joined with neither the Christians nor the pagans; lines 37–57 are expanded from the statement that Eleusius was eager for the nuptials, with additions about his wealth, but omission of Juliana's first condition: *Nisi dignitatem praefecturae administraveris, nullo modo tibi possum conjungi.* Eleusius fulfilled this condition by giving money to the Emperor, only to be met by the answer to his messengers that he must believe in her God, and worship Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (which is paraphrased by Cynewulf), and the remainder of Juliana's reply is expanded from, *Quod si nolueris, quaere tibi aliam uxorem,*—a much more succinct answer.

§ 2. Lines 58–77 are expanded from the brief statement, *Audiens haec Praefectus vocavit patrem ejus, et dixit ei omnia verba quae ei mandaverat Juliana.* Here we have the graphic touches of the battle-warriors leaning their spears together, and Eleusius holding his spear, before his speech, which is narrated more effectively in the first person; lines 77–88 are a forcible expansion of the speech of Africanus: *Per misericordes et amatores hominum Deos, quod si vera sunt haec verba, tradam eam tibi;* lines 89–104 expand in Cynewulf's manner,—with further reference to the wealth of Eleusius, which was evidently a powerful attraction,—the simple Latin words: *Filia una dulcissima Juliana, lux oculorum meorum* (exactly rendered *mīnra ēagna lēoht*), *quare non vis accipere Praefectum sponsum tuum? En vero volo illi complere nuptias vestras.*

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Lines 105–116 enlarge the simple repetition by Juliana of her previous condition of marriage. The allusion to "wealth" is here again an addition by Cynewulf.

Lines 117–129 are an expansion of the Latin, *Per misericordes Deos Apollinem et Dianam, quod si permanseris in his sermonibus, feris te tradam.* It will be observed that the oath "By Apollo and Diana" is turned into "By my life" (*gif mīn feorh leofaƀ!*).

Lines 130–139 include two speeches of Juliana, the intermediate one of Africanus being omitted. Here Juliana swears, *Per Filium Dei vivi,* which is softened into "By my life!" (*bī mē lifgendre*) a second time.

Lines 140–160 expand the statement that Africanus at once ordered Juliana to be stripped and whipped, asking, *Quare non adoras Deos?* Juliana answering, *Non credo, non adoro, non sacrifico idolis surdis et mutis* (literally translated *dumbum and dēafum dēofolgieldum*); *sed adoro Jesum Christum, qui vixit semper et regnat in coelis.* The concluding lines introduce the names *Africanus* and *Heliseo* for *pater ejus* and *Praefecto sponso ejus.*

§ 3. Lines 160–174 expand the Latin, but the first lines are almost literally translated. The Latin represents the Prefect as alone seeing her beauty; Cynewulf adds the people too. In Eleusius' speech, *dulcissima mea Juliana* is literally translated, but *sunnan scīma,* and *hwæt! þū glēm hafast, ginfæste giefe gēoguƀhādes blēd,* are additions of Cynewulf with poetic touch. Cynewulf adds also *sōþum gieldum* to *si sacrificare nolueris.*

Lines 175–183 are an expansion of Juliana's previous condition—*Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum* are rendered *wuldres God, gāesta scyppend, meotud moncynnes, in þæs meahtum sind ā būtan ende ealle gesceafta.*

Cynewulf omits a short speech of the Prefect and Juliana's reply, and a longer speech of each, the Prefect saying that, if he complied with her request to receive the spirit of God, the Emperor would appoint a successor and cut off his head, and

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Juliana replying that, if he feared a mortal Emperor, how could he compel her to deny an immortal one; let him inflict his tortures; she believes in Him in whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob believed and were not confounded.

§ 4. Lines 184–208; 184–188 relate the scourging, but that it was with "four rods" (*quatuor virgis*) and by "three soldiers in turn" (*tres milites vicissim*) is not mentioned by Cynewulf; 189–208 contain the Prefect's speech much expanded from the brief command to sacrifice to the great Diana, or by the great Apollo he would not spare her. Cynewulf always studiously avoids any mention of Apollo and Diana, so that these names do not occur in the poem.

Lines 209–224 are much expanded from the brief answer of Juliana: *Noli credere quod suasionibus tuis me revocare poteris a Domino meo Jesu Christo.*

Lines 225–235 describe the hanging by the hair for six hours (*per sex horas*) (literally rendered, *siex tīda dæges*), the taking down, and the leading to prison, but omit the injunction to sacrifice and Juliana's refusal with the boast, *vincam mentem tuam inhumanam et faciam erubescere patrem tuum satanam*, the pouring of molten brass over her *a capite usque ad talos*, but *nihil ei nocuit*, and the binding of her limbs (*jussit ligamen per femora ejus mitti*), before casting her into prison.

§ 5. Lines 236–242 omit Juliana's long prayer for help on entrance into prison, with its scriptural references to those who had been preserved in the midst of torments, and its imprecations on the Prefect and prayer that God's power may be shown in her.

Cap. II, § 6. Lines 242–257 describe the coming of the demon, *nomine Belial* (name omitted by Cynewulf) in the form of an angel, and his attempt to persuade Juliana to sacrifice and escape the torture to come; these lines are but slightly expanded from the Latin.

In lines 258–266, Juliana's inquiry and the devil's answer are a slight expansion of the Latin, but *angelus Domini sum* is translated *verbatim, ic eom engel godes.*

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Lines 267–288 give Juliana's prayer to God, with omission of *ingemiscens amarissime* and *oculos suos levans ad coelum cum lacrimis*,—graphic touches that Cynewulf overlooks,—but in general the Latin is closely followed, especially the response of the voice to seize the demon that she may learn who he is;

§ 7, *tenuit Belial daemonem* is rendered *hēo þæt dēofol genom*, but *facto Christi signaculo* is omitted. After 288 there is the loss of a leaf in the A.-S. MS. (part of section 7), which included the Latin from *et dixit ei: Dic mihi, quis es tu? et unde es? vel quis te misit ad me?* to *ego sum qui feci ab Herode infantes occidi*, inclusive; it comprises some twenty-five MS. lines, covering the Scriptural references to Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Job, the children of Israel, Isaiah, Nebuchadnezzar, the three children, Jerusalem, the slaying of the children by Herod, and the death of Judas. A peculiar word is in the devil's reply: *Ego sum Belial daemon* (*quem aliqui Jopher Nigrum vocant*). [This sentence is omitted in Grein's Latin.]

Lines 289–315 follow the Latin quite closely, with some expansion, but with omission of the names *Petrus et Paulus* in connection with Simon Magus, and with insertion of the name *Hegias* in connection with Andrew.

§ 8. Lines 315–344 include four short questions of Juliana and three brief answers, with one long one, from the demon. The names *Satanas* and *Beelzebub* of the Latin are omitted by Cynewulf.

Lines 345–417 cover Juliana's short command, *Ad quae opera justa proficiscimini, narra mihi*, and the demon's long answer (§ 9), which follows the Latin quite closely, but with some expansion. The specific references to hearing the Holy Scriptures and partaking of "the divine mystery" are omitted by Cynewulf.

§ 10. Lines 417–428 are an expansion of Juliana's question: *Immunde spiritus, quomodo praesumis Christianis te admiscere?*, with addition of the reference to "Christ" and to the "pit of hell" (*helle sēaƀ*).

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Lines 428–453 comprise the demon's reply, a partial paraphrase of the Latin; *confidis in Christum* is rendered *þū in ēcne god . . . . getrēowdes.* Certain exclamations are omitted, and the threat by the demon to accuse Juliana to his father; the allusions to the cross are inserted.

Here follows the binding of the demon by Juliana and the scourging with one of her chains, which are omitted by Cynewulf; also the exclamation of the demon and the adjuration, *per passionem Domini Jesu Christi, miserere infelicitati meae!*

§ 11. Lines 454–460 are an expansion of Juliana's command: *Confitere mihi, immunde spiritus, cui hominum injuriam fecisti?*

Lines 460–530, the speech of the devil, are a considerable expansion of the Latin, especially the combats, *bēore druncne,*—evidently a reminiscence of native customs,—and the allusions to Adam and Eve, but many literal translations identify the passage. The reference to the Temptation is omitted, and the final apostrophe: *O virginitas, quid contra nos armaris? O Joannes, quid contra nos virginitatem tuam ostendisti?*

§ 12. Lines 530–558 embrace the summoning of Juliana by the Prefect from prison, and the prayer of the demon to be dismissed,—close to the Latin with some omissions. She goes forth dragging the demon *per forum,* omitted by Cynewulf, and she casts him *in locum stercore plenum,* paraphrased by Cynewulf, *þȳstra nēosan in sweartne grund,—on wīta forwyrd.*

Cap. III. After line 558 one or more pages are missing from the A.-S. MS. They comprised §§ 13–17 inclusive of the Latin, and contained the Prefect's question as to how she had overcome such tortures by incantations; Juliana's reply that Christ had sent His angel to strengthen her, and her exhortation to repentance; further tortures on the wheel with sharp swords, and by fire, which the angel of the Lord extinguished; Juliana's long prayer, and recounting of Old

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Testament deliverances, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David,—the incarnation, betrayal, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension,—and a prayer for her own deliverance; the conversion of the executioners and others; the Prefect's report to Maximian and his order that the converts be beheaded; [500] men and 130 women are executed; the Prefect's order that Juliana be burnt alive; her prayer for aid, and the coming of the angel who scatters the fire, and Juliana stands uninjured.

Lines 559–568 comprise their praise of God and the coming of the angel.

§ 18. Lines 569–606 describe the rage of the Prefect and the bath of molten lead, which was to Juliana *sicut balneum bene temperatum;* the leaping forth of the vessel and the destruction of seventy-five bystanders; the further anger of the Prefect and the cursing of his gods because they could not injure Juliana; and finally his sentence of decapitation; the Latin is here closely followed even to the number killed.

§ 19. Lines 607–634 comprise Juliana's rejoicing, the coming of the devil and his urging the executioners not to spare her; her looking at him and his flight, crying, *Heu me miserum!* &c. *Wā mē forworhtum,* &c.,—a close paraphrase of the Latin.

§ 20. Lines 635–671 comprise the exhortation addressed by Juliana to the converted and the other Christians present to build their houses on a firm rock, to watch against foes, and to pray for her,—close to the Latin. Her giving peace to all and final prayer for herself are omitted by Cynewulf; *decollata est* is poetically paraphrased, *Đā hyre sāwl wearð ālǣded of līce tō þām langan gefēan þurh sweordslege.*

[§ 21. Section 21, relating the bringing of Juliana's body by Sephonia from Nicomedia and the landing in Campania near Puteoli, where she has a mausoleum, is omitted by Cynewulf.]

§ 22. Lines 671–695 comprise the shipwreck of Eleusius and the loss of thirty-four men (the Latin has twenty-four), whose bodies, in the Latin, are devoured by birds and wild

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beasts. Allusions to the wine-hall, the beer-seats, the rings and appled gold, are additions after native customs; as also the burial of Juliana's body. The date is omitted.

Lines 695–731 are a personal epilogue, sad and grave, appended by Cynewulf.

Appendix II.

Synopsis of the Life of St. Juliana in Symeon Metaphrastes.

The works of Symeon Metaphrastes, who wrote his *Metaphrases*, or Lives of Saints, about A. D. 914, are found in volume 114 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, together with a Latin translation in parallel columns. The Life of St. Juliana extends from columns 1437–38 to columns 1451–52. The following brief synopsis will suffice for comparison with the Latin Lives in the *Acta Sanctorum* and with the Anglo-Saxon poem of Cynewulf.

Chapter I. Col. 1438. Mater vero erat in confinio utriusque, nempe et gentilium erroris simul et pietatis, et neutri tribuens plus quam alteri.

II. Col. 1439. *πάντα λίθον κινήσας*, cum omnem movisset lapidem; *καὶ πολλοῦ χρυσίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠνησάμενος*, et plurima pecunia emisset magistratum. Juliana made it a condition that Eleusius should gain the Prefecture, and after he obtained it, that he should worship her God, or *ἑτέραν ξήτει τὴν συνοικήσουσαν*, quaere aliam quae tecum habitet.

III. At this he became angry and informed her father. Africanus is very angry, but at first speaks gently. Dic mihi, inquit, filia charissima, et grata lux meorum oculorum. She repeats the condition to him. He swears by Apollo and Diana that he will cast her body to wild beasts and dogs. She welcomes death and he tries persuasion and blandishments.

IV. She persists in refusing to have anything to do with Eleusius unless he worships Christ. Africanus puts her in prison and returns at night, but she refuses to sacrifice and

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worships Christ alone, so, after inflicting blows, he delivers her to Eleusius to use as he pleases.

V. Eleusius, overcome by her beauty, addresses her in soft words and begs for marriage. She refuses unless he is baptized. He declines because the Emperor would deprive him of honor and of life. She replies: If he fears a mortal king, should she not fear an immortal one, who has power over both body and soul? How should she be joined with His enemies? Let him do as he pleases, kill, deliver to fire, or wild beasts, flog, or what not, he is abominable to her.

VI. Eleusius is inflamed with anger and love, and orders her to be flogged until the scourgers are weary. He says, this is the beginning; "sacrifice to Diana." She replies that she is more ready to suffer punishment than he to inflict it. He orders her to be hanged by the hair until the skin is drawn from her head and her eyebrows to her forehead. He then addresses her again, love inducing him to think that he would persuade her.

VII. Effecting nothing, he orders iron plates, burning hot, to be applied to her shoulders and sides, her hands bound to her sides, and thus transfixed, she is led to prison. Lying on the ground, she prays to be delivered from her afflictions, as Daniel, the three children, and Thecla were from fire and wild beasts. "Pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me; tu autem, Domine, ne recesseris a me. Overthrow my enemies as thou didst preserve Israel in the sea."

VIII. While she is thus praying, the enemy of all, feigning to be the angel of God, appears and tries to persuade her to sacrifice, for she cannot bear the punishments to come. She asks who he is, and he replies "the angel of God," who sends him that she may obey, and will pardon her on account of the weakness of the flesh. In terror and distress, her eyes being filled with tears, she prays that the evil one may not temper the bitter cup, but "show me who this is that pretends to be Thy servant." A voice is heard, "seize him and learn who he is."

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IX. Her chains are loosed, and she seizes him as a slave, saying, "Who art thou, and whence, and by whom sent?" She flogs him, and he confesses that Satan sent him. He had deceived Eve, urged Cain, influenced Nebuchadnezzar, induced Herod to slay the children, and Judas to betrayal and hanging, and had caused the stoning of Stephen, and the killing of Peter and Paul. He persuaded the Hebrews to be idolaters, and made naught the wisdom of Solomon through his illicit loves.

X. Juliana binds him with more chains and inflicts more blows. He begs to be set free, and laments his calamity. He has deceived many and inflicted many evils on them. No one could overcome him; but she has put chains on him and inflicted blows. Was his father ignorant that nothing is more exalted than virginity, nothing stronger than the prayer of a martyr?

XI. The Prefect sends for Juliana to be brought before him, and she goes, dragging the demon. She stands before him in her original beauty, as if she had suffered no harm, but as if prepared for the bridal. He wants to know by what art she has effected this. She replies that it is no art, but divine power, which has made her more powerful than he and his father Satan. Christ has weakened their strength and prepared for him fire and hell and darkness and the worm.

XII. Eleusius prepares for her fire, a furnace filled with materials easily combustible, and they throw her in. She looks up to God and sheds tears, and these small drops extinguish the flame. All the people of Nicomedia are astonished at the miracle, and five hundred cry out with one voice and mind: "There is one God, the God of the martyr Juliana; we worship Him and renounce heathen worship; come sword, fire, or any other death." The Prefect orders them to be put to death, and there were also put to death one hundred and thirty women, "for they were not inferior to the men in piety."

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XIII. The Prefect, burning with anger, orders a caldron to be prepared, and Juliana to be cast into it. Divine grace made it a bath for her, but a Chaldaean furnace for the attendants, for it suddenly rebounded and destroyed the by-standers; even the lictors were thus consumed. The Prefect was enraged because he could not overcome a girl, and tore his garments, and cried to his gods. As punishments were of no avail, but the constancy of the martyr was increased, he orders her to be beheaded.

XIV. The demon appears again, and, standing afar off, rejoices and urges on the lictors. Juliana looks at him, and crying out, "Woe is me! she wishes to seize me again," he vanishes. Juliana walks with eager face and glad eyes, talking with the attendants and persuading them that nothing is more precious than the love of Christ. She first prays, and then bends her neck to the blow, preserving the same joy of mind and showing no sadness.

XV. Sophia was by chance passing through Nicomedia and journeying to Rome. She took the sacred relics, and carrying them home erected a temple to the martyr worthy of her sufferings. Eleusius soon after suffers deserved punishment. As he was journeying by sea, a violent tempest arose, and the ship with his companions was sunk. He was reserved for a greater calamity, for being cast away in a desert place, he became food for dogs.

XVI. Such was the martyrdom of Juliana and such her end, for Christ attended her who had been espoused to Eleusius about her ninth year, but was the spouse of Christ and was joined to Him by martyrdom at the age of eighteen. Maximian was then king of the wicked, but our King, God and King of the faithful, is our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power "nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen."

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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X.—THE SEMASIOLOGY OF WORDS FOR 'SMELL' AND 'SEE.'

Since the publication, in 1879, of Bechtel's *Über die Bezeichnungen der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen* little has been done in this field. In fact, the ground there broken seems to have become fallow again. Perhaps this is because the book is based on a now antiquated phonetic system. But, in the main, the principles there advocated are none the less true, even though many of the etymologies are no longer tenable. This paper is intended, therefore, to rehabilitate these principles and supply some deficiencies.

How is sense-perception expressed? Bechtel says, p. viii f.: "Die Wahrnehmungen durch die fünf sinne werden . . . . sprachlich in der weise zum ausdruck gebracht, dass von der perception als solcher völlig abgesehen und statt ihrer die tätigkeit genannt wird, auf welche die perception erfolgt oder welche gegenstand der perception ist." This is, in the first place, because the proethnic man, and the undeveloped mind as well, described sense-perception as an objective phenomenon and, secondly, because words come to connote much more than they primarily denoted, often indeed something entirely different from the root meaning. For example, when I say "I smell," it implies not only actually, but also historically "it smells," and this meant originally "it smokes, it exhales, it reeks." But this is not the end of the investigation. It remains to discover the primary meaning of 'smoke,' and here we find what we should expect, that a word for 'smoke' may come from any root that may describe its appearance.

It is evident, therefore, that the development of a meaning is often brought about by the extension and then the obscuration of the original idea. To discover this original idea I see no other way than to reduce the several words of a group to a common root and, by a comparison of the various

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significations, find out the primary meaning. This is based on the principle I have discussed in *AJP*, XIX, 40 ff., that "words of the same phonetic composition are presumably cognate" regardless of any difference in meaning. This principle is expressed thus by Bechtel, p. xiii: "Das, was bis hinab in die äusserste periode, in welche wir dringen können, als lautlich gleich uns entgegen tritt, muss auch begrifflich zusammenfallen." And yet how often do our etymological dictionaries separate words simply because of a difference in meaning, and connect others that are phonetically unlike simply because they are synonymous. As if form were less persistent than meaning! No, the form often remains when the original meaning is entirely lost sight of, and hence the original meaning has absolutely no influence upon the development of a secondary meaning. Thus OE. *hefig* 'heavy, grievous' is not affected in its use by its connection with OE. *hebban* 'raise.'

In this paper, therefore, the attempt is made to refer the various words to their primitive roots and meanings, and to show how these meanings have developed into expressions of sense-perception. I shall consider only the words for sight and smell. The examples are taken mostly from the Germanic.

A. Semasiology of Expressions for 'Smell.'

I. To our early ancestors 'odor, smell' was in many cases synonymous with 'smoke, vapor, exhalation.' Odors were as visible as the objects of sight. They arose from the steaming viands or the reeking fen, and appealed to the eye as well as delighted or offended the nostrils of men and gods. They were described, therefore, in terms of sight.

Now what terms would be used in describing 'smoke, vapor?' We find a great variety of such words in the IE. languages. As words for 'smoke' they are, of course, not all of equally ancient origin nor do they all go back to IE. time.

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They arose from time to time just as the first word for smoke arose—a description of the appearance. How should we now describe 'smoke' if there were no such word? Naturally we should say: 'It breaks forth, it rises, it eddies up, it whirls around, it puffs out,' etc. Finally a community would settle upon one or more of such expressions, and these would mean from their association 'smoke.'

1. Goth. *dauns*, ON. *daunn* 'odor,' OHG. *toum* 'vapor, odor,' Skt. *dhūmá-*, Lat. *fūmus*, etc., from the root *dhŭ-* 'shake, rush,' in Skt. *dhŭnṓti* 'shake, move,' Gk. *θύω* 'storm, rage, offer sacrifice,' ON. *dȳja* 'shake,' etc.

To the derivative stem *dhŭ-bho-* belong Ger. *duft*, MHG. *tuft* 'exhalation, mist, dew, rime,' OHG. *tuft* 'frost,' Dan. *duft* 'exhalation, gentle wind, dust,' MDu. *duf*, LG. *duff*, *duffig* 'damp' (Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *tuft*). To these we may add MHG. *tüften*, *tüftelen* 'strike, beat,' OE. *dubbian* 'strike, dub,' and the group to which Goth. *daufs* 'deaf' has been assigned, viz.: OE. *dofian*, OHG. *tobēn* 'rage,' Gk. *τῦφος* 'smoke,' *τῡφόω* 'smoke, stupefy,' etc. Or G. *duft* and its congeners may be related more closely to Skt. *dhūpa-* 'smoke, incense,' *dhūpáyati* 'fumigate, perfume, smoke,' *dhū́pi-* 'a kind of wind,' from the base *dhŭ-po-*.

2. Icel. *hniss* 'afsmak eller stark smak vid mat,' Lat. *nīdor*, Gk. *κνῖσα*, *κνίσσα* 'steam and odor of fat,' from root *qnīd-* in ON. *hnīta* 'thrust,' OE. *hnītan* 'gore, clash together,' Gk. *κνῑ́δη* 'nettle,' *κνίζω* 'scratch,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *κνῖσα*, Brugmann, *Grd.*, I², 701.

The root *qnĭ̆-d-*, *qnĕi-d-* is a derivative of *qnē-i̯o-*, which is from the simpler root *qnē-*, *qeno-* (Prellwitz). From this come *quĕ-u̯o-*, *qnŭ-d-*, etc., in Gk. *κνῦζα* 'the itch,' Lett. *knudêt* 'itch,' Goth. *hnutō* 'thorn, sting,' etc. And to this root belongs Gk. *κόννζα*, *κνῦζα* 'fleabane' (a strong smelling plant).

The meaning 'odor, vapor' is from the intransitive use of the word 'spring forth.' The same is the case with the words following.

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3. Lith. *pa-kvimpù* 'smell' (good or bad), *kvepiù*, *kvepėti* 'exhale,' *kvápas* 'breath,' Lett. *kwépét* 'fumigate,' *kúpėt* 'smoke,' Lat. *vapor*, Gr. *καπύω* 'breathe,' *καπνός* 'smoke,' Goth. *af-hwapjan* 'smother, extinguish.' Cf. Fick, *VWb.*[4] I, 396; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *af-hwapjan*.

The element *qu̯ĕ-* in the root *qu̯ĕ-p-* appears also in Skt. *kvathati* 'boil, seethe,' Goth. *hwaþjan* 'foam' (cf. Fick as above), OE. *hwaþerian* 'foam, surge;' and in OChSl. *kvasiti* 'fermentare,' ON. *hvæsa* 'hiss.' Cf. author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, 85 f. This element *qu̯ĕ-* may be regarded as shortened from *qeu̯o-*, *qeu̯e-* 'beat, agitate,' for it is from this idea that a word for 'smoke, vapor' is frequently derived. We may, therefore, add to this group OE. *hēawan*, OHG. *houwan* 'hew,' Lith. *káuti* 'beat,' *kovà* 'battle,' Lat. *cū-dō*. Lat. *cūdō* contains the same elements as, and may be compared with, Skt. *cŏdati*, *cōdáyati* 'incite, drive,' Goth. *ga-hwatjan* 'incite, sharpen,' OE. *hwettan*, etc. For further discussion of this root cf. author *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4.

The root form *qup-* occurs also in the primary sense 'agitate.' Compare Skt. *kúpyati* 'be agitated, boil, be angry.' With this have been connected Goth. OHG. *hiufan* 'lament,' OE. *hēofan*, etc., and Lat. *cupiō* 'desire.' To these we may add OE. *hwōpan* 'cry out, threaten,' Goth. *hwōpan* 'boast,' and also Gk. *κόμπος* <**qu̯ompos* (v. Brugm. *Grd.* I², 313) 'noise, din, boasting,' *κομπέω* 'clash, boast,' and perhaps *κόπτω* 'strike, beat, cut,' *κόπτομαι* 'bewail, lament,' *κοπετός*, *κομμός* 'wailing,' *κόπις* 'prater, wrangler.' We have in this group, therefore, the ablaut *qu̯ĕp-*, *qu̯ŏp-*, *qeu̯p-*, *qup-*. The *-p-* of the Germ. is perhaps from pre-Germ. *-pn-*. The meanings of the entire group are easily derivable from 'shake, agitate, beat.'

The same meaning and root are also in OHG. *hwennen* 'shake, swing,' Lat. *vannus*, Brugm. *Grd.* I², 321. We have then the following roots *qeu̯o-* 'shake, beat;' *qu̯e-no*, *qu̯ə-no-* 'shake, swing; *qu̯e-do-*, *qŭ-do-*, *qeu̯-do-* 'beat, incite;' *qu̯e-tho-* 'agitate, seethe;' *qu̯ĕ-po-*, *qu̯ŏ-po-* *qeu-po-* 'agitate, beat, smoke,

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smell;' *qu̯ĕ-so-* 'agitate, seethe.' The relationship in this group is as certain as anything in linguistics can be.

4. ON. *þefa* 'smell, sniff, emit vapor,' OE. *þefian* 'pant,' Skt. *tápati* 'burn, be warm, glow,' Lat. *tepeō*, etc., Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *thafjan*.

A word for 'burn, smoke,' etc., necessarily comes from a verb expressing motion. A root *tep-* is found in several groups of words, all of which may be combined under the primary meaning 'shoot out, stretch out.' This we find in Skt. *vi-tapati* 'stretch apart, separate,' *sam-tap-* 'draw together,' Lith. *su-tàpti* 'come together,' *tampù, tàpti* 'become,' Gk. τόπος 'locus extentus, regio,' τοπάζω 'aim at, intendo,' τοπεῖον 'cord, rope.' With these compare *temp-* 'stretch' in Lith. *tempiù* 'stretch out,' *templýva* 'sinew,' OChSl. *tǫpŭ* 'obtusus, crassus,' ON. *þamb* 'cramming' Lat. *tempus* 'time,' *tempora* 'temples' (of head), *templum*, *contemplor* 'ατενίζω,' *temptō* 'touch, feel, attack, try.' Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 443; Brugm. *Grd.*, I[2], 366.

The root *tep-* occurs also in Lith. *tepù* 'smear,' OChSl. *tepǫ* 'strike,' both of which are closely allied in meaning to Lat. *temptō*. Here also Gk. ταπεινός, from *tm̥p-* or *tə̆p-*, 'low, base, abject, submissive, obedient,' NPers. *thāftan* 'bend, oppress,' ON. *þōf* 'throng,' Fick, *VWb.*[4] I, 56. For these meanings compare Lat. *tenuis* 'poor, mean, weak, low.' This also connects OE. *ge-þæf* 'consenting to,' *þafian* 'consent to, permit,' with which compare especially Gk. ταπεινός 'submissive, obedient.' Bechtel, *Sinnl. Wahrn.* 110.

5. OE. *ge-stincan* 'smell' (trans.), *stincan* 'emit vapor, emit odor (good or bad), rise' (of dust), OHG. *stinkan* 'emit odor.' ON. *støkkva* 'jump, leap,' Goth. *stigqan* 'thrust.' This is an old combination, but apparently fallen into disrepute. The development is right in line, however, with the foregoing. It is evident that the meaning 'smell, stink' came from 'emit vapor.' OE. *stincan* in the sense 'emit vapor' is certainly the same as in 'rise, whirl up.' It is simply the descriptive use of this word that came to mean

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'emit vapor' and consequently 'emit odor.' OE. *stincan* 'rise, whirl up' no one separates from ON. *støkkva*, Goth. *stiggan*, and, as we see here, the various meanings form a graduated scale from one to the other. Goth. *-staggan* 'strike, dash,' causative of *stiggan*, is formally identical with OE. *stencan* 'scatter,' but not with OHG. *stenchan* 'cause odor,' denominative of *stanch* 'odor,' which is a derivative of the verb in the sense 'emit odor.'

Now this Germ. root *stinq-*, *stanq-* has developed a secondary ablaut as compared with Lat. *stinguō*, with which it has been combined. The IE. root is properly *sti(n)g^{u}-*, to which also belong Gk. *στείβω* 'tread on, stamp' (primarily 'leap up and down on' = ON. *støkkva* 'leap'), *στοιβή* 'a stuffing, packing,' *στίβος* 'path,' etc., and Lith. *stingau* 'become thick,' Lett. *stingt* 'become compact,' *stings* 'stiff.' Lat. *stinguō*, *ex-stinguō* 'meant primarily 'stamp out,' or else 'stuff full,' like E. *stifle* from ON. *stīfla* 'dam up,' from *stīfr* 'stiff;' and *distinguō* meant 'thrust asunder' hence 'separate,' like OE. *stencan* 'scatter.' With this root we may here connect OHG. *irsticchan* 'stifle, suffocate,' MHG. *erstecken* 'stuff full, suffocate.'

The root *stei-g^{u}-* in *στείβω*, *stinguō*, *stiggan*, etc., is in all probability an extension of *stĕi-*. Compare *stei-g-* in Goth. *stiks*, OHG. *stehhan*, Lat. *instīgō*, Gk. *στίζω*, etc.; *stei-gh-* in Goth. *steigan*, Gk. *στείχω*, etc.; *stei-bh-* in Gk. *στῖφος* 'heap,' *στιφρός* 'firm,' Lith. *staibus* 'strong, brave,' etc.; *stei-p-* in Lat. *stīpes* 'post,' *stīpō* 'press, cram,' Lith. *stiprus* 'firm,' *stĩpti* 'become stiff,' OE. *stīf* 'stiff,' etc. The root *stĕi-* in Gk. *στῖα*, *στῖον*, Goth. *stains* 'stone,' etc., probably meant originally 'rise, spring up,' for from this the various meanings of this widespread root are traceable.

6. OHG. *drāhen*, MHG. *drœhen*, *drœjen*, *drœn* 'breathe, exhale; smell' (trans.) < **þrējan*, *drāt* 'exhalation, odor,' OHG. *drāho* 'fragrant;' *drāsen* 'exhale, snort,' *drāsōd* 'snorting,' *thrāsunga*, same, MHG. *drās*, *drāst* 'exhalation, odor,' OE. *þrosm* 'vapor, smoke,' *þrysman* 'oppress.'

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The common meaning of the above group is 'puff,' and this probably came from 'scatter, throw out.' We may, therefore, refer these words to the pre-Germ. root *stero-*, *(s)trē-*, and compare them with the base *strĕ-* which occurs in MHG. *strœjen* < **strējan* 'spritzen, stieben, lodern,' *strām* 'strom, richtung, streifen, strahl,' *strœmelīn* 'strahl,' OHG. *strāla* 'arrow, flash,' OE. *strœl* 'arrow,' OChSl. *strĕla* 'arrow,' OHG. *streno* 'strähne,' Lat. *strēnuus* 'brisk, quick,' Gk. στρηνής 'strong, rough, harsh,' OE. *strēc*, *strec* 'violent, mighty, stern,' with which compare OE. *stearc* 'rigid, rough, severe, violent, strong,' OHG. *starc* 'stark,' etc.

The root *stero-*, *strē-*, 'scatter, throw out' is found further in Gk. στερεός 'stiff, hard,' MHG. *starren* 'starr werden,' OChSl. *starŭ* 'old,' Lith. *storas* 'thick,' ON. *stōrr*, 'large.' These come from the meaning 'throw out, project, stand out, be stiff,' etc., the same meaning being found in many other derivatives. From 'throwing out, radiating' come Gk. στέροψ 'flashing, bright,' στεροπή 'lightning, flash,' as in OHG. *strā-la* 'missile, flash,' and also ἀστήρ, Goth. *stairnō* 'star.' Finally, from 'throw out, scatter, strew' come Skt. *str̥ṇṓti* 'strew,' Lat. *sternō*, etc. To these I should add Lat. *sternuō* 'sneeze' rather than to compare it with Gk. πτάρνυμι.

7. MHG. *brœhen* 'smell,' OE. *brāþ* 'odor, exhalation, vapor,' OHG. *brādam* 'steam, vapor, exhalation,' *brātan*, OE. *brēdan* 'roast,' ON. *brāðr* 'sudden, hasty,' MHG. *brüejen* 'scald, burn' come from a root *bhrē-*, *bhero-*, which is found further in Gk. φρέαρ 'spring,' Lat. *fretum* 'a raging, swelling, violence, sea,' Skt. *bhuráti* 'move violently,' and many others. Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 20 f.

From the above root Persson derives OE. *brōc* 'brook,' OHG. *bruoh* 'swamp,' etc., connecting them with Skt. *bhuraj-* 'bubble, boil,' etc., though they are usually supposed to belong to the root *bhrĕ-g-* 'break.' I see, however, no reason for separating Skt. *bhuraj-* 'boil, bubble' from *-bhraj-* in *giribhraj-* 'breaking forth from mountains.' We have in these words the various developments of the same root. They are

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not more widely separated in meaning than MHG. *briezen* 'swell, bud, break open' and OE. *brēotan* 'break, destroy, kill,' one intransitive, the other transitive. This is the explanation of the variety of meanings in the root *bhero-*, *bhrē-*, which may be one in origin wherever found. Persson, *Wz.* 21, assumes at least three IE. roots *bher-*: (1) *bher-* 'bear,' Skt. *bhárāmi*, Gk. *φέρω*, Lat. *ferō*, etc. (2) *bher-* 'bore, cut;' 'strike, fight,' Gk. *φαράω* 'plough,' Lat. *forō* 'bore,' etc.; Skt. *bhāra-* 'battle,' Lat. *feriō*, ON. *berja* 'beat,' etc. (3) *bher-* 'move violently, bubble, boil,' Skt. *bhuráti*, Lat. *fer-veō*, *fre-tum*, etc. (v. supra).

These three roots are easily connected in meaning. Primarily *bhero-* probably signified a starting-up motion, which may be loosely given as 'rise, raise' (cf. author, *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, I, 442). From this developed, when used intransitively, various verbs expressing more or less rapid motion, as in (3). When used transitively, *bhero-* splits into two main divisions (1) 'cause to move:' 'carry, raise, bear,' and (2) 'set in motion, strike,' whence 'cut, wound, pierce.'

With *bhero-* 'move, start up, arouse' compare the Germ. root *rīs-* 'rise, raise.' This root much more than *bhero-* denoted a rising motion, and yet it furnishes several parallels to the development of *bhero-*. To *rīs* belong MHG. *rīsen*, OHG. *rīsan* 'rise, fall,' Goth. *-reisan*, OS., OE. *rīsan* 'rise,' OHG. *reisa*, MHG. *reise* 'start, march, expedition,' NHG. *reise*, *reisen*, OE. *rǣran* 'raise, rear, build, establish, excite, perform,' *rǣs* 'running, rush, attack,' *rǣsan* 'rush, attack,' *rāsettan* 'rage' (of fire, probably here rather than to MHG. *rāsen*, Ger. *rasen* < root *rēs-*, as appears from the following) OE. *ge-rīs* 'fury,' *rīsan* 'seize.'

For other parallels to the development 'run, flow, bubble:' 'strike, cut' see below under the root *pĕu-*.

8. OE. *stīeman* 'emit odor, smell sweet,' *stēam* 'exhalation, hot vapor, steam,' Du. *stoom*, EFrs. *stōm* have been referred to Gk. *στύω* 'erect, make stiff.' This etymology is quite possible, but I suggest another which seems to me more

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probable: Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust,' Skt. *stōma-* 'throng.' Notice the following parallels: Skt. *dhŭnŏti* 'shake:' Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke;' OHG. *tobēn* 'rage': Gk. *τῦφος* 'smoke;' ON. *hnīta* 'strike:' Gk. *κνῖσα* 'steam;' Skt. *kúpyati* 'be agitated:' Gk. *καπνός* 'smoke;' OChSl. *tepą* 'strike:' ON. *þefa* 'emit vapor;' Goth. *stiggan* 'thrust:' OE. *stincan* 'emit vapor;' Skt. *stṛṇōti* 'scatter:' OHG. *drāhen* 'exhale;' Skt. *bhuráti* 'agitate,' Lat. *feriō* 'strike:' OE. *brǣþ* 'vapor;' Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust:' OE. *stēam* 'vapor.'

This means that when we find the same root meaning 'strike' and 'smoke' the latter is the intransitive use of the word employed as a descriptive term. What we really have is 'strike:' 'leap forth.' Therefore the intransitive use of any word expressing motion, especially quick or violent motion, may produce a descriptive term, and consequently a word, for fire, smoke, wind, water. But while they give these, they may develop in as many different ways as they may be descriptively applied. And this is only the beginning. Every secondary term thus formed develops new words whose derived meanings come from the secondary not the root-meaning. From the derived words spring others with with new significations, and so on, theoretically, without limit.

To OE. *stēam* 'vapor,' Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust' we may refer OHG., OS. *stum*, Du. *stom* 'dumb, silent.' Compare Gk. *τῡφόω* 'smoke; stupefy,' Goth. *daufs* 'deaf,' *dumbs* 'dumb.' The root *stŭ-* upon which these are based may be defined 'strike, thrust; leap forth.' It is the base of a large family of words for 'strike; spring forth' with their various derived meanings. It is quite within the possibilities that OHG. *stouwen* 'scold,' Gk. *στύω* 'erect,' Skt. *stāuti* 'praise,' Goth. *stōjan* 'judge' are all from the same root. The root *stŭ-* then may be an extension of *stā-*, *stē-* 'stand, set.' Hence *stŭ-* (from *stĕ-u̯o-* or *stă-u̯o-*) would properly mean 'set up, fix, make stiff;' 'cause to start up, thrust, strike;' 'start up, spring forth,' etc. OHG. *stouwen* 'scold' is 'thrust' in its figurative sense (cf. OHG. *sceltan* 'scold:' *scaltan* 'thrust');

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Gk. *στύω* 'erect, make stiff' preserves the literal meaning 'raise;' Skt. *stāuti* 'praise' is paralleled by Lat. *extollo, exalto*, etc.; Goth. *stōjan* 'judge' is equivalent to 'set, establish.'

Corresponding to Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust:' OE. *stēam* 'vapor' are Gk. *τύπτω* 'strike,' Lat. *stupeō* 'am astonished,' OHG. *stioban* 'scatter,' MHG. *stöuben* 'beat up, chase:' OHG. *stoup* 'dust,' OE. *stofa* 'bath-room,' *stof-bæþ* 'vapor bath,' OHG. *stuba* 'stube,' etc. (cf. author, *JGPh.*, II, 227 f.; and, on the possible extension of the root *stē-, stā-*, Persson, *Wz.* passim).

9. Skt. *ghrāti, jíghrati* 'smell,' *ghrāṇa-* 'odor,' Gk. *ὀσ-φραίνομαι* 'smell, scent, track,' Lat. *frā-grā-re* 'emit odor' (good or bad). Brugmann, *Grd.*, I², 591.

These words from the root *gᵘhrā-* we may compare with Lith. *gāras* 'steam,' *garúti* 'emit vapor,' OChSl. *gorěti* 'burn,' *grěti* 'warm,' Skt. *ghr̥ṇṓmi, jigharmi* 'shine,' Gk. *θέρομαι* 'become warm,' *θερμός* 'warm,' Lat. *formus*, etc. The root *gᵘhero-, gᵘhrē-* to which these words belong probably meant at first 'spring forth' (cf. author, *AJP.*, XIX, 49). In any case it denoted rapid motion. Of that we may be sure from the developed meanings. The same root is therefore in Gk. *φέρ-τερος* 'stronger, braver, better,' Lith. *gēras* 'good,' primarily 'active;' in Gk. *φρήν* 'midriff, heart' (as seat of passions), OHG. *grun* 'sorrow,' OE. *gryn* 'trouble,' ON. *grunr* 'presentiment' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 614), in all of which 'agitation' is the underlying idea; in Gk. *φορ-κός*, Germ. *grē-ga-, grē-wa-* 'gray,' ablaut *gᵘhr̥-, gᵘhrē-*, cf. OChSl. *grě-ti* 'warm,' Skt. *ghr̥-ṇōti* 'shine;' possibly also in Skt. *jigharti* 'sprinkle, drip,' primarily 'cause to spring forth,' like G. *sprengen*, so that after all Skt. *ghrā-* 'smell' and *ghar-* 'sprinkle' may be related as Sonne supposed (cf. Bechtel, p. 54), though not in the manner there assumed.

10. OHG. *riohhan* 'smoke, steam, exhale, smell,' ON. *rjúka* 'smoke, reek,' OE. *rēocan* 'smoke, steam, stink,' E. *reek*, OHG. *rouh*, OS. *rōk*, ON. *reykr* 'smoke' belong to a Germ. root *ruk-*, which according to Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵, has not been found outside of Germ.

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The Germ. root *ruk-* 'smoke' is the IE. root *rug-* 'break forth, emit, exhale.' Properly the meaning is 'break forth,' as this is certainly an extension of the root *reu̯-* 'break.' The other significations are secondary or descriptive. This root is found in Gk. *ἐρεύγω, ἐρεύγομαι* 'burst forth, belch, bellow,' Lat. *ē-rūgō-, ē-rūctō* 'belch, cast out, emit, exhale,' *ēructātiō* 'exhalation,' Lith. *rúgiu* 'vomit,' OHG. *it-ruchen* 'ruminate,' OE. *roc* 'cud,' *roccettan* 'belch, utter' (words), *ed-rocian* 'ruminate.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *räuspern*, and for the connection between Germ. *ruk-* 'smoke' and IE. *rug-* 'break forth,' cf. the author, *JGPh.*, II, 226 f. This connection I supposed original with myself, but afterward discovered it was given by Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *itaruchjan*.

To the same root *rug-* 'break forth' belong Lat. *rugiō* 'bellow,' Gk. *ἤρυγον* 'bellowed.' Cf. OE. *bealcan* 'belch forth, utter,' *bælcan* 'vociferate.' Here also OE. *rēoc* 'fierce,' primarily 'bursting out, outbreaking.' For other connections cf. author, *JGPh.*, I, 449 f.

11. E. *smell:* Du. *smeulen* 'smolder,' ME. *smolder* 'stifling smoke' are probably from a pre-Germ. root *smu-lo-*. This may be further connected with the root *smu-ro-* in G. *schmoren*, Du. *smoren* 'roast, steam, smother,' OE. *smorian* 'suffocate;' and with *smu-go-* in OE. *smēocan, smocian*, MHG. *smouch* 'smoke,' etc. These are from the simpler root *smŭ-* 'rub.' This gives 'wear away, consume, devour' (cf. Persson, *Wurzelerw.* 181), and when used descriptive of fire came to mean 'burn,' especially of a slow fire. In Germ., therefore, these several roots developed the meaning 'smoke,' and, in the case of *smulo-*, 'smell.' The root *smŭ-* occurs in Germ. in the sense 'devour, eat,' in G. *schmaus*, Du. *smullen* 'carouse,' *smuisteren* 'feast,' etc. Cf. Kluge, s. v. *Schmaus*.

12. OIr. *bolad* 'odor,' Lett. *bu'ls* 'hazy, sultry air, vapor' (Fick, *VWb.*[4], II, 180). These evidently belong to the root *bheu-lo-* 'swell:' Goth. *uf-bauljan* 'cause to swell, make haughty,' OHG. *būlla* 'pustule,' MHG. *biule*, OE. *bȳle* 'boil,' Ir. *bolack* (cf. as above), OE. *byled-brēost* 'puff-breasted,' Gk.

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φῦλον 'troop, race,' from the root *bhŭ-* 'spring up, arise be:' Skt. *bhávati*, Gk. φύω, Lat. *fui*, etc.

13. OE. *ge-swœccan* 'smell,' *swœcc* 'smell, odor, flavor, taste,' OHG. *swehhan* 'smell, stink; boil, gush out.' The pre-Germ. *sṷego-* from which this group came evidently meant 'flow, gush out.' It is therefore the same as *sūgo-* 'cause to flow, suck:' Lat. *sūgō*, OE. *sūcan* 'suck.' Compare also *sūqo-* in Lat. *sūcus* 'sap, juice,' OHG., OE. *sūgan* 'suck.' (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 8, 22.)

The idea 'taste' comes from 'suck, drink,' and from this the meaning 'savor, smell.' Compare Lat. *sapor* 'taste, flavor, savor, scent, odor.' Or the pre-Germ. **sṷogo-* 'flowing, juicy' developed the signification 'good-tasting; taste, flavor,'[1] etc. The meaning 'stink' of *swehhan* is a later growth. Any word for 'smell' may come to mean 'stink.'

With OHG. *swehhan* Schade, *Wb.* connects *swach*, Goth. *siuks* 'weak, sick,' etc. This is a good example of the superiority of phonetic comparison over such as are based on similarity of meaning. We must, however, explain the meaning differently. Pre-Germ. **seugo-*, **sṷogo-* meant primarily 'flowing out, drained, exhausted,' hence 'weary, weak, sick.' In the sense 'exhaust' Lat. *sūgō* is used. So also G. *aussaugen*. Similarly G. *erschöpft*, Lat. *exhaustus*. More proof is not needed.

With Persson (cf. as above) I believe these words are from the root *sŭ-*, and in its various senses. For the primary meaning we may assume 'cast, pour forth; flow out.' Here belong Skt: *suváti* 'impel, set in motion,' the transitive of the root *sŭ-*; *sūtē* 'generate, bring forth,' primarily 'pour out, sēmināre; cast, bring forth;' *sunṓti* 'press out' = 'cause to flow;' and a host of derivative roots.

14. MHG. *smecken* 'try, taste, smell, perceive,' OHG. *smecken* 'taste,' *smackēn* 'savor of,' OE. *smœccan* 'taste,' ODu. *smaken*, OFrs. *smakia*, OHG. *gi-smah* 'taste,' MHG. *smac* 'taste, smell,' etc.

[1] Cf. Gk. χυλός, χυμός 'juice, liquid': 'flavor, taste.'

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These words are connected with LG. *smacken* 'smack the lips,' MHG. *smackezen, smatzen* 'smack.' But 'smack' did not come from 'taste,' but 'taste' from 'smack,' and primarily 'smack' meant 'strike, touch.' We may therefore compare OE. *smacian* 'pat.' The development 'touch:' 'taste' is natural and easy. Compare It. *tastare*, OFr. *taster* 'feel,' whence G. *tasten*: E. *taste;* Lat. *tangō* 'touch:' 'taste.' 'Tasting' implies 'touching, trying, choosing.' Germ. *smaka-, smakka* from pre-Germ. *smo-go-, smo-gno-* may be compared with *smē-gho-, smō-gho-* in Gk. *σμήχω* 'rub,' *σμώχω* 'rub, grind with the teeth,' from the root *smē-* 'rub.'

15. Lat. *oleō* 'smell, emit odor' is generally supposed to be for **odeō*. I doubt it. The supposition is gratuitous and improbable. For why should **odeō* become *oleō* while *odor* remained. The existence of *olor* 'odor' makes it still more improbable.

A root *el-, ol-* in a sense entirely adequate to explain *oleō* occurs in Lat. *ad-oleō* 'burn, sacrifice,' *ad-olescō* 'grow up, burn, blaze up,' *olescō* 'grow.' The meanings 'grow:' 'burn' both come from 'spring up, rise.' (Compare Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *lodern* 'emporflammen:' 'üppig wachsen.') Perhaps here also Goth. *alan* 'grow,' Lat. *alō*, etc., from **əlō;* and certainly OE. *ælan* 'burn, kindle,' *æled* 'fire, firebrand,' OSw. *ēledh*, ON. *eldr* 'fire,' and OHG. *elo* < **elu̯o-* 'yellow.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ἐλαία.*) To these add OE. *ealu*, OS. *alo*, ON. *ǫl* 'ale,' OSlov. *olŭ* 'cider,' Lith. *alus* 'beer,' primarily 'brewed, fermented.'

Lat. *oleō* therefore came to the signification 'smell' through 'rise, exhale,' and the root *el-, ol-* is the same as that in Gk. *ἐλ-θεῖν* 'go,' *ἔλυ-ται· ἐρχεται* (Hesych.), *ἐλαύνω* 'drive.' Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 236; author, *JGPh.*, 1, 452 f. Here also belongs the root *ol-* 'pass away, destroy:' Lat. *ab-olescō* 'decay, vanish,' *ab-oleō* 'destroy,' Gk. *ὄλλυμι* 'destroy, lose,' *ὄλλυμαι* 'pereo.' Compare the similar development in G. *vergehen, umkommen*, Goth. *us-qiman* 'kill,' OS. *wītan* 'go,' OE. *ge-wītan* 'depart, die,' etc.

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From *el-* 'rise, run, flow' come perhaps Gk. ἔλαιον 'oil,' ἐλαία 'olive,' Lat. *oleum*, etc., and also Gk. ὄλ-πη, ὄλ-πις 'oil-flask, ἔλπος· ἔλαιον, στέαρ (Hesych.), which are usually connected with Goth. *salbōn*, etc. Similarly Goth. *salbōn* may be referred to the root *sel-* 'flow.' Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 110.

16. ON. *fnykr*, OSw. *fnuk, fnok* 'stench, filth,' pre-Germ. **pnu-go-*, from the root *pnĕu̯o-* in Gk. πνεῦμα 'wind, breath, scent,' πνοή 'wind, blast, exhalation, odor, fragrance,' πνέω 'blow, breathe, emit odor, smell,' with which compare *pneu̯-so-* in OE. *fnēosan* 'sneeze,' Du. *fniezen*, Sw. *fnysa*, ON. *fnȳsa* 'snort,' ON. *fnióskr*, Sw. *fnöske* 'punk, touchwood,' pre-Germ. **pneu̯sqo-*, **pnusqi̯o-* 'blowing : blazing' (cf. Goth. *blēsan* 'blow :' OE. *blæse* 'blaze, torch ;' *blǣst* 'wind, blast : flame, glare ;' Gk. πνοιὴ Ἡφαίστοιο, *Il.* 21, 355 ; πυρὸς πνοαί, *Eur. Tro.* 815); and *pneu̯-to-* or *pneu̯-dho-* in OHG. *fnotōn* 'quassare.'

These are reducible to a root *pnē-, peno-*, which appears in ON. *fnasa, fnósa*, OE. *fnāsettan* 'snort,' *ge-fnesan* 'sneeze,' *fnǣst* 'breath, blast' (of fire), *fnāstian* 'breathe hard,' OHG. *fnāstōd* 'anhelitus,' etc., base *pnĕ-so- pnŏ-so-* ; and in OHG. *fnehan* 'breathe, pant,' *fnāhtente* 'snorting,' base *pnĕ-qo-*, with which compare *pen-qo-* in OChSl. *pǫčiti sę* 'inflari.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. πνίγω. Gk. πνίγω 'stifle ; stew,' πνῖγος 'stifling, stifling heat,' etc., represent a base *pnĭ-go-*, a derivative of the root *pnĕ-i̯o-*. The morphological development was *peno-, pnē-; pnĕu̯o-, pnŭ-; pnĕu̯-go; pnĕu-so-*, etc.; *peno-, pnē-; pnĕi̯o-; pnĭ-go-*, etc.: *peno-, penē-; pnĕ-go-; pnĕ-so-*, etc. These are types of various possibilities in the growth of roots.

17. OChSl. *ǫchati* 'odorari,' *vonja* 'fragrance,' Lat. *(h)ālō* < **an-s-lō* (Brugmann, *Grd.*, II, 1026), Skt. *ániti*, Goth. *-anan* 'breathe,' Gk. ἄνεμος 'wind,' etc., root *an-* 'breathe, blow.'

18. OE. *ēþian* < **ǫ(n)þian*, tr. 'smell, blow on, intr. 'breathe ; rush, rise' (of flame) *or-(o)þ* 'breath,' *orþian* 'breathe, pant,' ON. *ör-ende, ande, ǫnd* 'breath.' Noreen, *UL.* 138. The Germ. root *anþ-, and-* is perhaps from pre-

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Germ. *ant-*, *an-to-*, from *an-* 'blow;' to which, according to Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5], belong OE. *anda* 'anger, zeal,' OHG. *anto*, *antōn*, G. *ahnden*, etc. Cf., however, Brugmann, *Grd.*, I[2], 315.

The connection of Goth. *ansts* 'favor' with the root *an-* 'breathe,' which Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, declares 'kaum denkbar,' has its parallel in Lat. *adspiro* 'breathe upon: favor, assist, sustain,' and in Gk. *πνέω* 'breathe: breathe favorably upon.'

19. OHG. *wāzan* 'smell, exhale, blow, storm,' MHG. *wāz* 'sense of smell, odor, exhalation, wind, gust, storm,' *wāze* 'a blowing,' OHG. *wāzen*, MHG. *wæzen* 'exhale, puff out, bubble, spout.' These certainly belong to OE. *wǣt*, ON. *vātr* 'wet,' OE. *wæter*, Goth. *watō* 'water,' etc., from the IE. root *u̯ĕ-d-*, *ŭ-d-* 'wave, blow,' from the simpler root *u̯ē-*, *eu̯o-* 'wave, roll.' IE. **u̯ē-ti*, which came to mean 'it blows,' was primarily 'it waves, it rolls,' describing the effect of the wind. The same root with various suffixes described the rolling, waving, flowing of water, and hence came to mean 'water.' The root *u̯ĕd-* occurs also in the sense 'utter, speak, sing.' See Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ὐδέω*.

20. MHG. *witeren*, ON. *viðra* 'get wind of, smell' are closely connected with OHG. *wetar*, ON. *veðr*, OE. *weder*, OS. *wedar*, Germ. **wedra-* 'wind, weather,' OChSl. *větrŭ* 'air, wind,' Lith. *vétra* 'wind, storm,' from the root *u̯ĕ-t-* 'blow,' Skt. *vāta* 'wind,' Gk. *ἀήτης* 'wind,' *ἀϋτμή* 'breath, exhalation,' Germ. *winda-* 'wind,' etc. Cf. author, *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4.

21. Skt. *vāsas* 'fragrance,' *vāsáyāmi* 'perfume' contain a root *u̯ĕs-*, *au̯s-*, *ŭs-* 'wave, blow, blaze, flow.' This root describes the waving produced by the wind, the blowing or blazing of the flame, and the flowing or gushing out of water. These ideas are frequently combined under one root because they all represent a similar motion. The foliage waves in the wind, the flame waves or flickers, the water waves or rolls. Hence to this root we may refer Skt. *uṣ*, 'burn,' Lat. *ūrō*, Skt. *vas-* 'shine,' Lat. *aurōra*, OE. *ēast*,

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etc.; OHG. *waso* 'damp ground, ooze,' i. e., where water springs up, *wasal* 'rain;' Gk. *ἄϝω*, Lat. *hauriō*, ON. *ausa* 'draw water,' i. e., 'cause to flow, drain off,' cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* To these belong OHG. *wesanēn* 'become dry, rotten,' ON. *visenn* < **wisinaz* < **u̯esenos* 'withered,' OE. *wisnian*, *weornian* 'dry up, wither,' MHG. *verwesen* 'disappear, detroy.' This shows us the development of *u̯es-* 'consume, devour, eat.' Compare Lat. *hauriō* in the sense 'consume, devour, swallow, drink' with Goth. *wisan* 'consume, spend, eat, feast,' *wizōn* 'live, enjoy life,' Lat. *vescor*, etc. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *wizōn*, regards *u̯es-* 'devour' and *u̯es-* 'be' as identical. This is doubtless correct, but the connection in meaning should be differently explained. On *u̯es-* 'be' compare author, *JGPh.*, II, 219.

II. A group of words signifying 'rottenness, filth, fetidness' is derivable from words that are descriptive of the conditions accompanying putrefaction, such as 'break open,' 'gush out,' 'fall to pieces,' 'waste away,' 'be consumed,' 'be slimy,' etc. Thus E. *decay*, OFr., Span. *decaer*, It. *decadere* < Lat. *dē* + *cadere;* Germ. *morsch:* MHG. *zer-mürsen* 'crush,' Kluge, *Et. Wb.;* Gk. *ψώα* 'rottenness, putrid stench:' *ψώω* 'rub,' root *psē-*, *psō-* from *bhsē-*, *bhesō-* in Skt. *bhásati* 'chew, crush,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.;* Lat. *rōdō* 'gnaw:' 'corrode;' Lat. *fistula* 'pipe:' 'ulcer, *fester*,' primarily, in both cases, 'that from which something flows;' Gk. *ῥύπος* 'filth,' base *sru-po-* from *sreu̯o-* 'flow,' Skt. *srávati*, etc., Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.;* OE. *spryng* 'ulcer:' 'flux, spring;' G. *eiter:* Gk. *οἰδάω* 'swell;' Gk. *φλύσις* 'a breaking out, eruption:' *φλύω* 'overflow;' OHG. *wesanēn* 'become dry, rot:' *wasal* 'water,' root *u̯es-* 'flow.'

1. OE. *rotian* 'rot, ulcerate,' OS. *rotōn*, OHG. *rōzzēn* 'rot, become soft,' ON. *rotinn* 'rotten,' etc., Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *rösten*[2]. The old comparison of the Germ. root *rut-* 'rot' with *rut-* 'weep, wail,' as in Schade, *Wb.* s. v. OHG. *riuzzan*, is undoubtedly correct, though one was not derived from the other directly but both from the primary idea 'break forth.'

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For the development 'break forth:' 'lament' compare the root *rug-* above. The change from 'break out' to 'ulcerate, rot' is so simple that there can be no doubt as to the connection. We still describe cutaneous eruptions as 'breaking out.' So Lat. *ēruptiō* 'a breaking out, eruption of morbid matter.'

The IE. root *reu̯-do-*, an outgrowth of *reu̯-* 'break,' occurs in Lat. *rūdus* 'broken stones, rubbish;' *rudis* ('broken') 'rough, rude;' *rudens* ('breaking, restraining') 'stay, rope' (with which last compare *reu̯-dho-* in Skt. *runaddhi* 'hold back, hold'); and in Lith. *rudýnas* 'swamp, marsh,' in which the development of meaning is the same as in OHG. *bruoh*, MHG. *bruoch*, G. *bruch* 'swamp, bog,' MLG. *brōk*, Du. *broek* 'marsh, pool,' OE. *brōc* 'brook,' Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5]

The base *reu̯do-* occurs perhaps in Lat. *rōdō* 'gnaw, eat away, waste away, corrode.' If so, this may be compared directly with *rot*, both from the primary meaning 'break up, break open, the former transitive, the latter intransitive. Here also probably OHG. *rōst*, *rōsta* 'gridiron.'

2. Gk. *ταγγή*, *τάγγος* 'putrid swelling, rancidness,' *ταγγίζω* 'be rancid, have ulcers.' With these compare *τέγγω* 'moisten, soften,' Lat. *tingō*, OHG. *thunkōn*, MHG. *dunken* 'tunken.' The common meaning for the group is 'flow.' This makes it probable that this root *teng-* 'flow' is related to *teq-* 'run, flow:' Lith. *tekù*, OChSl. *teką* 'run, flow,' Skt. *tákati* 'hasten.' To these belong OE. *þegen* 'attendant, warrior,' OS. *thegan* 'degen,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *þius*), but not Goth. *þius*, since the root *teq-* contains rather a pure velar (v. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 575, 578).

3. OE. *dylsta* 'matter, pus,' *dylstiht* 'festering, mucous' may be referred to the base *dhu-lo-*, *dhue-lo-* and compared with Gk. *θολός* 'mud, filth,' *θολερός* 'muddy, foul,' and further with Goth. *dwals* 'foolish.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*) The primary meaning of *dhue-lo-* is 'agitate,' as in the simple root *dhŭ-*. Applied to water it gives 'muddy,' hence 'thick, viscous;' to the air, 'dusty, cloudy.' (So G. *trübe* is used in this double sense.) When used of persons it signifies 'move

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about,' as in OE. *dwelian* 'lead astray; go astray, wander,' *dwolian* 'stray, err.'

4. OE. *adela* 'putrid mud, filth,' *adelsēaþ* 'cesspool, sewer,' E. (obs. and prov.) *addle* 'liquid filth, mire; lees, dregs,' as adj. 'putrid.'

These should come from a base meaning 'flow.' Such a base may be furnished by Skt. *átati* 'go, wander, run,' *átya-* 'hastening.' With this compare Gk. ἄσιος < *ἄτιος 'slimy, miry,' primarily 'flowing,' ἄσις 'slime;' OHG. *ata-haft* 'continuous,' *atar* 'quick, sharp, sagacious,' OS. *adro*, OE. *ædre* 'at once.' We have in these words the ablaut ĕ, ŏ, ə, and may add here Gk. ἦτορ 'heart,' ἦτρον 'belly,' ἤτριον 'warp,' OHG. *ādara* 'artery, sinew,' OE. *ædre* 'vein, nerve, sinew,' in pl. 'kidneys, spring' (of water), *wæter-ædre* 'spring, torrent,' ON. *æðr* 'vein.' These names for 'vein, entrails, spring' plainly come from the meaning 'flow, gush out.' Compare OE. *gēotan* 'flow:' *gēotend* 'artery,' *guttas* 'entrails;' Gk. φλέψ 'vein:' φλέω 'overflow' (Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); Lat. *vēna* < *u̯esnā-: compare OHG. *wasal* 'water,' *wesanēn* 'become dry'='flow out' (v. supra).

Here also belongs *ēt-* 'breathe.' Compare Lat. *fretum* 'swelling, violence, sea:' OE. *brǣþ* 'exhalation, breath;' Gk. φλέω 'overflow,' Lat. *fleō* 'weep,' OHG. *blājan* 'swell;' 'blow,' OE. *blāwan* 'blow.' So *ēt-* 'flow:' 'breathe.' For derivatives of *ēt-* 'breathe' see Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Atem.*

All these meanings, as we see, may have developed from 'go, run,' whence 'flow, issue, blow,' &c. To *et-* 'go, run' we may also refer Skt. *áti* 'beyond, across,' Gk. ἔτι 'besides, still,' Lat. *et*, etc. Compare Gk. πέρᾱ 'beyond,' πέρι 'over, around,' Lat. *per*, etc.: root *pero-* 'go, cross:' Lat. *trans:* root *tero-* 'go through.'

Closely connected with Skt. *áti* 'beyond' is a word meaning 'end, boundary.' Compare Gk. τέρμα 'end, boundary,' Lat. *termō*, *terminus*, root *tero-;* Gk. πέρας, πεῖραρ 'end,' root *pero-*. So to *et-* 'go,' *eti* 'beyond' we may join Skt. *ātā-* 'edge, boundary,' with which compare OHG. *etar*, MHG.

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eter < **et-ró-* 'fence, boundary, edge, enclosure,' OS. *edor* 'fence,' OE. *e(o)dor* 'fence, hedge, enclosure, court, dwelling, region, zone, prince, king,' Lat. *atrium* 'court' < **ətri̯o-*.

As 'boundary' easily passes into 'enclosure, country, region,' as above, and then into 'people, race,' we may add here OE. *ōþel, ēþel* 'country, native land,' OHG. *uodal*, OS. *ōðil;* OHG. *adal* 'race, noble race,' etc. (See further Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Adel.*) Compare Skt. *vr̥jána* 'enclosure; community, people.' Or this group may be more directly connected with the meaning 'go, wander.' For 'wander, move in' meant among our ancestors 'dwell in, possess.' Thus: Lat. *versō* 'turn, pasture, dwell in;' Skt. *cárati* 'move about, pasture,' Gk. *πέλομαι* 'move,' Lat. *colō* 'inhabit, cultivate,' Av. *carāna* 'field,' Gk. *τέλος* 'end, limit (i. e., 'the place to which one goes or where one turns, as in Lat. *terminus* and others) dignity; troop,' OChSl. *kolěno*, Skt. *kulam* 'family, community,' OIr. *cland* 'clan' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); Skt. *valgati* 'spring,' OE. *wealcan* 'roll,' *ge-wealcan* 'traverse,' Lat. *volgus* 'people.'

5. The IE. *pĕu-, pŭ-*, rot, stink' and *pĕu-, pŭ-* 'cleanse' are doubtfully connected by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *πύω*. Of the root *pŭ* 'rot' Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5], says: "Die Grundbedeutung von der idg. Wz. *pŭ* war 'den Geruch der Verwesung von sich geben.'" Did then our IE. ancestors, when they first described putrefaction, use a word that already meant 'putrefy?' Certainly not. The term used was descriptive, and only by usage came to mean what it does. This remark is of the widest application. It involves a principle that is at the very base of semasiological development.

The root *pŭ-*, as we see from Lat. *pūs*, Gk. *πῦον* 'pus,' *πῡέω* 'cause to suppurate,' etc., had a development similar to that of the root *rud-* 'break out:' 'ulcerate, rot.' Primarily *pĕu̯-, pŭ-* 'suppurate, rot' meant 'spring out:' 'issue, flow.' Consequently this is the same root as *pŭ-* 'cleanse,' primarily with water but secondarily in any way. Since *pŭ* meant

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'spring out,' it gave various words for 'fire;' for words for 'fire,' 'burn' are regularly formed from such terms. Thus we have Gk. *πῦρ*, OHG. *fuir;* Goth. *fu-nins*, Skt. *pāva-ká-s*. These words do not necessarily go back to IE. time. Of course the root *pŭ-* does, but more than that cannot be affirmed. In any case 'fire' was described as 'springing out.' This gives also 'shine, be bright' as in Lat. *pūrus* 'clear, bright' (sun). Lat. *pūrus* therefore contains both the ideas 'cleansed, washed' and 'shining, bright.' Another idea of cleansing is seen in Skt. *pávana-s* 'purifying wind,' *pávana-m* 'winnowing-fan' and in OHG. *fowen* 'sift,' ('winnow'). In this sense the root gave Gk. *πῡρός* 'wheat,' Lith. *purai*, etc.; or the word may be compared directly with Lat. *pūrus*, just as *wheat* is related to *white*. Cf. Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 483.

From *pŭ-* 'spring out, issue' come several words for 'offspring, issue.' Examples are: Skt. *pu-trá-s* 'child,' son, whelp,' *pō-ta-* 'whelp,' Lith. *paú-ta-s* 'egg,' *pu-tỹtis* 'chicken,' OChSl. *pu-ta* 'chicken,' Lat. *pu-tus* 'boy,' *pu-er* 'boy,' *pu-llus* < **pulno-* 'young animal, chicken, sprout, shoot' (Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 249), Goth. *fula* 'foal,' etc.

From *pŭ-* 'spring out, flow' come Lat. *pu-teus* 'well,' Lith. *putà*, Lett. *putas* 'foam,' Gk. *πῦαρ, πῦος, πῡετία* 'first milk, beestings.' Closely connected with this idea is *pŭ* 'suppurate, rot.'

From *pŭ* 'flow' come Lett. *pups* 'female breast,' Ir. *ucht* < **puptu-* (Fick, *VWb.*[4], II, 55). Of the same origin are several words for 'buttocks.' For this development of meaning compare IE. **orsos*, Gk. *ὄρρος*, etc., from the root *erso-* 'flow;' Gk. *πρωκτός* 'anus:' *πρώξ* 'drop,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* Similarly OE. *bæc*, ON., OS. *bak*, OHG. *bah* 'back,' which Persson, *Wz.* 190, refers to Lith. *bė́gti* 'run,' Gk. *φέβομαι* 'fear,' *φόβη* 'mane, hair,' Skt. *bhaj-* 'go, flee,' and which Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *Backe*[1], connects with OHG. *bahho* 'ham, bacon,' etc., are probably also related to OHG. *bah*, OS. *bęki* 'brook,' etc. In like manner we may derive *breech, breeches*, OE. *brēc*, OHG. *bruoh*, etc., from pre-Germ.

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**bhrōgo-*, **bhrōgi-*, root *bhrĕg-* 'break,' to which *brook* belongs. In that case the Gallo-Lat. *brāca* is from the Germ. as Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5], supposes.

We may therefore safely refer to *pŭ-* 'spring, flow' the following: Gk. *πύννος· ὁ πρωκτός* (Hes.) < **πυστνο-*, Skt. *putāu* 'buttocks,' MHG. *vut*, ON. *fuð* 'cunnus' (Brugm., *Grd.*, I[2], 659), base *pu-to-;* Gk. *πῡγή* 'rump,' with which compare Skt. *púccha-* 'tail' < **puk-sk̂o-*, base *pŭ-go-*. Goth. *fauhō* 'fox,' which is commonly connected with Skt. *púccha-* (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 23; Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *Fuchs;* Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *fauhō*) I should combine rather with Gk. *πυκνός* 'close, secret, concealed, wise, shrewd, crafty.' Germ. *fohō*, *fohs* meant therefore 'the crafty one,' a very fitting appellative for the fox, and ON. *fox* 'deceit' from pre-Germ. **puk(e)s-* was primarily 'secrecy, deceit' not 'foxiness.' The base *pu-ko-* in these words was probably from the root *pŭ-* as we shall see below.—To this group we may also add Skt. *pu-nar* 'back' (adv.), Gk. *πύ-ματος* 'hindmost.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*

Of the same origin as *pĕu̯-* 'spring, flow' is *pĕu-* 'strike,' i. e., 'cause to spring.' The two significations are simply the intransitive and the transitive use of the same verb of motion. Compare the following:

Skt. *galati* 'drip, fall,' OHG. *quellan* 'gush out:' Gk. *βάλλω* 'throw, hit, strike, wound;' Skt. *sr̥játi* 'pour out:' 'throw,' *sarga* 'stream:' 'shot;' Skt. *sísarti* 'flow:' 'run, rush,' Gk. *ὁρμή* 'assault, attack;' Skt. *dhāvati* 'stream, pour:' 'run,' *dhūnōti* 'shake,' Gk. *θύω* 'rush;' Lat. *fundō* 'pour out:' 'cast, hurl;' Goth. *rign* 'rain:' cf. Skt. *r̥ghāvan* 'raging, stormy,' *r̥ghāyati* 'rage, tremble,' Gk. *ὀρχέω* 'shake,' *ὀρχέομαι* 'leap, dance,' root *oregh-: orgh-: regh-;* Lith. *pìlti* 'pour:' Lat. *pellō* 'drive, strike;' Lat. *pluit* 'it rains,' Gk. *πλέω* 'sail,' *πλύνω* 'wash:' 'beat;' OE. *flēotan* 'float, flow,' E. *fleet, flit*, etc.: Lat. *plaudō* < **plau̯-do-* 'beat;' G. *worpen* 'rolling waves,' OE. *ge-weorp* 'surf:' 'a tossing, throwing,' *weorpan* 'throw,' root *u̯er-* 'turn, twist, hurl:' OHG. *welc*,

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OE. *wlæc* 'moist,' primarily 'rolling out, gushing forth,' Lett. *wélgans* 'moist,' etc. (Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5]): OHG. *walkan* 'beat,' ON. *valka* 'roll, move back and forth;' OHG. *wella* 'wave,' *wallan* 'bubble, spout:' *wallōn* 'wander' (Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *wallen*[2]); Lat. *fer-veō* 'boil:' Skt. *bhuráti* 'stir, jerk, struggle,' Lat. *feriō* 'strike;' OChSl. *rinąti* 'flow:' 'thrust.'

To this list we may safely add *pĕu̯-* 'spring forth, flow:' *pĕu̯-* 'strike, cut.' Here then belong Lat. *paviō*, Gk. *παίω* 'strike' from **pəu̯-i̯o-*, Lith. *piáuju* 'cut, mow' from **pēu̯-i̯o-*. Cf. Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 470. From *pĕu̯-* come the enlarged roots *peu̯-ko-*, *peu̯-go-* 'thrust, pierce, strike' in Gk. *πευκάλιμος* 'sharp, piercing,' *πυγμή* 'fist,' Lat. *pungo*, etc. From 'strike, pierce' come 'compact, close; sharp, shrewd' in Gk. *πυκνός*. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *πύκα*. Here also belongs Lat. *putō* 'cut off, trim, consider, think,' base *pu-to-* 'cut.' Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, II, 1126.

6. Lat. *foeteo* 'stink,' base *bhoi̯-to-*, may well be referred to the root *bhĭ-bhĕi̯-* 'thrust, strike, cut' in OChSl. *biti* 'strike,' *φιτρός* 'piece of wood,' OHG. *bīhal*, OE. *bill* 'ax.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *φῑμός*; Brugm., *Grd.*, I[2], 636. Here also, with Prellwitz, I should add Lat. *foedus* < **bhoi-do-* 'foul, filthy, horrible,' from the same root as in Lat. *findō* 'split,' Goth. *beitan* 'bite,' *baitrs* 'bitter,' etc. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *bitter*.

The strong or foul odor is here described in terms of the sense of feeling. (Cf. Bechtel, *SW.* 57.) Thus we may speak of odors as sharp, pungent, penetrating, offensive.

7. Lith. *smirdėti* 'stink,' *smárvė*, stench,' OChSl. *smrŭděti* 'stink,' *smradŭ* 'stench, filth,' Lat. *merda* 'dung,' base *smer-do-* (Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 576) may be further connected with Gk. *σμερδνός*, *σμερδαλέος* 'terrible,' OHG. *smerzo* 'pain,' OE. *smeart* 'painful,' etc. (Persson, *Wz.* 65). These may all be referred to the root *smer-* 'rub,' from which develops 'rub,' 'smear,' 'befoul,' 'stink,' and 'rub,' 'crush,' 'pain,' etc. The first set of meanings is found also in OHG. *smero* 'grease,' Goth. *smairþr* 'fatness,' *smarna* 'dung,' etc.

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8. ON. *hnykr* 'stench, filth,' pre-Germ. **qnu-go-*, Skt. *knūyatē* 'be damp, stink' have probably developed through the ideas 'rub,' 'smear,' 'befoul,' etc., as in *smerdo-* We may therefore refer these words to the root *qnŭ-*, *qnĕu̯o-* in Gk. *κνύω* 'scratch, scrape,' ON. *hnyggja* 'beat,' etc. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 134.) Though these are reducible to the root *qnē-*, *qeno-*, from which come Icel. *hniss*, *hnīta*, etc. (cf. above), from the base *qnĭd-*, the development of meaning is not the same.

Other words for smell which are only specializations of a general term of sense-perception are not considered here. That would lead us too far, since almost any general term of sense-perception may be restricted in this way. Thus, we perceive, observe, notice, are aware of, odors, and occasionally such general expressions may become fixed in the sense 'smell.' So E. *scent* as compared with Fr. *sentir*, Lat. *sentire*. But for the most part words for 'smell' are from terms descriptive of smoke or odor or putrefaction. In words for 'see,' however, the case is different. There is nothing to describe except the attitude or appearance of the person looking. But this, as we shall see, is an important factor, for from such a description come many words for 'see.'

B. Semasiology of expressions for 'sight.'

Seeing in the sense of ocular perception is, in the very nature of the case, a secondary development of meaning. One large group is composed of words whose meanings have been specialized from general terms of sense-perception. The underlying ideas of this group are therefore manifold. When traced to their original significations they are found to mean grasp, aim at, turn, stretch toward, seek, be alert, active, watchful, etc. Thus with the eye we perceive, discern, distinguish, make out, discover, descry, scan, examine, scrutinize, notice, mark, watch, regard, behold, etc. Such expressions for seeing occur in all periods and are sometimes restricted in

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usage to ocular perception. Thus E. *behold* compared with G. *behalten*. Other examples of such restricted usage are: Gk. *ἀτενίζω* 'gaze at:' *ἀτενής* 'stretched' (Prellwitz); Lat. *contemplor* 'gaze at:' Lith. *tempiù* 'stretch' (Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 443); Lith. *matýti* 'see:' Lett. *matît* 'feel, notice,' Gk. *ματεύω* 'seek' (Prellwitz); Skt. *bŏdhati* 'be awake: notice, perceive;' Lat. *animadvertō* 'turn the mind to, attend to: see;' Lat. *tueor* 'gard: regard, look at' (cf. Bechtel, *Sinnl. Wahrn.* 163); *τηρέω* 'guard, watch: look at intently;' Lat. *sentiō*, *percipiō*, etc. Words for seeing, therefore, may be as various in their origin as there are different ways of expressing sense-perception. Examples of this character are given under nos. 1 to 16. Besides these there are other verbs for 'look, see' which describe a certain expression of countenance and then, by implication, mean look with such an expression. Examples under 17 to 20. No hard and fast line, however, can be drawn between these two classes.

1. Goth. *saihwan*, OHG. *sehan*, OE. *sēon*, ON. *sjā* 'see' are from an IE. root *seqᵘ-*, in regard to which opinions differ. We find the root *seqᵘ-* with four principal meanings: (1) 'point out, show;' (2) 'see;' (3) 'say;' (4) 'follow.' I know of no one who connects them all. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *sagen*, connects (1) and (3), and s. v. *sehen*, (2) and (4). Brugmann, *Grd.*, I[2], 601, combines (1), (2), and (3). The old comparison between *seqᵘ-* 'see' and *seqᵘ-* 'follow' is doubted by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *saihwan*, and seems to be abandoned by Brugmann. As to the identity of these two roots I have not the least doubt, though I do not connect their meanings in the usual way. And yet the old explanation of 'see' as 'to follow with the eye' is not without parallel. Gk. *ἕπομαι* is used in the sense of 'perceive with the intellect, understand.' In the same sense we use *follow*. Compare 'I cannot follow his arguments,' 'I cannot understand his arguments,' 'I cannot see his arguments.' We might therefore assume the development 'follow:' 'understand, perceive:' 'see.' Compare Gk. *ἡγέομαι* 'lead, guide,'

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Goth. *sōkjan* 'seek,' Lat. *sāgiō* 'perceive quickly.' From such a meaning, 'see' could easily come, as in Gk. *ματεύω* 'seek:' Lith. *matýti* 'see.'

However, I should explain the relation between these roots differently. I regard 'point out, show' as the primary meaning of the root *seq^{u}-* in its various significations. The development was: (1) 'point out, show:' 'see;' (2) 'show:' 'say;' (3) 'show:' 'guide, attend, follow.' These are found in OChSl. *sočiti* 'anzeigen,' Lat. *sīgnum* 'zeichen, token;' Goth. *saihwan* 'see;' Lith. *sakýti*, OHG. *sagēn* 'say,' Gk. *ἐν-έπω* 'say, mention,' Lat. *in-sectiōnēs* 'narrations' (with which compare OE. *in-siht* 'narrative'); Gk. *ἔπομαι*, Skt. *sácatē*, Lat. *sequor* 'attend, follow,' *socius* 'attendant,' OE. *secg* 'man.'

For similar development of meanings compare Gk. *φράζω* 'point out, show; speak, tell, declare; notice, watch, observe, keep in one's eye, see;' Skt. *diçáti* 'point, direct, show,' Gk. *δείκνυμι* 'point out, show, explain,' Lat. *dīcō;* OHG. *sinnan* 'go, travel, endeavor, think,' Lat. *sentiō* 'feel, perceive, see.' Such examples show plainly that there is no semasiological reason for dividing the root *seq^{u}-* 'point out, show; see; say; follow.'

This root, which we may give as *se-q^{u}o-*, meaning in its functions as adjective, noun, and verb 'pointing, pointer, point out,' is perhaps a derivative of the pronominal stem *so-*. The demonstrative or deictic pronouns are eminently suitable to form words signifying 'point out,' 'show,' 'see,' 'say,' etc. If we wish to call attention to an object, how can it be more simply done than by saying 'there?' This is the explanation of Goth. *sai*, OHG. *sē, sē-nu* 'behold! see!' from **so-id.* (Cf. Osthoff, *PBB.*, VIII, 311 ff.) Similarly to the deictic pronoun *eno-, ono-* Fick, *VWb.*^{4}, I, 366, refers Gk. *ἦν*, Lat. *ēn* 'behold!' and to the same stem belong Gk. *ὄνο-μα*, Lat. *nō-men*, Goth. *na-man*, etc., 'name,' and Gk. *ὄνο-μαι* 'blame, scorn,' etc., primarily 'point out, point at,' like G.

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bezeichnen, anzeigen, zeihen. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. W.* s. v. *ὄνομα, ὀνομαι.*

2. Gk. *εἶδον* 'saw,' Lat. *videō*, OChSl. *viděti* 'see,' Goth. *witan, -aida,* 'watch, give heed to,' OHG. *ga-wizēn*, etc., contain the IE. root *u̯eid-, u̯oid-*, which is also in Goth. *wait*, Gk. *οἶδα*, Skt. *vēda*, 'know,' etc. These are further compared with Skt. *vindáti* 'find, get hold of, obtain,' to which I should add the Germ. verb *wītan* 'go' in OS. *gi-wītan* 'go,' Hild. 18 *gi-weit* 'went,' OE. *ge-wītan* 'go, depart, die.' To the root *u̯eid-* in this sense belong OHG. *wīsan* 'guide, lead, teach, show,' primarily 'cause to go,' ON. *vīsa* 'direct, show,' OHG. *wīsa* 'way, manner.'

Now these and related words show the following development: 'go, go after, go to; reach, obtain, find, get hold of, grasp; comprehend, perceive, know, see.' It is evident from the various developed meanings of this root that 'know' did not mean 'having seen,' but that 'see' and 'know' are both from the more general idea 'comprehend, perceive,' and that this depends on the earlier signification 'go, go to, reach.' In Germ. this primary meaning is especially prominent. Compare OS. *gi-wītan* 'go;' Goth. *ga-weisōn* 'go to, look after, visit;' *witan* ('go to') 'pay attention to, give heed to, look after;' *-weitan* 'pay attention to, punish;' OHG. *wīsan* ('cause to go') 'guide, show;' Goth. *-weis* 'expertus, erfahren, bewandert;' *wait* 'know,' cf. Goth. *lais* 'know,' MHG. *leise* 'trace, track,'

The root *u̯ei-d-* is together with many others possibly an outgrowth of the root *u̯ĕi-* in Skt. *vēti* 'seek, strive to get, fall upon,' to which perhaps also Lat. *via* belongs.

3. Gk. *ὁράω* 'watch, see,' *φρουρά* < **προ-ὁρα* 'a guarding' is usually referred to the root *u̯ero-* 'guard' in Goth. *war* 'cautious,' OE. *wær*, etc. But on account of the rough breathing of the Gk. words, they should rather be compared with Umbr. *seritu* 'servato,' *anzeria-* 'observe,' Lat. *servō* 'protect, watch, observe,' from the bases *sero-, seru̯o-*.

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These then belong to the root *sero-* 'schützen' given by Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 562. On the same page Fick gives *sero-* 'gehen, strömen' and *sero-* 'reihen.' These three roots are the same as can be shown. Primarily *sero-* meant 'go, run, move.' This in its transitive sense would be 'set in motion, move on, extend, string out.' This secondary meaning of *sero-* when transitive is found in Lat. *serō* 'string out, string together, join, combine, compose, contrive,' *series* ('a stringing together') 'row, succession, line,' *sors, sor-ti-s* ('a casting') 'lot,' etc. (but not Gk. εἴρω 'string, join together,' etc.). To this root Goth. *sarwa* 'armor' < pre-Germ. **soru̯o-* has been referred. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, declares arbitrarily that this is impossible. I assert that it is quite possible and very probable. If we turn to Lat. *serō* we shall find, among others, the definitions 'join together, plait, interweave; combine, compose, contrive, make, prepare.' Under OE. *searo* are given in Sweet, *Dict. of AS.*, 'armor, arms, machine, work of skill; device, skill, contrivance, cunning, treachery.' I have rearranged the definitions as given by Sweet. The first set represent the literal meaning of **sorṷo-* 'a joining together, something put together, woven.' It is quite possible that the armor meant was originally a woven or plaited shield. ON. *sǫrve* 'string of beads' also preserves the literal meaning. In the second set of definitions given above the word is used figuratively as in Lat. *serō* 'contrive.' So also in OE. *sierwan* 'devise, plot, conspire.'

As we have just seen in Lat. *series* how the signification 'row, line' arose, so we may assume the same development for Gk. ὅρος, Dor. ὅρϝος 'boundary, limit, frontier,' ὁρίζω 'mark out, limit, bound.' From this easily comes 'enclose,' whence 'protect, guard, watch, observe, see,' as in Umbr. *seritu*, Lat. *servō*, Gk. ὁράω.

Lith. *sérgėti* 'guard,' *sárgas* 'watcher' and *sergù, sìrgti* 'be sick,' primarily 'confined, shut in' are from the base *ser-go-* (or *ser-gho-*), and should not be compared directly with Lat. *servō* (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 601), and much less with Goth.

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saurga, OHG. *sworga*, *sorga* 'care,' pre-Germ. *su̯er-go-* or *su̯er-gho-*.

4. Goth. *gaumjan* 'see, perceive, observe, attend to,' ON. *geyma*, OE. *gīeman* 'take care of,' OHG. *goumjan*, *goumōn*, OS. *gōmian* 'attend to, wait on, entertain' (as host), *fargūmon*, OE. *for-gīeman* 'not heed, neglect' are based on ON. *gaumr* 'attention,' OHG. *gouma* 'close attention, entertainment, feast,' OS. *gōma* 'feast.' (Cf. Balg, *Cpv. Gloss.* s. v. *gaumjan*.)

These words are not, as I have shown in *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4, to be referred to OChSl. *umŭ* 'intelligence' (so Johansson, *PBB.* 15, 228), but are rather from pre-Germ. *g̑ʰŭ-*, *g̑ʰou-* (or perhaps *g̑ʰåu-*) and are next akin to Lat. *faveō*, *faustus* 'protect, favor,' Lith. *gausus* 'abundant,' OChSl. *govĕti* 'revere, worship, venerate, respect,' OSorb. *hović* 'be serviceable, favor.' (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 600.)

OE. *gorettan* 'gaze, stare' is possibly from the same root, pre-Germ. **g̑ʰus-adi̯o-*. Compare Lat. *faus-tus*, Lith. *gausus*. For a different explanation see below, no. 18.

5. OHG. *spehōn* 'spähen,' *spāhi* 'discerning,' Lat. *speciō* 'look at, behold,' Skt. *spaç-* 'watcher,' *spaṣṭá-* 'visible, plain,' *paçyati* 'behold, perceive,' Av. *spasyeiti* 'see,' OChSl. *paziti* 'give heed to' (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 725) contain a base *spĕ̆-k̂o-* whose primary meaning must be sought outside of the words given above. This base is probably derived from the root *sepo-* in Gk. ἔπω 'busy over,' *ἀμφι-έπω* 'be busy about, wait on, care for, guard,' *δι-έπω* 'drive about, sway,' *μεθ-έπω* 'attend to,' Skt. *sápati* 'attend, follow, serve,' *saparyáti* 'serve, honor.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*) The derived root *spĕ̆-k̂o-* therefore meant 'attending to, watching, guarding,' and hence 'watching, looking at, seeing.' Perhaps to *sepo-* belong also Goth. *sifan* 'rejoice' and OE. *sefa* 'mind.'

6. OE. *lōcian*, OS. *lōkon* 'look, see' < pre-Germ. **lōqn-* (Brg., *Grd.*, I², 384), OHG. *luogēn* 'lugen' have been compared with Skt. *lakṣayati* 'notice, perceive.' (Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *lugen*.) But this does not give us the primary

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meaning. For that we must look for a root *leq-* used in a concrete sense. We come one step nearer to the primary meaning by comparing Skt. *rákṣati* 'ward off, protect, guard, watch,' Gk. *ἀλέξω* 'turn away, ward off, defend,' *ἀλαλκεῖν* 'ward off,' OE. *ealgian* 'protect.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *alhs;* and for this connection, author *JGPh.*, II, 229.) The root *leqs-* 'turn away, ward off, guard' is undoubtedly from *leq-* 'turn aside, bend:' Gk. *λοξός* 'oblique,' *λέκος* 'pot,' Lith. *linkti* 'bend,' etc. (Cf. Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 535.) The development in meaning is therefore 'turn aside, ward off, guard, watch, behold, look.'

7. G. *gewahren, wahrnehmen* 'perceive, see,' MHG. *war nemen,* OS. *wara nemen* 'give heed to, perceive,' MHG. *warn,* OHG. *biwarōn,* OS. *warōn* 'give heed to, notice, guard, provide with,' OE. *warian* 'guard, watch over, guard against, ward off,' Goth. *war* 'cautious,' OE. *wær,* etc., contain a widespread Germ. root *war-* 'guard, watch, heed.' The same root is also in OE. *warnian* 'beware of, warn, refrain,' OHG. *warnōn* 'beware of, guard against, warn,' ON. *varna* 'refuse.' Of these Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *warnen* says: "Sichere Beziehungen sind noch nicht gefunden." If it is not certain that OHG.-*warōn* and *warnōn* are from the same root, then nothing in linguistics can be certain. It would be interesting to know on what semasiological principles these words are declared unrelated.

The same root is also in Goth. *warjan* 'forbid, hinder,' OE. *werian* 'defend, ward off,' ON. *verja* 'protect, defend,' OS., OHG. *werian* 'hinder, defend,' Gk. *ἔρυσθαι* 'guard, watch, draw, hinder, save,' *ῥύομαι* 'protect, save,' Skt. *varūtár* 'protector,' Lith. *veriù* 'close, open,' Av. *var-* 'cover, check,' Skt. *vṛṇṓti* 'cover, surround, check, defend.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ἔρυσθαι;* Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *warjan.*

To the root *u̯ero-* in Goth. *war* are generally referred Gk. *οὖρος* 'watcher,' *ὄρομαι* 'watch.' These I admit, but not *ὁράω.* The root *u̯ero-* did not mean primarily 'look at,' nor 'guard,' but probably 'turn.' At least this is the significa-

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tion that is most common and the one from which the others are most easily derived. Now from the primary meaning 'turn' come 'turn in, enclose' and 'turn off, ward off, defend.' For this double development compare Lith. *veriù* 'close, open,' and Gk. εἴργω < *ϝer-gō 'shut in, confine, enclose, bound; shut out, drive off, hinder, abstain from,' Lat. *vergō* 'turn, bend,' Skt. *vṛj-* 'turn, twist off, turn aside, avoid, leave out, exclude.' So throughout the simple root *ϝero-* we find regularly developed meanings from 'turn in' or 'turn away.' From which of these a particular meaning may come it is not always possible to say. Thus 'guard' may mean primarily 'enclose, surround' or 'ward off, defend.' So 'forbid,' 'hinder,' 'check' are capable of a double explanation.

From *ϝero-* 'turn' come the following: Goth. *wardja* 'watchman,' OHG. *warto*, etc., from 'turn in, enclose, guard;' OE. *worþ* 'enclosure, courtyard, farm,' OS. *wurð* 'boden,' OE. *wryndan* 'found' (a house); Goth. *wairdus* 'wirt,' perhaps in the sense of 'holder, possessor,' cf. OE. *warian* 'guard, inhabit, possess;' Lat. *vertō* 'turn,' Goth. *wairþan* 'werden,' base *ϝer-to-;* Goth. *wairpan* 'werfen,' base *ϝer-bo-* 'turn, twist, throw' (cf. OE. *þrāwan* 'twist:' E. *throw*), OE. *wyrp* 'recovery' ('return, turn for the better,' cf. Gk. *νέομαι* 'return:' Goth. *ganisan* 'recover'), cf. Lat. *verb-era* 'blows,' Lith. *vīrbas* 'rod, twig,' *virbìnis* 'snare,' Gk. *ῥάβδος* 'sprout, rod' (Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); OE. *weorc* 'pain, grief, work,' OHG. *werk*, Gk. *ἔργον* 'work,' etc., base *ϝer-go-* 'turn, twist, writhe, suffer, work,' also in OE. *wærc* 'pain;' ON. *ver* 'sea,' *ūr* 'dampness,' OE. *wær*, *ēar* 'sea,' Skt. *vār* 'water,' Gk. *οὐρέω*, etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*), base *ϝĕro-* 'turn, roll, flow,' from which *ϝer-go-* in Gk. *ὀργάς* 'well-watered spot, teeming, fertile,' *ὀργή* 'passion, anger,' *ὀργάω* 'swell with moisture, be excited;' Lith. *vìrti*, OChSl. *variti* 'cook,' *varŭ* 'heat,' to which perhaps belong OHG. *warm*, etc. (Bezzenberger, *BB.* 16, 257), closely connected with ON. *ver* 'sea,' etc. (cf. OE. *weallan* 'boil, be hot, flow, go in waves, be agitated'); Goth. *waurts* 'root,' OE. *wyrt* 'wort,' etc., base

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u̯er-do- 'turn, roll, swell, grow' (cf. Goth. *walus* 'staff:' *-walwjan* 'roll,' and Gk. ῥάβδος 'shoot, rod:' Goth. *wairpan* 'throw,' E. *warp*, etc. v. supra); Goth. *wriþus*, OE. *wrāþ* 'herd,' Skt. *vrā́ta-*, *vrā́* 'troop,' *u̯ero-* 'turn, confine,' with which compare Skt. *vrājá-* 'troop, band,' *vrajá-* 'troop, band; fold, stall,' *vr̥jána-* 'enclosure; community, people,' *várūtha-* 'protection; herd, troop.' So E. *band* 'something to bind with,' and 'company, troop.'

To *u̯ero-* 'turn, twist,' whence 'fasten, bind, tie,' etc., I should refer Gk. εἴρω 'tie, bind, fasten together,' ἐερμένος 'bound.' These are usually compared with Lat. *serō* (v. supra), but phonetically they are more easily explained as here given, and in meaning cause no difficulty. Compare OE. *wrīþan* 'twist: bind;' Gk. λυγίζω 'bend, twist:' OE. *lūcan* 'interlace, join together, close, shut.' That εἴρω and *serō* are synonymous is no evidence whatever that they are cognate unless it can be shown that εἴρω is from **seri̯ō*, which I do not believe. If then εἴρω 'join' is from **u̯eri̯ō*, it is phonetically identical with εἴρω 'speak.' For this root *u̯ero-*, which is also in Lat. *verbum*, Goth. *waurd* 'word,' Lith. *vardas* 'name,' etc., we may therefore assume the development 'turn, twist, join together, converse, speak.' (Compare Lat. *serō* 'join together:' *sermō* 'speech.') The root *u̯ero-* 'join together, agree, speak,' is also in Gk. ῥή-τρᾱ 'agreement,' Cypr. *Fρή-τᾱ*, and in Gk. εἰρή-νη 'peace' (Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*) if this is from **eu̯erē-nā*. With this *u̯ero-*, *u̯rē-* of the Gk. compare the *u̯ēr-* of the Germ. in OE. *wār* 'agreement, treaty, promise, faith, fidelity, friendship.' This is, of course, the same as OE. *wār* 'true,' OHG., OS. *wār*, OIr. *fīr*, Lat. *vērus* 'true,' OChSl. *věra* 'faith,' Goth. *tuz-wērjan* 'doubt,' OHG. *wārjan* 'verify,' etc., Goth. *un-wērjan* 'be displeased,' primarily 'disagree,' *un-wērei* 'indignation' ('disagreement'). With the above explanation of the IE. *u̯ēro-* 'joining together, agreeing, faithful, true,' the "auffallende bedeutungsentwickelung" of Goth. **unwērs* (Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*) is entirely cleared up. Uhlenbeck and Kluge should

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also have given in their *Et. Wbb.* ON. *vērr* 'gentle, friendly' ('agreeing, agreeable'), of which Goth. **unwērs* is the negative. Cf. Balg, *Cpv. Gloss.* s. v. **wērs*.

The natural conclusion from the above comparisons is that the roots *u̯ero-*, *u̯er-to-*, *u̯er-do-*, *u̯er-dho-*, *u̯er-go-*, etc., in all of which the primary meaning 'turn' can be traced, are one in origin. From *u̯ero-*, *u̯rē-* are also formed, with the suffixes *-i̯o-* and *u̯o-*, the roots *u̯rĕ-i̯o-*, *u̯rĭ-*; *u̯rĕ-u̯o-*, *u̯rŭ-*. These are the bases of other formations, as *u̯rĕi̯-to-*, *u̯rĕi-do-*, etc. Hence it is possible, indeed probable, that all IE. roots beginning with *u̯ero-* or an ablaut thereof are derivatives of the root *u̯ero-* 'turn.' Of course I do not include analogical formations or later sporadic words. By sporadic words I mean words that are composed of sound-elements which, from association, express a certain idea. Common speech is full of such words, and from time to time some of them become a part of the language. (Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP.* 16, 409 ff.) But aside from such formations I believe we are justified in assuming that "words of the same phonetic composition are presumably cognate," and that it is the form and not the meaning that should decide whether or not words are related. For it is certain that the meaning of a root is not an inherent and inseparable part of it. Indeed it is impossible to fix the original meaning of a root. The most that can be done is to establish the common idea from which the various significations have diverged. But the starting point—no, that is lost in the darkness of the past. When, therefore, I speak of the original or primary signification of the root *u̯ero-*, I mean only the common idea from which the various meanings have sprung. But this common idea, loosely expressing a certain thought, may be the generalization of a particular term. And this process may be repeated again and again. Thus G. *schenken* 'give, present' is a generalization of 'give to drink, pour out;' and 'pour out' is a generalization of 'pour from cup' (OE. *scenc* 'cup,' etc.); and this word for 'cup' is a generalization from some other term descriptive of a hollow

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bone or shell, pre-Germ. *s̆kongi̯o- or s̆konghni̯o-, Lat. *congius* 'measure for liquids,' Skt. *çankhá-s* 'shell,' etc. Cf. author, *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4. Hence it follows that we must rely upon the phonetic composition of a word to determine its derivation, not upon its meaning. But the various meanings are important in enabling us to find out the common point of divergence; and the greater the variety, the more easily is this point found.

Now a root of the form *u̯rei̯to-* is so evidently the result of repeated composition, and words of this type are so easily derived from a simpler root *u̯ero-*, that it is hard to escape from the conviction that the root-form *u̯ero-* is the base of the others. Hence OE. *wrīþan* 'twist, bind' as well as *wrīdan*, *wrīþan* 'grow' (that is 'turn, become, change, grow'), pre-Germ. *u̯rei̯-to-* < *u̯rĕ-i̯o-* + *-to-*, are from the simple root *u̯ero-*, just as Lat. *vertō* is from *u̯er-to-*. In each case the derivative becomes the base of new formations.

If etymologists would follow the method here indicated, they would be surprised at the ease with which words may be traced. And this ease is not secured at the cost of disregarding phonetic laws or of violating the principles of psychology. I venture to say that, if the exact phonetic composition of a word is known, there will be little left to explain. For example G. *reiben* from the Germ. root *wrīb-*, which Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5], says has not been found, is probably from a pre-Germ. base *u̯rī-po-*, and may be compared with Gk. ῥίπτω 'throw.' Both are easily explained from the primary meaning 'turn.' For 'turn:' 'throw' compare G. *drehen:* E. *throw;* Lat. *torqueo* 'turn, twist:' 'hurl, throw,' etc. The meaning 'turn, twist, plait' is implied in ῥίψ, ῥῖπ-ός 'wicker-work, mat,' ῥῖπος 'mat, wicker-hurdle,' and various secondary meanings in ῥῖπή 'swing, rush, whir, twinkling light' (of stars), etc. With these compare OHG. (*w*)*rīban*, MHG. *rīben* 'turn, rub (so still in Bav. *reiben* 'reiben, wenden, drehen'), dance (whirl, toss about), be lascivious,' ODu., MLG. *wrīven* 'rub,' ON. *rīfa* 'tear,' E. *rive.*

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Here we have the development 'turn, move back and forth, rub, scratch, tear.' (Compare *tero-*, *trē-* 'turn, rub, bore,' Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *drehen.*)

The base *u̯rī-* in Gk. *ῥῑ-πος* (gen.), etc., is found in many other derivatives with similar meanings or at least with such as are derivable from 'turn.' Thus: Gk. *ῥῑ́-νη* 'file,' *ῥῑ-νό-ς* 'hide,' OHG. *rīzan* 'tear, wound, write,' OE. *wrītan* 'engrave, write' (Brugmann, *Grd.*, II, 1052), with which compare OE. *wrǣtt* < **wraitjō-* 'ornament, work of art;' Gk. *ῥοι-κό-ς* 'crooked,' *ῥικνός* 'bent, crooked,' cf. ME. *wrie* 'twist,' E. *wry*, OE. *wrīgian* 'strive, tend toward,' and also OHG. *-rīhan*, OE. *wrēon* 'wrap up, cover;' Goth. *wraiqs*, Gk. *ῥαιβός* 'crooked,' from **u̯rəi-gᵘ̯ó-s*, etc. For further possibilities in analyzing the root *u̯ĕ-ro-*, cf. Persson, *Wz.* 66, and the author, *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, I, 302 ff.

8. OE. *wlītan*, ON. *līta* 'look,' *leíta* 'look for, search,' OE. *wlātian* 'look, gaze,' Goth. *wlaitōn* 'look round about' from the Germ. base *wlīt-*, which is also in Goth. *wlits* 'face,' OE. *wlite* 'brightness, beauty, form,' OS. *wliti*, etc., I have elsewhere compared with Gk. *ἰλλίζω* 'look awry, look askance, leer' from **u̯i-u̯lidi̯ō* (*JGPh.*, I, 303). The base *u̯lĭd-* is extended from *u̯elo-*, *u̯l-* 'turn' with the suffix *-id-*, as in Gk. *ἔριδ-*, *ἄσπιδ-*, etc. (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, II, 383.) The base of *ἰλλίζω* is seen in *ἰλλίς*, *ἰλλίδ-ος*, the fem. of *ἰλλός* 'squinting' < **u̯i-u̯lo-*, from which *ἰλλαίνω* 'squint.'

The development of meaning in Greek is 'turn, look aside, squint;' in Germ., 'turn, look around, look at, look,' from which 'looks, appearance, beauty,' etc. The verbal ablaut in Germ. is a growth from the basal form *u̯lid-* as it is seen in Germ. *wliti-* 'appearance.' For the meaning we may compare Lat. *vol-tus* 'appearance,' which may likewise be derived from the root *u̯elo-* 'turn.'

The root *u̯elo-* is given by Fick, *VWb.*[4], I, 551, as five distinct roots. These, however, are easily combined under one. To enumerate them as given by Fick, they are: (1) *u̯elo-* 'wählen, wollen,' primarily 'turn toward, look for;'

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(2) *ǫelo* 'drehen, wenden, umhüllen, umringen;' (3) *ǫelo-* 'wallen' = 'turn, roll, boil, bubble;' (4) *ǫelo-* 'drängen, zusammendrängen, versammeln,' another development of (2), 'drehen, zusammendrehen, zusammendrängen;' (5) *ǫelo-* 'betrügen' = 'verdrehen, distort, pervert.' So we may refer every word containing the root *ǫelo-* to this one root. Cf. author, *JGPh.*, I, 302 f.

9. OE. *be-scīelan* < -**sceolhjan* 'look at,' MHG. *schilhen, schilen* 'schielen:' OE. *sceolh* 'wry, oblique,' OHG. *scelah* 'crooked, oblique, squinting,' ON. *skjalgr* 'sloping, squinting' contain a pre-Germ. base *skel-q^{u}o-* or *sqel-q^{u}o-* which Kluge, *Et. Wb.*^{5}, s. v. *scheel*, compares, through a root *skel-*, with Gk. σκολιός 'crooked, bent.'

This root *skel-* or rather *sqelo-* I take to be identical with *sqelo-* 'cut, divide, separate' in ON. *skilja* 'split, separate,' Lith. *skeliù* 'split,' Gk. σκάλλω 'stir up, hoe.' The development in meaning is simple: 'cut, divide, separate, make slanting or crooked.' Likewise to the root *sqero-* 'cut, separate' in OHG. *sceran* 'shear, cut off,' Lith. *skiriù* 'cut, separate,' etc., we may refer Lith. *skeršа-s* 'oblique, squinting,' Gk. ἐπι-κάρσιος 'crosswise, athwart.' (Brg., *Grd.*, I^{2}, 581.)

10. Gk. δεν-δίλλω < -**diliō* 'turn the eyes about, glance at, make a sign to' contains a base *di-lo-* 'turning, whirling, hastening,' which is also in OLG. *tilōn*, OHG. *zilōn* 'hasten,' OE. *tilian* 'strive after, intend, attempt, obtain,' OS. *tilian* 'erzielen,' Goth. *and-tilōn* 'cleave to' = 'turn to,' *ga-tils* 'fitting,' OE. *til* 'fitting, good, gentle,' OIr. *dil* 'agreeable' (which Uhlenbeck strangely enough disallows), ON., OE. *til* 'to' = 'turned toward' (cf. Goth. *-wairþs* '-ward,' Lat. *versus* 'toward,' root *ǫert-* 'turn'), OHG. *zīla* 'line, row' = 'a turning,' cf. Lat. *versus* 'line, row.' These are referred to a root *dī-* (cf. Kluge, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wbb.*) in OE. *tīma* 'fitting time, season, time,' ON. *tīme*, OE. *tīd* 'fitting time, time,' OS. *tīd*, OHG. *zīt* 'zeit,' Skt. *á-diti* 'unending' = 'unturning, interminis.'

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This root *dĭ-* must have meant 'turn, whirl: hasten.' The ideas expressed by 'whirl' and 'hasten' are closely related. So E. *whirl* 'turn rapidly, rotate: move hastily;' OHG. *dweran* 'whirl:' Skt. *tvárate* 'hasten.' We may, therefore, compare Gk. δῖνη, δῖνος 'vortex, whirlpool, eddy,' δῑνεύω, δῑνέω 'whirl, spin round, drive; wander,' δῑνόω 'turn with a lathe, round,' δίεμαι 'hasten,' Skt. *dīyatē* 'soar, fly.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* To this group we may add Goth. *tains* 'twig, branch,' ON. *teinn* 'twig, spindle,' OE. *tān* 'twig, branch,' OHG., MHG. *zein* 'rod, reed, arrow,' pre-Germ. **doi-no-* 'twisting, twisted,' hence, like OE. *wīþig* 'withe, withy,' a flexible twig, vine, sprout. From **doino-* came **doiniā-* 'made of withes,' Goth. *tainjō* 'basket,' &c. Here also OHG. *zeinen, zeinōn* 'point out,' either directly from the meaning 'turn toward' or else primarily by divination. Compare OE. *tān* 'twig used in casting lots,' *tān-hlyta* 'diviner.' More directly connected in meaning are OHG. *zeinnan* 'einen *zein* (metallstäbchen) machen,' MHG. 'beat out (*zein*), plait,' ON. *teina* 'in fila ducere.'

From 'turn' also come 'rub, scratch, comb' and 'rub, caress.' (Cf. *tero-* 'turn:' 'rub.') Here belong OHG. *zeiz* 'tender, gentle,' ON. *teitr*, OE. *-tāt* 'cheerful, pleased,' *tǣtan* 'caress,' primarily 'rub,' base **doido-;* and OE. *tǣsan* 'card, comb (wool), pull to pieces, wound, soothe' (once), OHG. *zeisan* 'quarrel, card,' OE. *ge-tǣse* 'pleasant, convenient.' Germ. *taisa-* is perhaps from **taissa-* < **doid-to-*. The base **doido-* probably arose by reduplication and may be also in Gk. δοίδ-υξ 'pestle' = 'rubber, crusher.'

The root *dī-* appears in the sense 'radiate, beam, shine,' and is undoubtedly the same as *dī-* 'whirl, move rapidly.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. δίεμαι and δέατα.) Here we may give OE. *tīr*, OS. *tīr*, ON. *tīrr* 'glory, honor' < **dei-ro-*, OHG. *zēri, ziari* 'splendid, beautiful,' *ziarī* 'splendor, beauty, ornament' < **dēi-riio-*, perhaps Lith. *dai-lùs* 'beautiful;' Skt. *dīdē-ti* 'gleam, shine;' OE. *tīber* 'sacrifice, offering,' OHG. *zebar* 'opfertier,' MHG. *ungezîbere* 'ungeziefer,' base

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*dĭp-rŏ- 'burnt offering, animal for sacrifice:' Skt. *dīpra-* 'flaming,' *dīpyatē* 'flame, blaze, burn,' with which compare also Gk. δίψα 'thirst,' δίψιος 'parched, dry, thirsty,' διψάω 'be parched, thirsty.'

Gk. δεν-δίλλω is especially interesting in its formation as it is composed of two synonymous roots *de-no-* + *di-lo-*. We have seen that *dĭ-lo-* is a derivative of *dĭ-*, that is *dĕ-i̯o*. It is therefore among the possibilities that *dĕ-i̯o-* and *dĕ-no-* go back to a common root *dē-*. (So explained by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* δονέω.) The root *dĕno-* is seen in Gk. δονέω 'shake, agitate, stir,' δόναξ 'reed, arrow' (compare Gk. δῖνέω 'whirl:' Goth. *tains* 'twig'), ἁλί-δονος 'sea-tossed,' and perhaps in the first syllable of δέν-δρον 'tree.' Gk. δεν-δίλλω and δέν-δρον are types of compounds that are formed from synonymous roots. This may explain some cases of irregular reduplication. Compare Gk. δνο-παλίζω 'swing, fling about' with δονέω 'shake' and πάλλω 'shake, brandish;' δαρ-δάπτω 'devour' with δέρω 'flay' and δάπτω 'rend.' For other examples see Persson, *Wz.* 216.[1]

11. Lith. *regėti* 'perceive, look at' is compared by Bechtel, *Sinnl. Wahrn.* 158, with the Germ. root *rak-*, *rōk-* 'attend to, care for,' in OE. *reccan* 'care for, reck,' MHG. *ruochen*, OHG. *ruochan* 'direct attention to, care for, care, desire,' OS. *rōkjan*, ON. *rœkja* 'care for.' This comparison, ignored by Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *geruhen*, is unimpeachable, for it shows the quite common development 'turn attention to, give heed to:' 'look at, see.' But 'turn attention to' is not the primary meaning, since no expression denoting a mental emotion can be original as such.

For this root *rĕgo-*, therefore, I assume the primary meaning 'stretch out.' We have then the natural development: 'stretch out, give attention to,' from which 'see' or 'desire.' Compare from the root *rĕĝo-*, which is undoubtedly related and to which the Germ. forms could also go back, Gk. ὀρέγω 'stretch,' ὀρεκτός 'stretched out: longed for, desired;' G. *langen: verlangen*. Besides *rĕ-go-* and *rĕ-ĝo-* occurs *rĕ-qo-*

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for which the same primary meaning may be assumed. These may all be referred to the primitive root *ero-*, *rē-* 'go, move, extend.' Compare OHG. *rāmēn* 'aim at, have one's eye on,' OS. *rōmōn*, same, MHG. *rām* 'aim, object,' OE. *rōmian* 'possess' (i. e., 'er-langen, er-zielen'); Lat. *rē-rī* 'reckon,' Goth. *-rē-dan* 'reflect upon, counsel,' etc. (Brg., *Grd.*, II, 1047).

The various significations of the root *ero-*, *rē-* developed, in part, as follows: (1) 'go, move:' ON. *arna* 'go, run,' Gk. ὄρνυμι, Lat. *orior* 'rise,' OE. *recan* 'go, rush;' (2) 'move, separate, tear apart:' Lith. *ìr-ti* 'separate,' *ro-nà* 'wound,' OChSl. *oriti* 'separate, destroy,' *ra-na* 'wound;' Skt. *ár-da-ti* 'move away, separate,' *ardáyati* 'shatter, injure;' (3) 'go forward, move forward, stretch out, direct:' Gk. ὀρέ-γω 'stretch,' Lat. *regō* 'direct;' (4) 'go for, aim at, attack, assail:' Gk. ὀρέγω 'attack,' OE. *reccan* 'reprove;' ON. *rýjā* < **rē-i̯o-* 'abuse,' Lith. *rė̀-ti* 'shout;' *rė́kti* 'cry out;' Gk. ἔρι-ς, ἔρι-δ-ος 'strife,' ἐρεί-δω 'thrust, press upon,' from which 'prop up, support' (so Lith. *rēmti* 'support'); (5) 'stretch out, reach, get:' OE. *rōmian* 'possess;' Goth. *rikan* 'collect,' OE. *racu* 'rake;' (6) 'stretch toward, aim at:' OHO. *rāmēn;* (7) 'stretch toward, desire, enjoy:' Gk. ἔραμαι 'desire, love,' ἐρασ-τό-ς 'lovely, pleasant,' ἐραν-νός, same, from ἐρασ-νός, OHG. *rasta* 'rest, stage,' Goth. *rasta* 'stage,' *razn* 'house' < *(*e*)*rəs-nó* = Gk. ἐραν-νός, *-ον*, while *rasta* < *(*e*)*rəstā-* = ἐραστός, *-ή*, *erə-s-* being an extension of *ero-*, *rē-* in Gk. ἐρωή, OHG. *rāwa* 'rest,' from which also *re-mo-* in Goth. *rimis* 'rest,' Lith. *rìmti* 'be quiet,' Skt. *rámatē* 'stand still, rest;' (8) 'aim at, give heed to, consider:' Lat. *reor*.

These are only a few of the numberless derived meanings that may spring from the simple root *ero-*. The numbers given do not indicate relative time of development but simply diverging lines. These were often simultaneous, the same root branching into various distinct uses. Thus the base *rĕ-mo-* produced (1) MHG. *ramme* 'pile-driver,' *ram*,

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OE. *ramm* 'ram,' ON. *rammr* 'strong' (Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *Ramme*), base *rem-* 'thrust, strike;' (2) Lith. *rēmti* 'support,' OIr. *forimim* 'lay, set' (given by Uhlenbeck, s. v. *rimis*), cf. OHG. *rama* 'prop,' MHG. *rame, ram* 'prop, support, frame' (cf. Gk. *ἐρείδω* thrust, strike, set against, prop up, support); (3) OE. *rima* 'border, rim,' *rand* < **rom-tā-* 'border' (properly 'support, frame'); (4) OHG. *rāmēn* 'aim at;' (5) OE. *rōmian* ('reach') 'possess;' (6) Skt. *rámatē* 'rest, take pleasure,' Goth. *rimis* 'rest.'

12. Skt. *cikēti* 'look, investigate, notice, observe,' root $q^{u}ei$-, *cētati* 'look at, observe, consider, be intent upon, understand, know,' root $q^{u}ei$-*to*-, OChSl. *čьtą* 'count, reckon,' OIr. *ciall* 'understanding,' Welsh *pwyll* 'sensus, prudentia.' Brugmann, *Grd.*, I², 605.

It will certainly be admitted that the root $q^{u}ei$- in the above group does not appear in its original meaning. We find a phonetically identical root in Skt. *ci-nṓti* 'arrange in order, pile up, build; collect, get possession of,' *kā́ya-s* 'body,' OChSl. *činŭ* 'arrangement,' Serb. *čin* 'form,' *činiti* 'make,' Gk. *ποιέω* 'make' (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 589; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ποιέω*); and in Skt. *cáyatē* 'avenge, punish,' *ápa-citiṣ* 'recompense,' Gk. *τίσις* 'atonement, penalty,' *ποινή* 'price, fine, ransom, penalty,' *τίνω, τῑ́νω* 'requite, recompense,' *τίω* 'esteem, honor,' *τῑμή* 'worth, honor,' Av. *kaēna* 'punishment,' Lith. *pus-kainiu* 'at half price,' OChSl. *cěna* 'price.' Brg., *Grd.*, I², 588 f., 592; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*

These three groups are as closely related in meaning as in phonetics, the second group given above preserving the root in the most primitive sense: 'arrange in order.' From this developed 'count, calculate, consider, observe, look at;' and 'count, pay, requite, make atonement.'

Here, too, I should add the root $q^{u}ei$-, $q^{u}i\bar{e}$- in Gpth. *hweila* 'while,' Lat. *quiēs, quiētus, tran-quīlus*, Skt. *cirá-* 'lasting, long,' OChSl. *po-čiti* 'rest,' etc. (Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *hweila, hweilan*). The growth in meaning is: 'arrange in order, continue, remain, rest.'

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To $q^{u}ei$- we may refer Lat. *quaerō* < *q^{u}əi-sō* 'look into, investigate, seek for, desire, want, need.' These meanings are closely connected with those of Skt. *cikēti*, and also explain those of Lat. *cūra* 'attention, care,' Paelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt,' base *q^{u}oisā. (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 185.) With this compare Goth. *us-haista* 'very needy, in great want,' base *q^{u}ois-to- 'seeking, desiring, wanting, needing.' This is the same derived meaning as in Lat. *quaerō* 'want, need,' *cūriōsus* 'wasted, emaciated, lean,' with which compare OHG. *heis*, MHG. *heis*, *heiser* 'weak, faulty, rough, hoarse.'

For other Germ. words that have been referred to $q^{u}ei$- cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *haidus;* Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵ s. v. *heiter*. From these we must separate Goth. *heitō* 'fever' on account of the lack of labialization, and consequently ON. *heitr* 'hot,' OE. *hāt*, etc. But we may refer to this root Goth. *haims* 'village,' OE. *hām* 'home,' Lith. *kẽmas* 'yard, farm.' Primarily *q^{u}oimo- may have meant 'watched, guarded.' Compare, for this explanation, Lith. *kaimenė* 'herd' < *q^{u}oi-menā- 'watched.' From the primary meaning 'guarded, kept' may come MHG. *geheim*, *heimelich*. Notice also MHG. *heim-garte* 'eingefriedigter garten.' From 'guarded, kept' could also develop 'cherished, loved. These may all be reduced to the root $q^{u}ei$-.

13. Gk. δέρκομαι 'perceive, behold, see,' Skt. *dadárça* 'have seen,' *dṛ́ç* 'seeing,' Goth. *ga-tarhjan* 'mark out,' OE. *torht* 'bright, famous,' OHG. *zoraht*, etc., contain a root *der-k̂-*, which may be compared with *der-p-* in Gk. δρωπάζω· ἐμβλέπω, δρώπτω· διακόπτω ἢ διασκοπῶ, OHG. *zorft* 'bright, clear,' *zorftī*, *zorftel* 'brightness.' Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 11.

These are evidently derivatives of the root *der-* 'separate, tear,' as explained by Bechtel, *SW.* 165. But they are probably not from the signification 'separate,' although that might easily yield 'understand, distinguish, unterscheiden,' and then 'see.' The primary meaning I take rather to be 'grasp, comprehend, perceive, behold,' and this comes from 'break off, tear, pluck.' For this development of meaning

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compare Lith. *kerpù* 'shear:' Lat. *carpō* 'gather, seize,' base *qer-p-* 'cut.'

We may therefore connect Gk. δρωπάζω 'behold, look at' with δρέπω 'gather, pluck.' The two meanings are as closely allied as *hold: behold; percipiō* 'seize, gather:' perceive,' and certainly δρώπτω· διακόπτω is the same as δρώπτω· διασκοπῶ. From the base *dre-p-, der-p-* 'pluck, gather' come Gk. δόρπον, δόρπος, δόρπη 'supper' (cf. Prellwitz). Compare Lat. *carpō* 'gather:' 'devour;' and MHG. *zern* 'verzehren,' MLG. *teren* 'verzehren, mahlzeit halten,' etc. Or δόρπον may be from **dor-qᵘo-*, cf. Alb. *darke* 'supper,' Brg., *Grd.*, I², 620.

In like manner Gk. δέρκομαι 'behold,' δροκτάζεις· περιβλέπεις (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 431) may be compared with Gk. δράσσομαι 'grasp, seize,' δράξ, δρακ-ός 'hand, handful,' base *der-k̂-*, and with Skt. *dṛ́hyati* 'be firm,' Lith. *dirsztù* 'become tough,' Gk. δραχμή 'drachma,' OHG. *zarga* 'rim, shield,' etc., base *der-ĝh-*. Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 463; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.;* Schade, *Wb.* With these compare *der-gh-* in OE. *tiergan* 'irritate, annoy,' G. *zergen*, Russ. *dergatĭ* 'tear.' Persson, *Wz.* 26.

A base *der-bh-* 'pluck, cut' may be assumed for Skt. *darbhá-* 'grass-tuft,' ON., LG. *torf*, OE. *turf*, OHG. *zurba* 'turf.' An other base *der-bh-* with the intransitive meaning 'go rapidly, whirl' is found in OHG. *zerben* 'turn, whirl,' OE. *tearflian* 'turn, roll,' MHG. *zirben* 'whirl,' *zirbilwint* 'whirlwind,' Lith. *drebėti*, Lett. *drebêt* 'tremble.' Cf. Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *zarbjan.*

The meaning whirl probably comes from 'go rapidly back and forth,' and such a meaning we find in the simple root *der-*. Compare MG. *zarren* 'reissend hin und her ziehen, zerren,' which is the active of 'go back and forth.' Here then belong the roots *drā-, dru-, drem-* 'flee, run,' which are simply intransitive uses of the root *der-* 'separate, burst apart, draw away.' Semasiologically there is no reason for separating Skt. *dar-* 'bersten, zerstieben, zersprengen' from

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drā- 'springen, laufen.' From 'spring' develops the intensive 'spring about, tremble.' This occurs in Skt. *dari-drā-ti* 'run about, run hither and thither,' and, from the same root *drā-*, in Gk. *διδράσκω* 'run.' With the Gk. *διδρᾱ-* compare the Germ. *titrō-* in OHG. *zittarōn* 'tremble,' ON. *titra* 'shake, twinkle,' E. *teeter* 'auf und nieder schaukeln,' Prov. E. *titter* 'seesaw, tremble,' E. *titter* 'giggle, tremble with suppressed laughter.' For this interchange of meaning compare OS. *thrimman* 'spring, hop:' Lat. *tremō* 'tremble;' Gk. *τρέω* 'flee:' 'tremble.' For other derivatives of the root *der-* 'spring, run,' cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *treten.* These, however, may represent the development 'draw off:' 'go,' as in G. *ziehen* or OE. *dragan* 'draw:' 'go.' This is certainly the case in MHG. *trechen* 'draw,' Du. *trekken* 'draw, travel, march,' E. *track.* With Goth. *trudan* 'tread,' OHG. *tretan*, etc., compare MHG. *tratz, trotz* 'trotz' < pre-Germ. **drotnó-*, **dr̥tnó-* 'trampling upon, zertretung,' and MG. *trotz* 'confidence' = 'a stepping on, relying on.'

From *der-* 'tear off' comes 'hold,' as in Gk. *δρέπω* 'tear off, pluck, seize, grasp.' From the sense 'hold' develops the signification of the base *dreu-, drŭ-* 'holding firm, steadfast, strong, true:' Gk. *δρούν* 'firm,' Goth. *trauan* 'trust,' *trausti* 'covenant,' *triggws* 'true,' etc., OE. *trum* 'firm, strong, steadfast, healthy,' *ge-trum, truma* 'a force, troop,' etc. Whether Prus. *druwis* 'belief,' OChSl. *sŭ-dravŭ* 'strong, sound' belong here is doubtful, since they may just as well be compared with Skt. *dhruvá-* 'firm, steadfast, trustworthy,' from the root *dher-* 'hold.' But to compare Skt. *dhruvá-* with Goth. *triggws* (as is done by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*) is entirely out of the question. For similarity of meaning is absolutely no ground for connecting words, since any given meaning might arise in a hundred different ways. If we combine Skt. *dhruvá-* with Goth. *triggws* because they are synonymous, then by all means let us add OE. *þrymm* 'strength, might,' *þrȳþ* 'strength, might, troop,' and we shall have the dental

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series complete in *tru-*, *dru-*, *dhru-* 'strong.' We shall then have reached a point where the phonetic laws will cause no more difficulty. Any comparison will be possible if only the words are synonymous.

Another outgrowth of the meaning 'hold' is 'hold back, delay, aufhalten, sich aufhalten,' hence 'rest, sleep.' This occurs in Skt. *drāti*, Gk. δαρθάνω, Lat. *dormiō*, OChSl. *drěmati* 'sleep.' Compare Gk. ἐλινύω 'rest, keep holiday: sleep.' Of the same origin is the Germ. base *trĕ-ga-*, pre-Germ. **drē-gho-* or **drĕ-kó-*, 'holding back, slow, sluggish; held back, oppressed, grieved:' Goth. *trigō* 'reluctance, grudge, sorrow,' ON. *tregr* 'reluctant, slow,' *tregi* 'pain,' *trega* 'grieve,' OE. *trega*, *trāg* 'affliction,' OHG. *trāgi* 'träge,' etc. With these compare OE. *tiergan* 'afflict, annoy,' Du. *tergen* 'zerren,' Russ. *dergatĭ* 'tear, annoy,' G. *zergen*, Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] Notice also OE. *torn* 'anger, indignation, grief,' OHG. *zorn*, etc., perhaps from pre-Germ. **dr̥no-*, root *der-*, as usually explained. But this does not mean 'zerrissenheit des gemütes.' A primitive race would describe mental emotion from its outward effects—as seen or heard, not as felt. Compare the similar meanings in OChSl. *lupiti*, Lith. *lùpti* 'peel, strip off:' Gk. λύπη 'grief, pain,' λυπέω 'distress, annoy, grieve;' Gk. λυγίζω 'bend, twist, writhe, suffer,' Lith. *lúsztu* 'break,' Lat. *lūgeō* 'mourn,' Gk. λυγαλέος 'sad, wretched,' Lat. *luctor* 'struggle,' *luctans* 'struggling, reluctant.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*) Perhaps OE. *trœglian* 'pluck,' E. *trail* are genuine Germ. (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*[5] s. v. *treideln*). In that case they may belong to Goth. *trigō*, etc.

From *der-* 'tear away, spring forth' comes *dre-so-* 'sprinkle:' Gk. δρόσος 'dew,' Goth. *ufar-trusnjan* 'besprinkle,' ON. *tros* 'abfall,' Lett. *di'rst* 'cacare,' *di'rsa* 'buttocks.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. δρόσος.) Compare E. *spring: sprinkle;* G. *zersprengen: besprengen;* OE. *scādan* 'separate, scatter, sprinkle, shed (blood), fall.'

In this manner every IE. root *der-*, *der-k-*, *der-p-*, etc., may be shown to be one in origin. And certainly the changes

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in meaning assumed are natural and easy. To the words above given we may add: MHG. *tropfe* 'simpleton,' pre-Germ. **dr̥pnó-*: Skt. *darpa-* 'wildness,' *dr̥pyati* 'be crazed, wild,' base *der-po-* 'tear about,' which is really the same as Gk. *δρέπω* 'tear off;' OHG. *zart* 'tender, weak, soft, beloved;' 'tenderness, fineness, caress, love,' *zerten* 'caress' pre-Germ. base *dor-tó-* 'scratched, rubbed, caressed, made tender,' for meaning compare Gk. *τείρω*, Lat. *terō* 'rub:' Gk. *τέρην* 'soft, delicate' (cf. Schade, *Wb.*).

14. OHG. *scouwōn* 'sehen, schauen, betrachten,' OE. *scēawian* 'see, scrutinize, regard, select, provide,' Goth. *us-skaus* 'prudent,' *skauns* 'well-formed, beautiful,' OHG. *scūwo* 'shade,' *scūchar* 'mirror,' etc., from the Germ. root *skŭ-*, *skau-*, pre-Germ. *sqou̯o-* in Gk. *θυο-σκόος* 'priest,' *κοέω* 'mark, hear' (with which compare *qou-s-* in Gk. *ἀ-κούω*, Goth. *hausjan* 'hear'), Skt. *kaví-* 'sage,' *ā-kúvatē* 'intend,' Lith. *kavóti* 'guard against,' OChSl. *čuti* 'feel, perceive,' Lat. *caveō*, etc. (Cf. Kluge, Prellwitz, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wbb.*)

This root *sqŭ-*, *sqou̯o* I regard as a derivative of *seqo-*, *sqē-* 'cut.' From this develops 'mark, notice, perceive, hear, see,' etc. In this way the various significations are easily explained. Thus OE. *scēawian* 'regard (with favor), select, scrutinize' = 'mark, mark out;' Goth. *skauns* 'well-formed' = 'cut out, shaped, shapely;' MHG. *schōne* 'schon' = 'shaped, prepared, ready;' Gk. *κοέω* 'mark' needs no explanation. 'Cut, prepare' explains the following, which may be added to the above: Gk. *σκεῦος* 'tools, trappings, *rüstung*,' *σκευή* 'apparatus, equipment, dress,' *σκευάζω* 'prepare, dress, equip, supply.' Observe also that Lat. *caveō* (which I should explain as **qəu̯-* not *qāu̯-*, as done by Brugmann, *Grd.*, I², 155) means 'ward off' = 'strike, cut' in *adversos ictus cavere ac propulsare, alicui cavere*, etc.

From *s-qeu̯o-* 'cut, cut out' comes the signification 'cover, protect.' This develops through 'something cut out, skin, garment, shield' or 'something dug out, cave, shelter' or directly from 'cut, strike, ward off, protect.' For examples

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of this meaning cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *σκῦλον, σκῦτος;* Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *scūr;* Kluge, s. v. *Scheuer.*

I think there can be no doubt that in one or other of these ways the idea 'shelter, protect' arose. Compare Goth. *skildus* 'shield,' Lith. *skiltìs* 'disk:' *skeliù* 'split;' E. *shed* 'scheide, schuppe;' MHG. *schützen, beschüten* 'protect:' *schüte* 'wall,' *schütten* 'schütteln, schütten.' And so numberless cases. It is impossible, indeed, even to suppose that there was an underived root of any kind meaning 'cover.' Such an idea would be expressed, not by seizing a ready made word out of the air, but by describing the method of covering, sheltering, protecting. Such a word being once formed, it would develop according to its derived not its primary meaning. So we may assume all words arose. But the absolute origin, whether exclamatory or imitative grunt, is beyond our ken. One thing is certain: if we cannot rely upon the phonetic composition of a word, we have no ground to stand on.

It is probably from the idea 'cut off, separate' that the signification 'shadow' originated. The 'shadow' was thought of as a separation, shelter, protection from the sun. Thus: OE. *scuwa* 'protection, shadow;' *scead* 'protection, shade,' *sceadu* 'protection, arbor, shadow;' OHG. *scūr* 'wetterdach, schutz,' *sciura* 'scheuer,' Lat. *ob-scūrus,* with which compare Goth. *skūra* 'storm,' OE. *scūr* 'shower' (of rain, hail, missiles), ON. *skūr,* OHG. *scūr* 'schauer,' base *sqū-ro-* 'throwing, warding off, separating, protecting' (cf. E. *shed,* 'scheide, schuppe;' MHG. *schütten* 'schütteln,' *beschüten* 'beschützen'); Gk. *σκιά* 'shadow,' base *sqĕ-i̯o-, sqĭ-* 'throwing off, protecting, shading;' 'irradiating, shining.' Gk. *σκιάζω* 'shade, overshadow, cover,' *καῦμα σκ.* = 'aestatem defendere,' Goth. *skeinan* 'shine,' etc., with which compare OE. *scēnan* 'break,' *scīa, scinu* 'shin,' G. *schiene,* etc., primarily 'something cut off,' hence 'splint, splinter, strip, shin,' etc.; Goth. *skeirs* 'clear,' OE. *scīr* 'clear, bright,' MHG. *schīr,* etc., base *sqī-ro-* 'cutting, marking off; throwing off, radiating,' also in OE. *scīr* 'shire, office,' Gk. *σκῖρον* 'cheese-paring,' *σκῖρος* 'any hard

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coat or crust,' σκιρός 'hard;' and further in OHG. *skēro, sciaro* 'quick,' *sciari, scēri* 'quick-witted,' pre-Germ. **sqēi-ro-*, cf. Gk. *σκί-ναξ* 'quick, nimble,' Lat. *scio* 'know.' These examples are enough to make it quite probable that the 'shadow' in many cases is thought of as a covering, protection, thrown over or cast by some object.

Now we see in the above roots the bases *sqo-u̯o-, sqŭ-; sqe-i̯o-, sqĭ-; sqo-to-*, in all of which the meaning 'shadow' is found. After the explanation given I take it that it is not too much to assume that they may all be derivatives of the root *seqo-, sqē-* 'cut off, separate, throw off,' etc.

15. Gk. *σκοπέω, σκέπτομαι* 'search out, inquire, examine, look at, behold,' *σκοπός* 'watcher' are connected by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, with *σκέπας* 'covering, shelter,' *σκέπη*, same, *σκεπάω* 'shelter.' This is certainly preferable to the connection with Lat. *speciō* (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 873), but the explanation of the meaning as given by Prellwitz is hardly correct.

The base *sqo-po-, sqe-po-* meant primarily 'cutting off, separating; cut off, separated.' Used literally this gave 'separating, protecting, sheltering;' figuratively, 'separating, searching out, examining,' etc. Such a development of meaning is too common to need illustration. It is the same as we saw above in OE. *scēawian* 'seek out, select, reconnoitre, scrutinize, see.'

16. Lat. *cer-nō, crē-vī* 'separate, distinguish, perceive, see,' Lith. *skiriù* 'separate,' Gk. *κείρω* 'cut off, shear,' OHG. *sceran* 'shear,' etc., root *sqe-ro-* 'cut.' (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 29, 62.) Compare ON. *skil* 'discernment,' ME. *skil* 'reason,' E. *skill*, ON. *skilja* 'separate,' Lith. *skeliù* 'split,' Gk. *σκάλλω* 'dig, hoe,' root *sqe-lo-* 'cut;' and Lat. *sciō* 'understand, perceive, know,' *dē-scī-scō* 'separate,' root *sqĕ-i̯o-, sqĭ-* 'cut.' (Id., ib. 38; 112.) So also Lat. *distinguo* ('thrust apart,' v. supra) 'separate, discriminate, distinguish.'

17. OE. *starian*, OHG. *starēn*, MHG. *starn*, G. *starren* 'stare.' These words express the fixedness of body and

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features occasioned by a sight that causes surprise or astonishment. Hence OHG. *stara-blint*, MHG. *star-blint* 'starrblind,' OE. *stær-blind* 'quite blind,' primarily with eyes 'fixed and glazed.' To these are related Gk. στερεός 'stiff, hard,' OChSl. *starŭ* 'old,' Lith. *storas* 'thick,' ON. *stōrr* 'strong,' Goth. *stairō* 'sterile,' etc. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *starr, Stärke.*

Stare is a good example of a class of words which described primarily a certain expression and only by implication meant 'look at.' So E. *gape* 'yawn:' 'look at with open mouth,' G., MHG. *gaffen*, ON. *gapa* 'yawn;' E. *squint* 'look at with a squint;' *leer* 'look at with a distorted expression;' *peep* 'peer, as through a crevice.' Similarly we may say *frown at, smile at, sneer at*, etc., implying 'look at with a frown, smile, sneer,' etc.

18. OE. *gorettan* 'gaze, stare,' like OE. *starian*, OHG. *starēn*, E. *stare*, denotes a fixed glance, and has probably come to its signification in the same way. Its etymon, therefore, may be a word expressing stiffness. I find a group of words whose meanings go back to the common idea 'bristling,' and this gives the meaning sought. These words are: OE. *gyr* 'fir-tree,' *gorst* 'gorse, furze' (compare ON. *fyra* 'fir:' OE. *fyres* 'furze'), Lith *gaũras* 'hair on the body,' *gaurũtas* 'hairy,' Skt. *ghōrá-* 'horrid, awful, violent' (compare Lat. *horridus* 'bristly, shaggy; horrid, frightful, savage'). From these I should separate Goth. *gaurs* 'sad.' That is better taken as suggested by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, and may further be referred to the root *ĝhu-* 'pour, flow.'

19. MHG. *gucken, gücken*, G. *gucken*, 'look at with curiosity, peep.' This word implies either stealth or foolish curiosity. In either case it may be referred to OHG. *gouh(h)*, ON. *gaukr*, OE. *gēac* 'cuckoo,' MHG. *gouch* 'cuckoo, gawk.' So also E. *gawk* is used colloquially as a verb meaning 'look at like a gawk.' The *-ck-* of MHG. *gucken, gücken* causes no difficulty. It occurs also in MHG. *gucken*, OHG. *guccōn* 'call cuckoo.' We have then two derivatives of the word for 'cuckoo.' **gukkōn* 'call cuckoo' and **gukkjan* 'act like a

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cuckoo or gawk.' The *-kk-* as well as the *-k-* of the Germ. stem *gauka-* < **gaukka-* is from pre-Germ. *-kn̥-*. Compare MHG. *guggug, guggouch* 'cuckoo,' which are reduplicated forms, and *gugzen* < **gugatjan* 'call cuckoo.' The stem *guga-, gukka-, gauka-* may be compared with Skt. *ghūka-* 'owl,' and these may be referred to the root *ghū-* 'shout, cry,' Skt. *ghṓ-ṣa-* 'noise, shout,' *ghōṣati* 'cry, shout.'

20. E. *gloat*, MHG. *glotzen* 'glotzen,' ON. *glotta* 'smile derisively' come from a Germ. base **glottō* < **ghludnā́-* (or *-dhnā́-* or *-tnā́-*) 'jesting, derision,' which is from *ghlū-* in OE. *glēow* 'glee, jest, ridicule,' *glēam*, ON. *glaumr* 'gayety, wantonness,' Gk. χλευή 'jest,' χλευάζω 'jeer, scoff at,' Lith. *glauda-s* 'sport.' (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I², 573.)

By the side of the base *ghle-u̯o-* occurs *ghle-i̯o-:* Lett. *glaima* 'jest,' *glaimût* 'jest, caress,' MHG. *glīen* 'cry' (of birds), Gk. κιχλίζω 'giggle.' These are from the root *ghelo-, ghlĕ-:* ON. *glam(m)* 'noise, hilarity,' *glama* 'be hilarious,' *galm* 'sound,' OHG. *gellan* 'resound, yell,' *galan* 'sing,' etc. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 69, 195 f.)

Another class of verbs for 'see' is connected with words meaning 'shine.' (Cf. Bechtel, *SW.* 157.) These are, for the most part, like those just discussed: they are descriptive of an expression of countenance. Thus *beam, gleam, glare* as nouns may denote a certain expression of eye or feature, as verbs they may mean to look with such an expression. So also *glance* and *to glance;* G. *blick, blicken;* Gk. λευκός 'bright, glancing,' λεύσσω 'glance at, look at;' Lith. *žvilgėti* 'glänzen, blicken.'—The further discussion of these words would require an investigation into the origin of the ideas underlying 'shine, gleam.' This is reserved for another occasion.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

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XI.—PROPER NAMES IN OLD ENGLISH VERSE.

It is true that the poets often allow proper names to disturb the rhythmic character of verse; but there are limits beyond which few versifiers will be found to push any special license that they may be disposed to exercise in the use of names. The famous Shakespearean *crux* in the line,

> "Lucius, Lucullus, and Sempronius Vllorxa,"
> [*Timon*, III, IV, 112.]

illustrates, for example, that degree of metric excess which establishes the final right of excision. However, in spite of the difficulties encountered in the rhythmic handling of names, it is the prevailing practice of the poets to conceal difficulty in smoothness of workmanship,[1]—the current pronunciation of the name is with nicety wrought into the rhythm of the verse, and the marks of labor disappear. With this principle in mind one may turn to Old English poetry with the reasonable expectation of finding names, without violation of their accepted pronunciation, properly

[1] There is regal advice upon this subject which is so refreshingly naïve that it will always appraise itself:

"That ȝe eschew to insert in ȝour verse, a lang rable of mennis names, or names of tounis, or sik vther names. Because it is hard to mak many lang names all placit together, to flow weill. Thairfore quhen that fallis out in ȝour purpose, ȝe sall ather put bot twa or thrie of thame in euerie lyne, mixing vther wordis amang thame, or ellis specifie bot twa or thre of them at all, saying (*With the laif of that race*) or (*With the rest in thay pairtis,*) or sic vther lyke wordis: as for example,

> "*Out through his cairt, quhair Eous vvas eik*
> *VVith other thre, quhilk Phaëton had dravvin.*

"ȝe sie thair is bot ane name there specifeit, to serue for vther thrie of that sorte."

James VI of Scotland, I of England, *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*, Edinburgh, 1585 [Arber's *English Reprints*, No. 19, p. 62].

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fitted into the structure of the verse. One should, therefore, not be expected to hesitate in reading the following lines in this manner:

Abimeleche swā hine Ābrahām bœd. [*Gen.* 2758.]
× ◡́× | ◡́× || × × × ◡́ | × × ◡́.

þā Ābrahām Abimeleche. [*Gen.* 2831.]
× ◡́ | × ◡́ || × ◡́× | ◡́ ×.

þā gīen wœs yrre god Abimelehe. [*Gen.* 2741.]
× × × ◡́ | × ◡́ || × ◡́× | ◡́ ×.

But this scansion ignores the primary law of alliteration; the assumed rhythm of the name *Abimelech* must therefore be revised, and three of the half-lines just cited must be scanned:

Abimeleche,
◡́ | ◡́× ◡̀ ×.

This is accordant with all the remaining occurrences of the name:

[*Gen.* 2621ª.] *under Abimelech,* × × ◡́ | ◡́× ×.
[*Gen.* 2716ª.] *þā ongan Abimœleh,* × × × ◡́ | ◡́× ×.
[*Gen.* 2668ª.] *eorlum Abimeleh,* ◡́ (×) | ◡́ ◡̀× ×.

The alliteration is indeed now correctly restricted to the *ictus*, but there still remains a serious violation of the law of rhythm in the quantity of the stressed syllable. Is the scansion of these lines therefore to be further revised, and are we to infer the change of *Ábimelech* into *Ábîmelech?* There is no strong presumption in favor of an affirmative answer to this question, for we have to assume the persistence of the Latin accentuation of the scriptural names. In the case of *Abimelec*, the Hebrew compound *Àbî-Mélekh* ('father of the king') has conformed to Latin accentuation, and the Latin *Melchísedech* in like manner represents the Hebrew *Màlkî-Çédeq* ('King of righteousness'). Now it is this Latin

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accentuation under which all Scripture was brought into England. The Anglo-Saxons said *Melchísedech* for the same reason that they said *Gregórius* (more accurately, with the secondary accents, Melchísedèch, Gregóriùs, or, on occasion, as will be shown, Mèlchísedèch, Grègóriùs), and accordingly scanned these names, after the pattern of *Abimelech*, as follows:

[*Chr.* 138.] *swā sē mære īu Melchīsedech.*
× × ⁄ | × ⁄ ‖ ⁄ | ⁄ × ⏑ (D²).

[*Gen.* 2102.] *þæt wæs sē mære Melchīsedech.*
⁄ × × | ⁄ × ‖ . ⁄ | ⁄ × ⏑.

[*Men.* 39.] *Gregōrius in godes wære.*
ʃ | ⁄ × ⏑ ‖ × ʃ ⁄ ×.

[*Men.* 101.] *Gregōrius ne hȳrde ic gumena fyrn.*
ʃ | ⁄ × ⏑ ‖ × × × × ʃ | × ⁄.

This formula of accentuation is also illustrated by *Bethūlia*:

[*Judith* 138.] *Bethūliam Hīe ðā bēahhrodene.*
ʃ | ⁄ × ⏑ ‖ × × ⁄ | ʃ × ×.

[*Judith* 327.] *tō ðære beorhtan byrig Bethūliam.*
× ×× ⁄ | × ʃ ‖ ʃ | ⁄ × ⏑.

That the Latin accent is always retained as an ictus requires no further proof; but it may still be doubted whether the additional initial ictus in the type of names just considered does not demand lengthening of the vowel. In names like *Jācōb, Jōsēph, Sātān*, etc., the required length is given; such names therefore furnish no evidence pertinent to the inquiry. On the other hand, names like *Băbȳlōn* and *Hŏlŏfernēs*, in which the first two syllables are short, are significant in permitting scansion without change in syllabic quantity.

Babilon is of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the metre never requires length of the initial syllable. Thus,

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[*Dan.* 689ª.] *þæt hē Babilōne,* × × ◡́ | ×́ ×,

represents the scansion of *Dan.* 700ª; 660ª; *Gen.* 1633ª; 1707ª; *Ps.* 86, 2ª; 136, 1ª; 136, 8ª.

Babilōn burga, ◡́ ×̆ | ×́ × (A 2a), or perhaps better ◡́ × | ×́ ×, of *Dan.* 694ª, is to be compared with *Babilōne burh,* ◡́ ×̆ × | ×́ (E) of *Dan.* 601ª, which is also the rhythm of *Dan.* 47ª; 99ᵇ; 104ᵇ; 117ª; 209ᵇ; 229ᵇ; 256ª; 449ᵇ; 461ª; 488ª; 642ª.

The hypermetric rhythm of *Dan.* 455ª, *wæs heora blǣd in Babilōne,* is satisfactorily interpreted by Sievers (*Altgerm. Metrik,* p. 142) as being × × × ×́ | × ◡́ | ×́ × (BC). In the remaining three occurrences of this name we have to assume synizesis of *ia* = *ja; ie* = *je* (cf. Sievers, *ibid.*, p. 126, § 79, 2):

[*Dan.* 70ª.] *tō Babilōnia,* × ◡́ | ×́ ×.
[*Dan.* 164ª.] *blǣd in Babilōnia,* ×́ × | ◡́ ×̆ × (D).
[*Dan.* 173ª.] *bresne Babilōnige,* ×́ × | ◡́ ×̆ ×.

Two instances of the occurrence of *Holofernes* (*Holofernus*) present the rhythmic elements already considered:

[*Judith* 7ᵇ.] *Gefrægen ic ðā Holofernus.*
× × × × × ◡́ | ×́ ×.

[*Judith* 21ᵇ.] *Ðā wearð Holofernus.*
× × ◡́ | ×́ ×.

To complete the data for the study of this name, we have now to consider four instances of its occurrence as a complete half-line (*Judith* 46ª; 180ª; 250ª; 337ᵇ). This takes us back to the question of the permissibility of a short initial ictus, which now assumes this form, shall we retain *Hŏlŏférnus,* ◡́ × | ×́ ×, in these four instances, in accordance with the inference established by all the occurrences of *Babilōn* and reënforced by two of *Holofernus?* Our answer is affirmative, inasmuch as it unifies a principle of scansion not only for the names already considered, but also for all others. Before

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discussing this principle itself, it may be desirable to increase the illustrations of its application.

The name *Marīa* has been fitted into almost all the principal rhythmic types. The simplest conditions are present in type C:

[*Elene* 775ª.] *and þurh Marīan,* × × ◡ | ⁄ ×.

So also in *Elene* 1233ª; *Men.* 20ª; *Chr.* 445ª; *Hö.* 84ª.

In *Chr.* 88ᵇ, *Sancta Marīa,* ⁄ × × | ⁄ ×, and *Hym.* 10, 13ª, *Sanctan Marīan,* the name does not alliterate, and the scansion indicated is therefore to be preferred before a possible D, ⁄ × | ◡ ⏑ ×; on the other hand, the double alliteration in *mægð Marīa, Chr.* 176ª, establishes a preference for D 3 (Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik,* pp. 34, 157). However, *mæg Dāvides, Chr.* 165ª, in which the name does not alliterate, and the rhythm is therefore intended to be ⁄ × | ⁄ × (rather than ⁄ | ⁄ ⏑ ×), in accordance with the word-accent of the oblique case, clearly shows that the presumption in favor of *mægð Marīa,* ⁄ | ◡ ⏑ ×, is not strong enough to make it inadmissible to regard the double alliteration in this instance as merely a superadded grace which does not affect the rhythm, and to scan ⁄ × | ⁄ ×.

Type E is represented in *Sat.* 438ᵇ, *þurh Marīan hād,* × | ◡ ⏑ × | ⁄; and again in *Chr.* 299ᵇ, *and þē, Marīa, forð,* × × | ◡ ⏑ × | ⁄, in which it is to be particularly noticed that the vocative, requiring the emphatic utterance of the name, permits a partial reduction of the chief word-accent. Is it the recessive accent of the vocative that is operative here? However that may be, there is nothing in the present instance to warrant the assumption that this recession was strong enough to reduce the usual word-accent still further so as to result in × × ◡ | × × ⁄. But this partial reduction of the word-accent,—a reduction of the primary to a secondary accent,—is also the characteristic feature of the following rhythms of A 2:

[*Men.* 51ª.]	*Marīan mycle,*	◡ ⏑ ×	⁄ ×.
[*Kr.* 92ᵇ.]	*Marīan sylfe,*	◡ ⏑ ×	⁄ ×.
[*Hö.* 9ᵇ.]	*Marīa on dœgrēd,*	◡ ⏑ × ×	⁄ ⏑.
[*And.* 688ᵇ.]	*Marīa and Jōsēph,*	◡ ⏑ × ×	⁄ ⏑.

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In the quantity of its initial syllable, the name *Jūdéa* presents that variation from *María* which has been supposed to favor the shifting of the chief stress to the initial syllable. But here too, as in the case of *María*, it is not a shifting but rather a reduction merely of the word-accent that has taken place. The accented syllable is no longer supreme in its capacity to receive the ictus, but it at most shares this function equally with the initial syllable, to which it may also, on occasion, be subordinated.

The varieties of rhythm in which *Jūdéa* occurs are very unequally represented. Type C embraces the largest share: *in Jūdéum*, × ⟋ | ⟋ ×, *Hö.* 99ᵇ; 103ᵇ; 128ᵇ; 131ᵇ.—*þone Jūdéas*, *Chr.* 637ᵃ.—*swylce hē Jūdéa*, × × × ⟋ | ⟋ ×, *And.* 166ᵃ; similarly *And.* 12ᵃ; 968ᵃ; 1410ᵃ; *Fata* 35ᵃ; *Elene* 216ᵃ; 268ᵇ; 278ᵃ; 328ᵃ; 977ᵃ; *Ps.* 75, 1ᵇ (cf. 68, 36ᵇ; if the preposition is to receive the ictus, *Elene* 278ᵃ is also to be compared). Type D is represented by *werude Jūdéa*, ⟋ (×) | ⟋ ×, *Ps.* 113, 2ᵇ, and *hæleð Jūdéa*, *Hö.* 13ᵇ; and type E by *Jūdéa cyn*, ⟋ × | ⟋, *Elene* 209ᵃ (cf. 837ᵃ).

In scanning Jerūsalēm (*Hierūsalēm*, *Gerūsalēm*) it is to be borne in mind that *j* alliterates with *h* and with *g*.

The most simple formula is found in the complete half-line *Hierūsalēm*, ⟋ | ⟋ × (D 4), *Ps.* 121, 3ᵃ; so also *Sal u. Sat.* 201ᵇ; 234ᵇ. This is frequently varied by the admission of anacrusis: *tō Hierūsalēm*, *Elene* 273ᵇ; *Chr.* 533ᵇ; *Gūð.* 785ᵇ; similarly *Dan.* 2ᵃ; *Fata* 70ᵇ; *Elene* 1056ᵃ; *Ps.* 78, 3ᵇ; 101, 19ᵃ; 121, 2ᵃ; 124, 1ᵇ; 127, 6ᵃ; 134, 22ᵃ; 146, 2ᵃ. The anacrustic beat is expanded in *þæt is on Hierūsalēm*, *Ps.* 67, 26ᵃ, and in like manner in *Ps.* 64, 1ᵃ; 115, 8ᵃ; 121, 6ᵃ; 136, 6ᵃ; 136, 7ᵃ. This expansion is perhaps not to be regarded as resulting in a hypermetric rhythm in *Gif ic þīn*, *Hierūsalēm*, ⟋ × × | ⟋ | ⟋ × ⟍ (AD 4), *Ps.* 136, 5ᵃ (cf. *Hwæt, þū eart, Babilōne*, *Ps.* 136, 8ᵃ), although this rhythmic phrase paves the way to *gold in Gerūsalēm*, *Dan.* 708ᵃ, which may be scanned as hypermetric, ⟋ × | ⟋ | ⟋ × ⟍; this would be equally true of *Herige Hierūsalēm*, *Ps.* 147, 1ᵃ. But in these two

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instances it is better to exclude the name from the alliteration and accordingly to scan thus: ˊ(× ×) | ˊ× ˋ, and ᵹ (× ×) | ˊ× ˋ, as is to be inferred from:

[*Chr.* 50.] *Ealā sibbe gesihð sancta Hierūsalēm.*
× × ˊ| × × ˊ || ˊ (× ×)| ˊ× ˋ

[*Ps.* 78, 2.] *Settan Hierūsalēm samod anlīcast.*
ˊ (× ×) | ˊ× ˋ || ᵹ | ˊ ˋ ×

Here the name is released from sharing the alliteration, and is scanned according to its prose-accents. These are two important facts which at once make manifest the persistence of the word-accent, and the special character of the initial ictus of names not accented on the first syllable. The same phenomena will be observed in:

[*Hö.* 23.] *sigefæst and snottor. Sægde Jōhánnis.*

[*Hö.* 50.] *Geseah þā Jōhánnis sigebearn godes.*

[*And.* 691.] *suna Jōsépes, Símōn and Jácōb.*

Confirmation of this rhythmic use is furnished by that of the title *ápóstólus* in its Anglo-Saxon forms:

[*Men.* 122.] *Petrus and Paulus: hwæt, þā apóstolas.*
ˊ × ×| ˊ × || × × × ˊ|× ˊ

[*Fata* 14.] *Petrus and Paulus. Is sē apōstolhād.*

[*And.* 1653.] *þurh apóstolhād Plātan nemned.*

This riming of *apostle* on *p* is also found in Ælfric (*Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, III, p. 52, l. 51):

swā swā sē apostol Petrus on his pistole āwrāt.

It will be to the present purpose to add from Ælfric's freer rhythms further illustrations of the employment of the alliteration of an interior syllable which has the chief word-

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accent: *Isaias* alliterates with *s* (*Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, III, p. 21, l. 188); *Judeiscan* with *d* (*ibid.*, p. 66, l. 26; p. 71, l. 162; p. 101, l. 309); *Amanes* with *m* (*ibid.*, p. 101, l. 311); *Sebastianus* with *b* (*Lives of Saints*, Part I, p. 122, l. 104; p. 138, l. 339; p. 144, l. 437); *Chromatius* with *m* (*ibid.*, p. 126, l. 152; p. 132, l. 257); *Policarpus* with *c* (*ibid.*, p. 128, l. 199); *Tiburtius* with *b* (*ibid.*, p. 140, l. 379); *Lucina* with *c* = *s* (*ibid.*, p. 146, l. 468); *Mediolana* on *l* (*ibid.*, p. 116, l. 2); *Agathes* on *g* (*ibid.*, p. 198, l. 45); *Basilissa* on *l* (*ibid.*, p. 92, l. 52; p. 96, l. 99). We have thus in the decline of the classic regularity of the native versification an increasing tendency to scan names according to word-accent only, just as the versifier of the *Metres of Boethius* has, by way of variation, in one instance done with the name *Aulixes:*

[*Metr.* 26, 21.] þā þā *Aulixes lēafe hæfde*

(cf. Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 11, note).

With this partial exhibition of the manner in which the Anglo-Saxon poet handled foreign names with Latin word-accent, it will be possible to consider the theory of rhythmic stress which has been assumed in the scanning of the selected illustrations. In stating this theory there will be no occasion to restate in detail the well known and generally accepted induction of Sievers (*Beiträge*, X, 492 f., XIX, p. 448 note, p. 456 note; *Altgerm. Metrik*, p. 124 f.), and of Pogatscher (*Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen*, p. 16 f.), which has been applied by Kauffmann to the scansion of the *Heliand* (*Beiträge*, XII, 349 f.).

After Sievers had so successfully revealed the structure of Old English verse, and had deduced therefrom the rhythmic function of secondary accents, confirming and extending the less complete conclusions of Rieger and others, there was naturally nothing to expect of the Latin names in verse except exact conformity to the fixed laws of the five types of rhythm. Of these laws none was believed to be more

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inflexible than that of the syllabic quantity of the ictus; and whatever difficulties appeared to arise in bringing the accentual phrases of foreign names under the dominion of the rigid law of the native ictus, these were overcome by an appeal to the Germanic word-accent, as a further consequence of which the condition for the required lengthening of short initial syllables, it was held, was forthwith at hand. Sievers, in other words, concluded (in agreement with Rieger) that the initial unaccented syllable of foreign names received an accent (indeed the principal accent) in Old English, and that under this accent a short syllable became long; this law was then extended by Pogatscher so as to embrace all learned loan-words (p. 31): "In gelehrten Entlehnungen gelten die haupttonigen Silben als lang." But, exclusive of the proper names, there are very few learned loan-words which may be supposed to affect the present inquiry. It is therefore better first to consider the law in question in its application to the proper names only. This is the particular purpose of the present discussion.

In the first place, it is pertinent to ask those who may be unwilling to substitute the mode of scansion illustrated above for that of Sievers and Pogatscher to explain, on the one hand, the tendency exhibited by Ælfric to reclaim for ictus the original Latin stress to the exclusion of the new initial stress, and, on the other hand, the continuance in the language to the present day of the Latin accentuation of many of these names, such as *Abimelech*, *Jerusalem*, *Elizabeth*, *Judea*, etc. Lachmann's observation of the disturbing influence of the Germanic versification in this province led him to say (*Kl. Schriften*, I, 387): "Nur dies will ich noch bemerken, dass, wäre in der deutschen Poesie die Form der Alliteration herschend geblieben, die fremden Namen sich immer mehr zu der deutschen Accentregel würden bequemt haben." However that may be, it is to be kept in mind that Ælfric, whatever his innovations may be, was still under the reign of the old system of versification, although in justice to

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Lachmann it should also be carefully noted that he saw in the alliterative verse merely that force which tended to bring about the change gradually which it could possibly never wholly accomplish.

A more complete interpretation of Lachmann's words will furnish the true basis for further investigation. It is unmistakably this, that the alliterative verse forced its peculiar demands, with more or less uniformity, upon the foreign rhythm of names, just as would be expected in the case of any other system of versification. That under varying types and fashions of rhythm, or of versification, experience in incorporating foreign elements will beget correspondingly varying categories of structural license. All rhythmic usage of the names here considered, be it furnished by Cynewulf, by Chaucer, by Shakespeare, by Milton, or by Browning, must therefore be subsumed under this general principle.

In the statement of the general principle which has now been arrived at, the term 'license' implies, of course, that the poet's use of foreign names, while its main features will reflect the current pronunciation, will occasionally make discernible possibilities of stress which are in part, or altogether, obscured in prose; besides, other more or less artificial effects may be admitted which will remain inoperative in moulding the accepted form and pronunciation. A capricious accentuation of names by Chaucer and by Shakespeare, for example, have not disturbed the normal history of these words, but the average practice of these and of all the poets bears surest testimony to the validity of the laws of persistence and of change written in that history.

Self-evident as these general propositions may be, the present argument will be promoted by an illustration of those accentual possibilities which, obscured or neglected in prose, are conserved by rhythm.

Iterated acknowledgment is due Sievers for his fine discrimination in classifying secondary word-accents and in proving their rhythmic function in Anglo-Saxon. He has

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left for future inquiry some questions relating to an apparent conflict between this rhythmic function and the laws of grammatical inflection, but for the historic study of English rhythm he has made the right beginning. But, although Sievers has opened the way, no one has hitherto consistently and completely pursued the rhythmic function of secondary word-accents along the entire course of English versification.

From Swinburne back to the *Bēowulf* there remains to be retraced an unbroken continuity in the principal categories of what may be called the notes of the more subtile harmonies of the language. The poets have always exercised the right,—and their art has always demanded that they should,—to place the ictus upon the second member of substantive compounds, and in like manner to call forth the suppressed note of such derivative syllables as *-līc* (*-ly*), *-ness*, *ig*(*y*), *-er*, *-en*, *-el*, *-or*, *-est*, *-ing*, etc.

In the following lines the marked ictus will illustrate the foregoing statement:

With low | grape-blos|som veil|ing their | white sides.

But co|loured leaves | of lat|ter rose-|blossom,
Stems of | soft grass, | some with|ered red | and some
Fair and | flesh-blood|ed; and | spoil splen|dider
Of mar|igold | and great | spent sun|flower.

There grew | a rose|-garden | in Flo|rence land.
Swinburne, *The Two Dreams.*

That hath | sunshine | on the | one hand |
And on | the o|ther star-|shining.
Id., The Masque of Queen Bersabe.

Bread failed; | we got | but well-|water.
Id., The Leper.

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It is the halting line (as it is sometimes called) that attracts notice and excites inquiry into the principles of rhythmic structure, while the correct line (to borrow another erroneous designation) pleases the unquestioning ear (it is urged) and is accepted without a thought of its workmanship. This lack of 'correctness' thus negatively makes manifest the quality violated, just as in the case of that indescribable quality called tact: if one has tact no one notices it, if one lacks tact, it is observed by all.

Bysshe in his *Art of English Poetry* (London, 1714, p. 6) illustrates the poet's lack of rhythmic tact in the following lines from Davenant:

"None think Rewards render'd worthy their Worth."
"And both Lovers, both thy Disciples were."

"In which," he says, "tho' the true Number of Syllables be observ'd, yet neither of them have so much as the Sound of a Verse: Now their Disagreeableness proceeds from the undue Seat of the Accent." Watts had also cited these two lines (*Works*, 1812–1813, vol. IX, 442 f.) and declared that "worthy" and "Lovers," placed as they are, "turn the line into perfect prose." Bysshe proceeds to obviate "the undue seat of the accent," and presents the lines in "smooth and easy form:"

"None think Rewards are equal to their Worth."
"And Lovers both, both thy Disciples were."

But surely the poet must be allowed to have his own way:

"None think | Rewards | render'd | worthy | their Worth."
"And both | Lovers, | both thy | Disciples were."

From these lines we may select *lovers* and *render* as representing the two principal classes of secondary word-accents (native and foreign), which have been at all times and are

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still available for ictus. Nouns of agency in *-er* have been studied with regard to rhythmic value in the early periods of the language by ten Brink (*Anglia*, v, 1 f.), and the poets of to-day are aware of the old value. The extension of this capability of ictus from nouns of agency and comparatives through nouns of relationship (*father*, *mother*, *brother*, *sister*) and formations like *after*, *never*, until even *water* is overtaken, is comprised within the extremes indicated by *Poema Morale* 250, "Ne mei hit quenche salt water," and Rossetti's *Honeysuckle*, "And fouled my feet in quag-water," and the line already cited from Swinburne. As to *render*, the O.F. *rendre* coming into English should have lost its infinitive termination (cf. *defend*, *offend*), but it did not do so, presumably in conformity to the rhematic noun *render*. A dissyllabic form was thus obtained which was subject to that play of stress which is characteristic of French words in English. However, this is not the occasion to pursue the history of secondary word-stress. The additional law of rhythm which permits ictus upon logically subordinate words, such as the articles, the pronouns, the prepositions, and the inflectional endings, may also, for the present, be dismissed from minute attention.

Professor Hale (*Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for July, 1895, p. xxvi) asks, "Did verse-ictus destroy word-accent in Latin poetry?" Surely not, as he then proceeds to show. Both varieties of stress are conserved in the music of verse, for verse is not an aggregation of syllables mechanically marked off by beats or by foot-measure, but it is an artfully planned succession of syllables rhythmically marked off by beats or by foot-measure with a strictness of uniformity that may appear to be mechanical when the rhythmic swing, the lilt, is neglected. It must therefore be admitted as a fundamental rule that verse, which is constructed with an artistic regard to the conflict of ictus and

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word-accent, must also be read in a manner that will render it possible to observe the 'conflict.'

But let us return to Dr. Watts. It is not to be supposed that the author of the *Horae Lyricae* was unwilling to admit at least some of the usually approved variations of rhythm. Indeed he is at special pains to caution against monotony of movement, and is bold enough to say of Mr. Dryden, that he observes the iambic measure "perhaps with too constant a regularity. So in his Virgil he describes two serpents in ten lines, with scarce one foot of any other kind, or the alteration of a single syllable:"

"Two serpents rank'd abreast, the seas divide,
And smoothly sweep along the swelling tide.
Their flaming crest above the waves they show,
Their bellies seem to burn the seas below:
Their speckled tails advance to steer their course,
And on the sounding shore the flowing billows force,
And now the strand, and now the plain they held,
Their ardent eyes with bloody streaks were fill'd;
Their nimble tongues they brandish'd as they came,
And lick'd their hissing jaws, that spatter'd flame."

There is therefore, according to Dr. Watts, an occasional substitution of other feet necessary to produce the best harmony of iambic verse. "In the lines of heroic measure," he says, "there are some parts of the line which will admit a spondee, * * *; or a trochee, * * *. A happy intermixture of these will prevent that sameness of tone and cadence, which is tedious and painful to a judicious reader, and will please the ear with a greater variety of notes; provided still that the iambic sound prevails." The spondee may be admitted in the place of any of the five feet of a line, "but scarce any other place in the verse, besides the first and the third, will well endure a trochee, without endangering the harmony, spoiling the cadence of the verse, and offending the ear."

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Professor Browne (*Modern Language Notes*, IV, col. 197 f.) is concerned with this same question of how to secure rhythmic variety in the iambic pentameter line "without letting go the design;" but his answer differs widely and significantly from that of Dr. Watts. "Any variation is allowable," says Professor Browne, "that does not obscure or equivocate the genus." The permissible variation may be obtained (1) by dropping one, or by dropping two of the five accents; (2) by reversing one, or by reversing two of the five accents; and (3) "by combining omissions and reversals."

Although the way has now been opened to a discussion of the opinions held of the manner in which poetry should be read, it will be sufficient, as will appear from what follows, to dismiss from further consideration in this connection the teaching that poetry should be read as one reads prose. This doctrine shall be called the sense-doctrine, its advocates maintaining that it alone enables the reader to 'bring out' the meaning. It is thus that the relation of the art of poetry to music is ruthlessly pushed aside by the assumption that the harmony of the 'numbers' must not be regarded as much as the logic of the sense. But it is a welcome fact that these disciples of logic do not press to a logical conclusion an application of their rule for poetry to the sister art, for that would result in demanding that music written for words (or music supplied with words) be rendered in recitativo.

Opposed to the sense-doctrine is that which more than the word-play might justify one in naming the commonsense-doctrine; but let it be known as the rhythm-doctrine. In its baldest form it may be stated thus: Read poetry like poetry. This, it may be thought, means either nothing, or next to nothing. Even after the suppressed contrast 'not like prose' is added, the statement remains vague, and this vagueness has, without doubt, indirectly begotten the first doctrine. Without success in finding an acceptable manner for reading poetry like poetry, the myopic doctrinaire has concluded that it must be read like prose.

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There is a third teaching which is also begotten of the second, but the unsatisfactory result of its application has perhaps been the more direct begetter of the first. It may be styled the ictus-doctrine, for it consists in the demand that, in reading verse, stress shall uniformly and exclusively be confined to ictus.

It is thus seen that in the attempt to follow the second doctrine, as here enumerated, failure has resulted in bringing forth two additional doctrines. Failure in fundamentals does not usually lead to success, nor has it done so in this instance. The second doctrine is therefore still the true one, although it may stand in need of exposition and inculcation.

That the rhythm-doctrine is in general better known in theory than observed in practice has perhaps been made sufficiently manifest. Classical scholars report an experience with it in reading Greek and Latin verse which is full of interesting variations in degree of satisfactory achievement; and recent discussion of the theory as applied to Latin is still full of that unrest which is indicative of an inconclusively handled problem.

An attempt shall now be made not to vindicate this doctrine by reasoning from the essential laws of rhythm, particularly as related to music, but rather to discover for English the manner in which the accents and vocal inflections of our language allow and require it to be put into practice. To free the problem from unnecessary complication certain factors, important enough from another point of view, shall be at once eliminated. The argument will not be invalidated by excluding from consideration the so-called trochaic beginning of iambic verse, or the equally well authorized first foot without a thesis. The effects of cæsura shall also be passed by, and it will not be necessary to draw the distinction at every step between word-accent and sentence-accent. Moreover, the rhetoric of verse, as it may be called, shall not be narrowly inquired into, important as it is for the full appreciation of rhythm.

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Such 'regular' lines as those quoted from Dryden comprise no 'conflict,' and consequently give no occasion for distinguishing between the second and third doctrines, and almost none for noting differences between these and the first. But such 'regularity' in excess is a violation of the artistic demands of English versification which can be satisfactorily met only by the employment (not a uniform nor a systematic employment, yet with variation of degree a constant employment) of 'conflict.' Admitting the artistic use of 'conflict' in English verse, it is reasonable to expect to find within the limits of the accents and vocal inflections of the language, when unrestrained by verse, an indication of the manner in which, with least violence to its natural utterance, the language may be subjected to artificial rules. In other words, it is prose that must teach us how to read poetry. Verse-accent, or ictus, when in 'conflict' reveals the language in responding to the exigencies of verse. In doing this the language yields a new class of stresses (new from the point of view from which the prose-stresses are usually observed). Now, if similar, that is, in some sense corresponding, exigencies arose in prose, and these were found also to yield a new class of stresses, something would surely be gained for the determination of the nature of these two classes of new stresses. Such exigencies do not arise in prose, as we shall next proceed to show.

In Carlyle's spirited, though not invariably accurate, reproduction of the delightful *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*,[1] the election to the abbacy of the incomparable Samson is urged with a special emphasis upon "ungoverned:" "What is to hinder this Samson from governing? * * * There exists in him a heart-abhorrence of whatever is incoherent, pusillanimous, unveracious,—that is to say, chaotic, *un*governed" (*Past and Present*, Bk. II, chap. IX). The same variety of emphasis is employed upon another ecclesiastical occasion:

[1] *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda de rebus gestis Samsonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi.* London, The Camden Society, 1840.

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"'*Pre*-cisely' remarked the senior trustee" of the Methodist Church of Octavius (*The Damnation of Theron Ware*). Something akin to an ecclesiastical occasion evoked the following reflection and *in*-flection of Young Ben Lee as he left the deanery after his first visit: "Je-rusalem! if my sainted parent isn't a first-rate actor and a cool hand!" (*The Silence of Dean Maitland*). Under totally different conditions and amid other associations, Ben Gunn is recalling the pious teaching of his mother, and finds a new emphasis necessary to assure his hearer that she was "*re*-markable pious" (*Treasure Island*).

The examples cited give an indication of a wide-reaching and permanent phenomenon in our natural manner of employing special stresses in prose. The unaccented prefixes, under demands (among which contrast holds an important place) for special logical prominence, are easily made prominent without disturbing the fixed word-accent. The same is true of derivative and inflectional elements, and of the second member of substantive compounds. Corresponding to these variations which cluster around the word-accent as superadditions, there is in the domain of sentence-accent a class of new stresses which is familiar in the emphatic use, on occasion, of words usually unimportant and without accent, such as the prepositions, the pronouns, the articles, the auxiliary and the copulative verbs, etc.

It will now be apparent that the new class of prose-stresses under consideration are suggestive of the new poetry-stresses which the exigencies of rhythm call into prominence. And since the rhythmic use of the language must be supposed to be equally subject to the inherent character of the language with the corresponding special prose-use, the inference is to be drawn that the resultant new classes of stresses agree in character. Moreover, it will at once be recognized that the new prose-stress is not a word-stress, equal to the regular word-stress in expiratory force, nor a reduced form of the expiratory word-stress (which would be nothing more than

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a secondary-accent in prose), but a stress with a rising inflection, a 'pitch-accent.' Therefore, the complete inference is that the verse-accent, the ictus, when in 'conflict,' is attended by a pitch-accent.

The conclusion arrived at may be restated in a manner which will assist verification. Under the assumed exigencies, *un*-governed, *pre*-cisely, *re*-markable, and Je-rusalem (in the passages quoted), are naturally pronounced with a pitch-accent upon the first syllables, and with the undisturbed expiratory word-accent upon the second. It will of course be understood that when the word-accent is defined as expiratory this term does not exclude the inherent pitch of English stress. Force, quantity, and pitch are combined in our word-stress (or word-accent), both primary and secondary; but in the secondary stress used as ictus there is a noticeable change in the proportions of these elements, the pitch being relatively increased. An answer is thus won for the question: How do we naturally pronounce two stresses in juxtaposition on the same word, or on adjacent words closely joined grammatically? This is further illustrated in the specially emphasized words of such expressions as, 'The *idea!*' (the symbol ″ shall be used to mark the pitch-accent); 'In that case one should say not *good* but *goodly*, not *brave* but *bravely*;' 'Altho' he *writes*, he is not a *writer*;' 'Not *praise* but *praising* gives him delight;' 'He promised to do so, *and now* he denies it;' 'They were not coming *to him*, but going *from him*.' Expressions of this type reveal the law that secondary word-accents may become pitch-accents, and that pitch-accents may also be required for words ordinarily unaccented.

This interpretation of 'conflict' in prose (conflict between the usual accents of prose on the one side, and on the other side the accents of prose under exigencies), may be confidently accepted as applicable to the rhythm of verse, and the conclu-

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sion is reached, that verse is to be read with an uninterrupted observance of its fundamental rhythm. Thus,

/ ″ / ″ /
Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit.

/ / / ″ /
To be, or not to be: that is the question.

″ / / ″ /
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn

/ ″ / ″ /
No traveller returns, puzzles the will.

Here, if the prose secondary-stress of the last syllables of "traveller" and "puzzles" were uttered just as in prose, with reduced expiratory force, the ictus would not be satisfactorily indicated. Again, if, for the sake of the regularly recurring ictus, these secondary word-accents were made equal in expiratory force to the chief word-accent, the result would, in one instance (*traveller*), preserve the ictus by admitting an unnatural and an inadmissible utterance of the word; in the second instance (*puzzles*) the inadmissible utterance would render uncertain the place of the ictus. Two equal word-accents on the same word are therefore as impossible in verse as they are in prose. But the secondary word-accent may in verse be retained unchanged, and in that character be employed in the thesis; or it may naturally (i. e., in accordance with acceptable utterance) be converted into a pitch-accent for ictus, in which character it leaves the chief word-accent undisturbed by inadmissible rivalry. The rhythmic use of dis-o-be-dience, in the first line cited above, illustrates with its four syllables (as here used) as many recognizable varieties of stress. The first syllable has a secondary word-accent, raised to a pitch-accent for ictus; the second is wholly unaccented; the third has the chief word-accent, employed as ictus (the accent of the preceding word, "first," is subordinated to the rhythm); the fourth has a secondary word-accent which remains unchanged in the thesis.

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The conclusion that ictus in 'conflict' requires a pitch-accent, is perhaps applicable to Old English verse, in which the rhythmic use of the secondary word-stress, now in the arsis, now in the thesis, coincides in essential details with the use just described. It is possible, for example, that in the case of the secondary word-stresses of ⁄ ╲ | ⁄ × (A), and × ⁄ | ╲ × (C) the pitch-accent distinguishes the secondary word-accent as ictus from the same accent when it remains in the thesis. But suggestions leading in this direction cannot be pursued at this time.

The second and final suggestion to be made embraces an application of the laws ascertained to be inherent in English rhythm to the scansion in Old English verse of those proper names which, as shown at the beginning of this study, do not with the exclusive metrical use of the chief word-accent meet the requirements of the rhythm.

It has already been shown, in the case of Je-ru-sa-lem, that a proper name in prose under exigencies yields a pitch-accent for a syllable not entitled to the chief word-stress. In the manner of this example the unaccented initial syllable of all proper names may on occasion receive a new stress, and this may, as in the case of the prefixes considered, be used for verse-ictus. But inasmuch as there is no grammatical analogy between these syllables and the prefixes, it remains to be shown what inherent quality of the initial syllable of a proper name produces the result which thus makes conspicuous the absence of such analogy. This inherent quality of a proper name which easily begets an accentual prominence of the initial syllable may be called its vocative quality, inasmuch as every proper name is *ipso facto* a vocative.

Whatever place (removed from the initial syllable) in a name its chief word-stress may hold, its initial syllable is constantly prominent in the mind by reason, apparently, of this vocative quality. In the distinct calling out of names (of the form in question) the natural emphasis given to the

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name as a whole will be found to consist of a rising inflection on the initial syllable, followed by a strongly stressed word-accent. Thus, *Elizabeth*, *Alexander*, *Matilda*, *Marie*, etc. This vocative stress, it is now seen, finds its true analogy in the secondary word-stress, and is like it therefore available for ictus, as has been assumed in the earlier portion of this study, and as may be observed in modern verse in the case of names with the stresses distributed as they are in *Alexander*.

In Old English verse proper names can with difficulty (some not at all) be used without the rhythmic aid of this vocative ictus. But because of the special character of this secondary accent (as by analogy it may be called), and because of the further fact that the types of rhythm, as they are now generally interpreted, abound in the employment for ictus of secondary word-accents without regard to syllabic quantity, it must be maintained (until new evidence for the opposed view may be produced) that this ictus-use of the initial unaccented syllable of foreign proper names does not involve lengthening of the short vowels.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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XII.—NICHOLAS GRIMALD'S CHRISTUS REDIVIVUS.

Prefatory Note.

The existence of the *Christus Redivivus* of Nicholas Grimald was questioned by Herford, *Literary Relations*, &c., and denied by the writer of the life of Grimald in the *National Dictionary of Biography*. We now know, from Goedeke, *Grundriss*, second ed., that a copy is in the Wolfenbüttel Library. See my letter in the London *Academy*, February 9, 1895. Soon after the appearance of that letter I received, from Herrn Spirgatis, the well-known antiquarian-dealer in Leipsic, a friendly note, in which he called my attention to Bahlmann, *Die lateinischen Dramen seit Wimpfeling's Stylpho*, in which Bahlmann mentions the existence of a copy in the Berlin Royal Library.

Thus there are three copies: the Wolfenbüttel, the Berlin, and my own.

In view of the growing interest taken in the Latin drama of the sixteenth century, I have thought it worth while to reprint my copy, thereby rendering the *Christus Redivivus* generally accessible to students.

Of the merits of the *Christus* in comparison with other plays, of its general significance, I am not competent to speak; my knowledge of the Renaissance drama is too slight. I venture upon one or two suggestions only. The *Epistola Nuncupatoria* ought to have some value for the study of scholarship in England. The four characters: Dromo, Dorus, Sangax, Brumax, *milites gloriosi*, so to speak, are an evident attempt at the comic. Christ's revelation of himself to Mary Magdalen, in the single word "Maria," Act. III, sc. 5, may have been taken of course directly from John, xx. 16. The entire situation, however, seems to me an imitation of the old

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liturgical drama. Is the word *Orcicolæ*, Act IV, sc. 4, a coinage by Grimald, in imitation of the *Cœlicolæ*, &c., of the liturgical drama? I do not remember seeing the form before.

The present text is an exact reproduction of the original, page by page, line by line. Exact except in the following features:—

1. The original is throughout in italics.
2. The word *et* is in the original a ligature.
3. Occasionally I have not been certain of the accent-sign (′) in the original. This is due to the circumstance that, though the original types were sharp enough, the paper was in places speckled slightly. Hence one cannot always be certain whether a given stroke is really a (′) or only a flaw in the paper.
4. The long italic sibilant letter of the original is here given throughout with the modern Roman "s."

The punctuation of the original is in the main consistent, according to the system of those days. There is, however, great inconsistency in the use of the hyphen for words broken at line ends. For these and other blemishes the original must answer. Thus Martonensi (*for* Mertonensi), at the end of the *Epistola*, is in the original.

The continuous pagination in square brackets at the top of the page has been supplied by me. The original has only the *A*2, &c., at the bottom. The second page [2] is blank.

J. M. HART.

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CHRISTVS

REDIVIVVS, COMOEDIA

Tragica, sacra et noua.

Authore Nicolao Grimoaldo.

DISCITE IVSTICIAM MONITI

Coloniæ Ioan. Gymnicus excudebat,

Anno M. D. XLIII.

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[2]

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OPTIMO ET HONO-

ratissimo uiro Gilberto Smitho, Archidiacono Petroburgensi, Nicolaus Grimoaldus à Christo domino

S. D.

VTrùm audacius, aut durius esset committere, ut opus recèns confectū, per quorumuis manus *et* ora, ueluti securum uagaretur, an tuis ut creberrimis postulationibus obsisterem, saepè, doctissime uir, ac multùm *et* à repræhensione mihi cauens, *et* morem tibi gestum cupiens, apud me cogitari. Nonnihil equidem uerebar, ne forsan hæc subita iuuenilis inuenti peruulgatio, penitus immatura, *et* ante diem properata, doctis ac prudentibus uiris existimari posset. Namq; si uel inter clarissimos scriptores memorantur, qui suas commentationes per multos annos sibi diligenter euoluendas, *et* frequenti studio recolendas putauerunt, donec quod desideraretur, supplerent, quod abundaret ac efflueret, quasi luxuriantem segetem paulatim depascerent: quam confidentiam ego prodidisse uideri potero, qui cùm eosdē sequi fortasse, nunquam adsequi, *et* de illis iudicium facere, nūquam efficere similia queo: tamē quod propter inclementiam brumalis frigoris haud sine difficultate, proq́; ratione temporis magna cum festinatione parturiebā, tam ci

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EPISTOLA

tò, tamq́; nullo ad retractandq́ sumpto spacio, párere nō dubitauerim? Ac sanè, si repetenti mihi, measq́; aut fabulosas, aut fictitias, aut ueras exercitationes, quas non ita pridem chartis mandabam, recognoscenti, uete res usq; adeò labores displicent, ut in illis ipsis uix memet agnoscam, *et* quodammodò pœniteat operæ collocatæ: quid scis, num̄ nam idem posthac etiam usu mihi ueniat, uti meipsum ultrò castigās, istis, quæ nunc præcipito ueriûs quàm scribo, magìs elaborata *et* perpolita uellem sufficere? Metuebam prætereà, ne fortè quis me parùm nauiter humeros explorasse, ac meam facultatem consuluisse censeat: quandoquidem ineptum uiribus meis onus, atq; argumentum grauius *et* maius uidear suscipere, quàm quod ab homine adolescentulo tractari uel possit, uel debeat. Etenim cùm multæ res in sacra Philosophia, nequaquam facilè cognoscūtur, nisi quis Græcam simul *et* Hebræam linguam tenuerit, nisi quis in ea perdiu uersatus fuerit, *et* singula inter se loca studiosè contulerit: tum de Christi à mortuis exurrectione, quam sic antè constituere, quasi res iam ageretur, contendo, haud paucis difficultatibus, inuoluta historia est. Neq; uerò desunt, qui imberbem adhuc *et* crescentem cum consilio ætatem, aut à sacrarum lectione literarum omnino arceri uolunt, aut si admittunt aliquando, ut auscultricem quidem accedere patiuntur, ut interpretem autem nullo modo. Tum demum, haud mediocriter illud pertimescebam, futuros, qui nimiùm iustè conquerantur: ne rem gestam ritè digerere, ac talem tantamq́; materiam digna oratione

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NVNCVPATORIA.

one uestire non posse. Nimirum, tanquam in communi hominum uita *et* moribus, arduum in primis habetur, in unaquaq; re decorũ perspicere *et* obseruare, de quo sapienter à Philosophis in Ethica disciplina præcipitur: sic in poëmatis, consentaneam rebus *et* personis orationem adfingere, hominem peracuto ingenio, lima to iudicio, singulari diligentia, summoq; ocio abundantem requirit. Certum est enim, nec locupletem *et* tenuem fortunam, nec simplicem narrationem *et* iactationem Thrasonicam, nec blandam consolationem *et* querimoniam, nec cœlestem uocem *et* tartareos clamores, unum atq; idem postulare dictionis genus. Proinde, perfici oportere, ut pro rerum natura, uarietate *et* modo, nunc Oratoriorum luminum *et* conformationum ueluti parcus, humili passu repat uersus, interdum uerò, uolubiliùs ac profluentiûs excursitet, sæpè autem numero uerborum agmen instar hybernarum niuium ingruat, *et* plenis habenis prorumpens oratio, campum, in quo exultare possit, obtineat. Adhæc, dum lêgi carminis inseruitur, operosam quandam rem, ac propè desperatam esse, ita postrema uerba cum insequentibus primis copulare, ut neq; iunctura uocalium hiulcas, neq; consonantium concursus uoces efficiat asperas: itaq; compræhensionis cuiusq; ambitum exple re, ut aureis teretes *et* religiosæ, neq; mutila *et* quasi decurtata sentiant, neq; superuacanea *et* redundantia. In primis igitur, quod ad huiusce libri êditionem attinet, uideor mihi uidere quosdam, me ut nimis ac nimis temerarium arguenteis: qui cùm tutiùs in umbratili

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Philosophorum schola, nō secus ac in aliquo nido possem delitescere: tamen multo meo cum periculo implumis euolare gestiam. Qui si nullum aliud à me responsum auferrent, nisi quòd roganti Gilberto Smitho morigerari uolui, esset fortassis honesta ratio: cùm præsertim *et* de me quàm optimè promerito, *et* bonarum literarum amantissimo uiro, *et* recta, *et* suo quodam iure poscenti, deesse nolui. Sed enim ut paulò altiùs huiusce facti consilium repetam, cùm è Cantabrigiensi Academia decedens, uehementer hortante te *et* pecunias ultrò suppeditante, uenissem ad alterum Angliæ lumen Oxoniam, nec eò libri mei per hebdomadas aliquot essent adlati: hanc sum ingressus prouinciam, *et* quia intermissum legendi cursum, fructuoso aliquo commentandi genere pensare concupiui, *et* quia res ipsæ sic inhærebat animo meo, ut ex memoriæ thesauro tanquam de scripto promere liceret singula. Postea uerò quàm uersatus in Collegio doctorum, quod ab Aeneo naso nomen inuenit, per mensem unum *et* item alterum istam pro mea uirili Spartam ornauerā, ac fortè fortuna ita, ut fiebat, arderet pubes domestica theatrum conscendere, quô *et* suos excitarent animos, *et* ciuibus imaginem quandam uitæ spectandam exhiberent: continuò ex paucis, qui meum cubiculum frequentabant, cœpit multis innotescere, quid molirer, quidq́; in manibus haberem. Egit itaq; mecum Matthæus Smithus Collegij præses *et* consanguineus tuus, homo mirifica modestia, liberalitate *et* sanctimonia præditus: egit Robertus Cauduuellus, uir perhonestus, *et* insigniter

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NVNCVPATORIA.

ter doctus: egerunt lectissimi atq; optimæ spei adolescenteis, ut meam sibi fœturā, in Sc̨enam producendam concrederem, in eaq́; re, meam illis operam dicarem ac deuouerem. Quoniam autem negare eis tum præclara petentibus, tum indole sua digna cupientibus, difficile mihi uisum fuit: permisi sanè, ut eorum auspicijs, hæc ista Comœdia etiam in eruditissimorum uirorum coro na publicitus ageretur. Quod simul ut fama uoce loquaci perstrepens, in aureis tuas effuderat: me non solùm per diligentissimum institutorem meum Iohannem Aërium admonere, sed *et* ipse tu iterum atq; iterum huius poëmatis êditionem rogare comiter sustinuisti. Atque adeò, quoties egomet admiratione *et* pudore propè confusus, ad caussas ingeniosus extiti: dicebamq́; non posse non in adolescente uiginti plus minus annos nato, undiq; apparere inscientiæ uestigia, habebamq́; in obiectis omnia, quæ sunt à me superiùs adducta: toties præceptor ille meus (quæ sua fuit *et* tibi obsequendi, *et* prouocandi mei sedulitas) instabat, *et* exemplis cùm recentiorum, tum etiam ueterum utebatur, quorum extarent monumenta, id ætatis, haud sine summa laude conscripta. Neq; mihi magnoperè sequendam esse aiebat uocem illā Horatianam, quæ nonum in annum premi iubet opusculum: quin potiùs, quô tibi extrema iam ætate confecto (dùm licet) gratum facerem, festinādum, agendum' que in tantis meis occupationibus domesticis cum uiro aliquo exquisitè docto, ut *et* legere librum *et* inter legendum uultus inimicos induere uelit. Neq; si grauioribus deinceps annis, grauius industriæ speci

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EPISTOLA

men êdere me posse confidam: continuò, ab hoc proposito desistendum. Vt enim (exempli gratia) M. Tullij Rhetoricis ad Quintum fratrem aduentante senectute cõscriptis, omnem admirationem tribui uidemus: ita *et* libris de Rhetorica inuentione, quos adolescens composuit, suam esse laudem *et* commendationem. Non P. Vergilium detinuisse à scribendo Culicem aut Aeclogas, rei rusticæ describendæ speratam gloriam: non eam cum Hesiodo contentionem, magni Homeri æmulationem restinxisse. Itemq; non Maronianum Aeneam, primis tantùm in cursu, uerùm *et* secundis, *et* etiã infra secũdos quibusdam, certa elargitum esse præmia. Iam uerò, illud peropportunè cecidisse confirmabat, quòd in argumentum adsumerem non leuiuscula Epigrammata, non amatorios iocos, non morias, non mimos, non postremorum hominum colloquia, non Atellanam Comœdiam, nõ Tabernariam, aut si qua sunt Ethnicarum fabularum portenta, quæ nihil ad morum conformationem, nihil ad solidam eruditionem, nihil ad diuinæ laudis amplificationem adferunt emolumenti: sed quòd pro creaturis, creatorem, pro perditis *et* execrandis redemptorem *et* conseruatorem, pro humana ostentatione, cœlestis gloriæ propagationem, denique ipsum autorem carminis Iesum Christum, in materiam carminis accepissem. Omninoq; rem dignior rẽ aut magìs diuinam, ex omnibus omnium scriptis, deligi nunquam potuisse. Quippè quæ totius nostræ salutis quasi tabula sit, *et* uiuida repræsentatio. Nam qui reducem à morte Christum, ac pro suo scelere satis ab eo

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NVNCVPATORIA.

ab eo factum planè sentit, eiusdemq́; spiritu sanctiorem ad uitam renouatur: eum inconcussa *et* efficaci fiduciæ uicturum, nihil sibi uel à prauarum adfectionum pulsionibus, uel à mortis periculo timentem, quin uiciorum colluuiem strenuè fortiterq́; pugnando dies in singulos repressurum, ut *et* ipse cum Christo suo mortuus peccatis, uiuat uni Deo. Vnde pronunciare Petrum, bonæ conscientæ fœdus erga Deum constare, per exur rectionē Iesu Christi à mortuis, qui patris ad dexteram considet. Cùm etenim diuinæ gratiæ non nisi per fidem in Christum participes fieri possumus: nūquam eò niti ualere persuasionem nostram, si non mortem illo uindice uictam iacere, si non illum genitori cœlesti adsidentem regnare, si deniq; nō omnibus antepositum *et* prælatum certò crediderimus. Si quidem, ut subeundum ipsi letum fuisse, quô indignationem Dei, quam solus Adamus contraxerat, solus Messias tolleret, inq́; nobismetipsis peccata perimeret: sic uitæ restitui oportuisse, ut ad eius ipsius imaginem *et* formam suo spiritu perpetuò refingeremur, utq́; suo munere iusti redderemur. Idcircò, ualdè probandam operam meam in hoc negocio constantissimè adseuerauit, quoniam, cuius fidem ipse Christus tam diligenter astruebat, *et* qua una in re spes atq; opes humanæ omneis collocari debent, perfeci, non solùm ut auditione accipi, sed etiam coram oculis proponi *et* statui queat. Semper inculcari, semper mente *et* cogitatione reponi, semper fidelissima persuasione retineri, triumphum hunc Seruatoris nostri de peccato *et* morte, summè necessarium fore:

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[10]

EPISTOLA

tum quòd humana ratio *et* intelligentia uix ualet eum compræhendere: tum quòd improba suasio maligni dæ monis in hoc nos maximè remorari solet, in quo nouit salutem nostram totam esse positam. Itaq; non modò flo res ex oratione lectorem decerpturum: uerumetiam ex ipsa re fructus percepturum uberrimos. Quod autem ad uireis meas, *et* ætatis rationem attineret, nihil uide re se dictitabat, uel impudens, uel indecorum. Primùm enim non id me suscipere atq; profiteri, ut reuelem abdita mysteria: sed ut nudam ac ueram historiam enarrem, *et* modo quodam Poëtico, hoc est, claro *et* illustri spectaculo patefaciam. Nec sibi dubium esse, quin eam ad rem præter linguarum atq; librorum adminicula, *et* diligentem meditationem, *et* assiduam precati onem adhibuerim. Hac scilicet ratione *et* uia infanteis, paruulos ac pusillos regni Dei, citius ad germanam ac diuini eloquij scientiam atq; intellectum peruenire: quàm Cicerones, Aristoteles, Galenos, aut quoscun que etiam alios, qui suo ipsorum acumine, proprio inge nio, *et* humana sapientia nitũtur. Deinde, illud maxi mè decere *et* cõuenire, ut in Christiana Ecclesia mem brum nullum ocio desidiaq́; torpescat: sed, qua potest parte, uniuerso corpori famuletur *et* inseruiat. Atq; ijs, qui tãtarum rerum explicationem committi nolunt adolescentibus, cogitandum esse, quid′ nam de Timothei iuuentute senserit Paulus Apostolus: istis uerò, qui ne legẽdi quidem uerbum illud salutiferum, Deiq́; placita potestatem faciunt, D. Erasmi paraclesin proponendam esse, *et* quid Christianæ professionis intersit

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NVNCVPATORIA.

sit, etiam atq; etiam considerandum. Postremò, quod spectat ad huius Tragicæ Comœdiæ tractationem, suo quæq; loco ritè disponi, decorum custodiri, è rerum copia nasci uerborum copiam, numeros Comicos *et* fe rè Terentianos obseruari iudicabat. Bellè uidelicet, me temporum ordine ad finem decurrisse: *et* magnæ paruis, læta tristibus, obscura dilucidis, incredibiliæ probabilibus intexuisse. Quemadmodum enim quò res ipsa nomen tueatur suum, primum Actum Tragico mœrori cedere, quintum uerò *et* ultimum iucunditatibus adcommodari *et* gaudijs: ita quò uarietas satietati occurrat, cæteris omnibus intermedijs, nunc lugu bria, nunc festiua interseri. Etiam nihil ineptum, nihil indecorum, nihil quod aut personæ, aut rei, aut tempo ri, aut loco minùs quadret, inueniri posse arbitrabatur. Nam quis, inquit, Oratoriæ facultatis expertus, non rem gestam indicātibus *et* subitò colloquentibus, tenuem, pressum, *et* familiarem sermonem: non consolatoribus, læticiæ nūcijs, atq; plaudētibus, tractam, suauem *et* uenustam dictionem: non gloriosis, exultabundis, *et* indignantibus, acrem, ardentem, *et* grandiloquam orationē attribuerit? Loca item, haud usque eò discriminari censebat: quin unum in proscenium, facilè *et* citra negocium conduci queant. Ac si quis miretur, uel quòd plurium dierum historiam atque diuersa tempora, in unam *et* eandem actionem coēgerim, uel quòd funestum *et* perluctuosum principium, tam plausibilem sortiatur exitum: eum intelligere debere, me autorem sequi M. Actium Plautum, cuius præter alias

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[12]

EPISTOLA

alias Capteiuei *et* compluribus interiectis diebus agi fingũtur, *et* ex initio mœsto in lætum etiã finem trans eunt. Deniq; certa spacia, numeratos pedes, atque circumscriptos ueluti cancellos in uersibus scrupulosè satis retinuisse me adserebat: etiamsi non Christianæ libertatis hominibus, sed ijs, qui se superstitiosis *et* anxijs profanorum authorum legibus illigarẽt, scripsis sem. Et tamen, metri seruitutem, nunquam uim uerbis auferre, aut quasi natiuam lucem *et* gratiam eripere sentiebat. Ego uerò, hæc omnia, *et* alia permulta in eandem sentẽtiam ab eodem instructore meo perorata: partim eius erga me beneuolentiæ, partim animi tui explendi desiderio tribuenda existimabam. Sed enim, quomodocunq; se res habet, testificor me tuis mandatis impulsum, *et* penè inuitum hanc uel Comœdiam, uel Tragœdiam, uel etiam utramq; publicare esse ausum. Mâlo etenim dum uoluntati tuæ sim obsecutus, desiderari à te prudentiam meam, quàm si non sim obsecutus, animi propensionem atq; parendi studium. Nam quæ tandem esset inhumanitas, illi, cui uictũ, cui libros, cui demum omnia præsidia studiorum meorũ debeam, qualemcunq; saltem tam collati beneficij sui, quàm relati officij mei fructum flagitanti abnuere? Nunc ergò, quemadmodum antiquitatis obseruatione à priscis usque seculis ac hominum ætatibus ducta, *et* diuturnitate temporis confirmata, receptum est: hasce primitias ingenioli mei secundùm gratiæ modum acceptum à Domino, tibi, perillustris Archidiacone, nuncupo, consecro, *et* uelut in clientelam trado, ut patrocinio tuo defensæ

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NVNCVPATORIA.

defensæ, tum in Dei Opt. Max. gloriam *et* honorem, tum in Christianæ iuuentutis usum *et* emolumentum exire possint. Bene ualeas, *et* gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi te regat, foueat, conseruet.
Oxoniæ. è Collegio Martonensi. Anno M. D. XLIII.

PERSONAE

Magdalene.
Cleophis.
Chorus Galileidum.
Iosephus Arimathiensis.
Nicodemus.
Caïaphas.
Annas.
Dromo.
Dorus.
Sangax.
Brumax.
Cacodæmon.
Manes piorum.
Christus.
Petrus.
Iohannes.
Angelus primus.
Angelus secundus.
Chorus discipulorum.
Alecto.
Cleophas.
Amaon.
Thomas Didymus.

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PROLOGVS.

Iambici Trimetri uel senarij.

GRatia uobis *et* pax adsit, uiri optimi à
Summo Deo: factoq; iam silentio, huc
Aureis, oculos, mentemq; uestram intendite:
Vti, qua uenistis caussa, expeditiùs
Intelligatis, hoc quid sit spectaculi.
Christum rediuiuum, comœdiam sacram,
Diui quam suppetunt Euangeliographi,
Vobis præbemus intuendam singulis.
Et id quidem non externis tantummodo
Luminibus, intimo sed *et* haustu pectoris.
Est absq; ulla dubitatione, eiusmodi
Res, quæ ob oculos frequens uersari debeat.
Monstratur enim, sub aspectumq; ponitur,
Summum Dei Opt. Max. *et* amplissimum
Beneficium. Quia in Christo, superûm pater
Penitus expressit, quo scilicet modo
Erga genus humanum animatus extitit.
Is enim (quæ sua fuit Patrisq; charitas)
Pro scelere nostro fecit abundè satis:
Intimum amorem suo testatus sanguine.
Ac ne quis precium non solutum adhuc putet,
Noluit mortis detineri carcere:

Quin

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PROLOGVS.

Quin hac, *et* peccato uictis atq; obrutis
Erupit, *et* sanctorum regna repetijt.
Hinc spiritus locuples in orbem effunditur,
Dominantis iam Christi donum optatissimum:
Nos qui suos uera sic instruit fide,
Vt *et* Dei factam per Christum gratiam
Nobis persuadeat, *et* efficaciter
Sese ipsa per amorem uehementem exprimat.
Iam Christus noster est, *et* nos Christi sumus,
Ac ipse Christus corporis est nostri caput, *et*
Se nobis reddidit undequaq; similem.
Vtq́; ille recepta mole reuixit carnea:
Sic *et* nos (eius qui quasi membra existimus)
In rediuiuo mortalitatis unicam
Spem Christo figere, par est *et* consonum.
Nunc autem, ea in re, qua fit illustrissimum
Salutis æternæ summam consistere:
Quàm mirificè domini gratuita bonitas
Cum incredulitate suorum certauerit,
In hac tota historia licebit cernere?
Quum ne Angelis quidem eius alumni crederem,
Eum pòst organa resumpsisse corporis,
Quàm uis Iudaica sibi uitam exhauserat:
Semet uiuum coràm exhibuit, *et* sæpiùs
Manifestis declarauit testimonijs.
Nam præter mutua hinc indè habita colloquia,

Panem

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[16]

PROLOGVS.

Panem suo quodam more in parteis tribuit,
Oppessulatis foribus introijt domum,
Comedit unà, tangendum se præbuit,
Omisit nihil, hæc uitæ recuperatio
Nobis, ut omnibus esset persuasissima.
Si ergò hîc Dei tanta elucet benignitas,
Quantam non cuncta opera ostentant cætera:
Certè nullum spectrum uberiore gaudio
Christiadum poterit pertentare pectora.

ARGVMENTVM ACTVS I.

NVnc uestra ne fallatur expectatio,
Sic accipitote, quod primum in scenam uenit.
Christus in eo iacet sepulchro conditus:
Quem Magdalis cum cæteris mulieribus,
Quæ à Galilæa Iesum sequutæ uenerant,
Flet à Iudæis interemptum atrociter.
Ast *et* Nicodemus, *et* Iosephus illicò hàc
Viam carpent. qui cùm spe animos erigent,
Tum uerò etiam secum illas deducent domum. *et*
Actum istum, nox interuentu claudet suo.
Ego uobiscum unà spectator ero fabulæ.

ACTVS I. SCENA I.

Magdalene. Cleophis. Chorus Galileïdum. Octonarij.

O uos

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[17]

REDIVIVVS.

O Vos iniqui Iudæi, ô scelere inflāmati acerrimo,
O uos feri, ô uiolenti, ô *et* multò crudelissimi:
Dicite, qua tandē cote hanc insignē uestrā inuidientiam
Plus plusq́; sic exacuitis? Dicite, quà nam è fornace tot
Spirant irarum æstus uobis, ac tanta ruunt incendia?
Credo equidē, uos omneis immanitate q̄ teterrimos,
Rabiem satiauisse uestram, in hoc neci iam dedito.
Scelerosa Solyma, scelerosa Iudæa propagatio
Ac soboles, integris bonis *et* sanctis plerisq; omnibus,
Heu nimium pertinaciter infensa *et* inimica uatibus,
Quid est quod tantopere bilem concitauerat tuam?
In hunc spectatum hominem, quid? hominem dico? imò
sanè quidem
Diuinum *et* cœlestem prophetam appellarem ueraciùs.
Vt qui stupenda potentia miserrimis mortalibus
Opem *et* auxilium ferens: hæc (etsi ualdè ingrata
immania
Ac turbida) lustrare loca minimè recusauerit.
Hic pro sua mera bonitate, alijs posthabitis gentibus,
Tete sibimet unam præter cæteras delegerat:
Quā signis, quā meritis, quā admirādis rerū miraculis
Ad ipsum cœlum usq; efferret *et* eueheret, quam
demum suis
Beneficijs *et* rebus gestis, æqualem olympo redderet.
Ergò, hunc tam præclarè *et* magnificè de te promeri-
uirum, (tum

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CHRISTVS

His cumulas egregijs donis? ergò isti, quem præstabilis
Honestas exculpauerat, hæc (tanquā præmia uidelicet)
Animum induxti, hospitia digna referre *et* rependere?
Hæc' cine tecta? hasce sedes? hosce constituisti toros?
Hunc' cine honorē addidisti? ô horrēdū atq; nefariŭ sce
O facinus nulla cuiusquā lingua oīno excusabile. (lus.
Non tot uatum uoces, nō tam clarissima Iamb.
Stupendaq́; prodigia, non te deniq; Trimet.
Tam præsens numen potuit unquam inflectere?
Tu istam sciens uolensq́; peregisti necem.
Tu uulnificis, heu, sertis inflictum caput,
Tu palmas traiectas acuta cuspide,
Tu clauis confossos pedes,
Alta in pinu ac tristi pendenteis machina:
Tu, tu, dico, exultans respexti hostiliter.
Scribe hunc tibi de Christo triumphum, si uoles:
Habe hanc laudem, ut de cæde bonorum gaudeas.
Erit, erit dies, qua te mirum in modum
Pœniteat perpetrasse tam indignum nefas.
Verùm ista dolorem auget commemoratio.
Attamen ego meis unà cum sororibus
Lachrymas gemitusq́; fundens *et* suspiria,
Si non (mi Christe) illud corpusculum tuum, at
Saxum, quo tègeris, tamen amplexa suauiter,
Lubens officium tibi nunc persoluam ultimum.
Valeto dulce decus meum, decus meum

Valeto

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REDIVIVVS.

Valeto ad tempus, ast' non æternùm quidem.
Neq; enim tu iam planè atq; omnino extingueris:
Sed astra leuem partem, terrestrem humus tenet,
Sese tandem aliquando uisuram denuò.
Viuent, uiuent, quæ fingimus ossa mortua.
Intereà, hîc molliter quiescas, Christe mi:
Intereà mi Christe, quiescas hîc molliter.

ACTVS I. SCENA II.

Iosephus Arimathæus. Nicodemus. Magdalis.

Salóme. Cleoph. Iohann.

AMabò te, mi Nicodeme, animum attendito, ut Trimet.
Fœmineo plangore hortus totus personat?
Sedet Magdalis in medio posita marmore
Capillis dilaceratis, ore pallido.
Nec iam uocem ullam ualet ampliùs emittere.
Sed magnis exanimata cruciatibus,
Lapidi adhæret, non secus ac esset mortua.
Aliæ, non modò non hanc à mœstitia uocant:
Verùm etiam profusis indulgent fletibus,
Pugnisq; frequentibus concutiunt pectora.
Breuiter, omnes omnia replent luctu loca.
Nic. Iosephe, mihi mediusfidius morsu quasi
Quodam, sensum planè peracerbum inferunt.
Atq; adeò incredibili iam ipse dolori meo
Vel mœrori potiùs, quem è tam diro exitu

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CHRISTVS

Optimi hominis accepi, uix queo resistere:
Sed imperabo tamen meis adfectibus,
Quin adgredimur propiùs ut flenteis fœminas
(Quoad à nobis fieri *et* præstari potest)
Leuemus, atq; spem illis præbeamus aliquam.
Quomq̃; umbra terræ iam solis opacat iubar,
Ne fortè meticulosis incommodet,
Atq; noceat nocturna concursatio:
Exanguem in tecta reportemus Magdalim,
Easq̃; singulas abducamus domum.
Ios. Satis admodum tu commodè mones. nam id *et*
Ratio temporis, *et* rerum postulat status.
Agè festinanter, compellemus alacriter.
Nic. Quousq; tandem Galilææ lachrymabitis?
Aut quàm diu ad hanc petram querulæ manebitis?
Quem ad finem in squalore iacebitis *et* sordibus?
Ios. Hoc non fit sanè sine diuino numine:
Vos parcitote lachrymosis questibus.
Et iam nox ruit, ac somnum hortantur sydera.
Vos ploratu finem atq; modum imponite:
Octona. Sedatè oportet tolerari, quod ferre necessitas iubet.
Vos eiulatum ergò deponite, *et* iam conticescite.
Mag. Heû me quid obsecro misera, misera,
Quid agam tandem aliud misera, misera,
Quàm quod furtim erepta sibi querens pignora,
Philomela *et* noctu factitat *et* interdiu?

Turpe

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REDIVIVVS.

Turpe profectò mihi duco, post hunc mori
Non posse me, uel sola mœroris face.
Nic. Maria, caue Maria, ne insanis clamoribus
Cœlestis patris iras aduersùm te incites.
Mag. Eheu, mihi cur, cur non licuerit mihi,
Christum extinctum saltem lamentari meum?
Nic. Non est, mihi crede, non est extinctus tuus
Christus: sed potiùs exemptus iam uinculis
Corporeis, æthereo fruiscitur polo.
Non est amissus, sed præmissus ad Deum.
Nec sibi finem uitæ, sed initium quidem
Aeternitatis morte consequutus est.
Nec perijt, sed à nobis discedens *et* migrans,
Ad societatem abijt superum immortalium.
Vbi pro seruitute uitam liberam,
Pro umbris lucem, pro rerum incertitudine
Securitatem, pro labore præmium est
Adeptus, nullo intermoriturum seculo.
Mag. In hoc equidem tibi facilè adsentior,
Quòd quemadmodum eius ossa sepulchro dormiant:
Ita mens cum Deo *et* reliquis uiuat pijs.
Sed ut suam sortem non omnino fleam:
Propria damna tamen, atq; incommoda publica,
Diuinum hominem deplorare ereptum iubent.
Nam qui mihi meisq; semper extitit
Præsens perfugium, portus, *et* opitulatio,

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[22]

CHRISTVS

Qui me torquenteis effugabat dæmonas.
Qui Lazarum ad uitæ reuocabat munera.
Quo præsente mea plaudebat Bethania:
Eheu, mihi cur, cur non licuerit mihi,
Eundem ademptum saltem lamentarier?
Nic. Quibus te simul *et* nos exornauit bonis,
Horum fructus nobiscum perpetuò manent.
Quàm sit iniquum autem optare, hanc uitam ut uiueret,
Potiùs quàm ubi nunc est, ipsa per te cogites.
Tellure indignus, cœlo collocatus est.
Mundus eum respuit, exceperunt cælites.
Quapropter neq; te destitutam dixeris:
Et eius conditioni gratulabere.
Mag. O Nicodeme, lubens agnosco illud equidem,
Me sic ipsius cumulatam esse munere,
Vt omnem in uitam sim futura melior.
Verùm, quoties tenax repetit memoria,
Punctum corolla spinifera sinciput
Manus adfixas, ferrò contrusos pedes,
Turpatos crineis, barbam cretam sanguine,
Illusum, pulsatum, ignominiosè pendulum,
Vnà cum pessimæ notæ latronibus,
Deiectos oculos, ora morientia,
Et etiam hastam cruore intepuisse lateris:
Toties, eheu, cur non licitum erit mihi,

Sic

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[23]

REDIVIVVS.

Sic cæsum insontem, saltem lamentarier?
Nic. Sanè multas perdis lachrymas, ô Magdalis,
Ad rem amissam recuperandam faciunt nihil.
Imò magìs nostrum dolorem exasperant,
Quàm tibi quid consolationis adferunt.
Sed qui ex usu rei totius publicæ
Tot supra hominem res arduas olim êdidit:
Is (ne dubites) haud absq; nostris omnium
Vtilitatibus, uolens efflauit spiritum.
Ac sanè nescio quid istiusmodi
Futurum, mihi præsignificabat: etenim
Quom multa nocte, à Iudæis metuens mihi,
Eum consulerem, memini dicere solitum,
Quòd ut in agris atq; desertis locis,
Mose serpens erectus quondam fuit:
Ita oporteret seseipsum exaltarier.
Quanquàm quid sibi uoluit, non planè intelligo.
Potuisset letum subterfugere, sat scio,
Modò uoluisset: at sponte ipse sese dedit
Violentis inimicorum armis obuium.
Quid quòd summus parens iussis haud mollibus
Vrgebat: cuius cùm reliquis in omnibus,
Tum uerò istac in re standum est arbitrio.
Si ergò rectum iudicium, si modestiam
Retinere dignam forti fœmina uoles,
Si eius uoluntati conspirabit tua,

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CHRISTVS

Si parebis Dei ipsius prudentiæ:
Non erit ullo pacto, non tibi licitum erit,
Christum occisum tam acerbè lamentarier.
Ios. Surgas nunc Magdalis, Maria consurgito:
Abundè suus à te tumulo datus est honos.
Mag. Adsurgam ego? me nullus ab hoc marmoreo
Antro diuellet, anima dum exuperabo mea.
Salo. Imò surge, *et* senis dicto sis audiens
O Maria. nam, quod ipsa tu nosti probè,
Cras festa pro recepta consuetudine
Nobis quidem celebranda sunt solennia.
Pòst reuenienteis, modò sic stat sententia,
Huic aromata precioso corpori,
Bene olentia *et* amœna comparabimus.
Agédum, Arimathæe, istanc ab humo subleua.
Mag. Ah, quamuis ægrè mihi discedendum siet,
Tamen amicis adquiescam hortatibus.
Facite igitur matronæ religiosissimæ, ut
Sabbaticæ requietis transacto curriculo,
Huc simul ut ortus uicerit noctem dies,
Myrrham, costum, spicæq́; Cilissæ acerrimæ,
Et summæ suauitatis unguenta, ueluti
Suprema sacro sepulchro addentes munera,
Celerem quàm primùm referamus pariter pedem.
Sal. O fiat per Deum immortalem, quod petis.
Nil etenim nos (ut pro istis quoq; respondeam) in

Votis

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[25]

REDIVIVVS.

Votis habemus, aut in optatis prius.
Nunc neq; lux prona celebrare inferias sinit,
Et hoc ipsum prohibet crastina uacatio.
Quare, mora nulla, primo quoq; tempore
Perendinæ lucis ad hortum hunc properabitur,
Vt monuisti. Locum ritè notauimus.
Ios. Bene habet. restat, uos ut duos, inanibus
Remotis cruciamentis, consequamini.
Sal. Nobis pérplacet. Mag. Ac mihi certè nō displicet.

ARGVMENTVM ACTVS II.

CAïaphas de Christi obitu quodammodò
Triumphat. Eidem obiecta recenset crimina.
Expectat socius, Pilatum qui adiêre, uti
Sepulchrum huius multo seruetur milite.
Custodes adducens, responsa præsidis
Refert Annas. Vallant locum armata manu.
Abeunt. Speluncæ autem tutores illicò
Sese quàm ipsum Herculem plus posse iactitant.
Tum spiritus defuncti ad manes deuolat,
Quæ animæ piorum læti' accipiunt plausibus.
Ille, illas promissum ad polum uictor uehit.

ACTUS II. SCENA I.

Caïaphas.

SEcunda quidem sors est, *et* ad nostram fluens Trimet.
Voluntatem, qua hunc authorem discordiæ,

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[26]

CHRISTVS

Antequàm adesset dies ista celeberrima,
Se ualdè digna occisione occidimus.
Qui se passim omnium regem esse gentium, ac
Prolem Iehoua, garrire nunquam destitit.
Qui summi rectoris dominiq́; numina
Sibi adsumens, errata confitentibus
Impunitatem est solitus *et* ueniam dare.
Qui ubi mortale corpus elanguesceret,
Volaretq́; à membrorum mens compagibus,
Ademit penitus omnem pœnarum metum,
Infernaq́; tormenta suos ridere docuit.
Qui uetera retractans iura (si dijs placet)
Nouas quasdam lêges, nouas ceremonias,
Decreta noua, ritus nouos, sacra noua,
Noua *et* inuisa *et* inaudita plurima,
Per uniuersam constituit Rempublicam.
Eisq́; dolis Iudæam sic plebeculam,
Et imperitam undiq; sic multitudinem
Deceperat, fefellerat, induxerat,
Huius et unius obseruarent uestigia, *et*
Tanquam cælesti missum ab arce colerent.
At enimuerò scelus ille suum pectore
Fallaci dissimulare nequibat diu,
Quin familias frequentaret sæpè impias,
Ac se prohibitis consotiationibus
Etiam admonitus neutiquam subduceret.

Tum

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[27]

REDIVIVVS.

Tum festis quoq; diebus, queis fas est nihil
Exercere, ipse, ut erat rebelli' *et* pertinax,
Quoscunq; morbos profligauit sedulò.
Quid referam, ut illius consorteis publicè
Illicitis uescebantur impunè cibis?
Atq; ut præter morem illotis manibus etiam, *et*
Contactu spurco fœdarent obsonia.
Quasi uerò Pater omnipotens, nunc denique
Tot sæcula placitas reuocet ceremonias,
Ac mentem nutans peruertat sententia.
Quin etiam (quis probus inultum hoc relinqueret?)
Minitabatur se aras destructurum sacras.
Quod omen in ipsum iustus contorsit Deus.
Sed *et* in templa erecta à nostris maioribus,
Magnificis ac penè infinitis sumptibus,
Voluerat nefarias faces intendere. Ac
Dudum molitus est tenebras offundere
Phœbo, reliquorum moderatori luminum.
Tam adhæc ridiculè stulta erat fiducia, ut
Socijs mœrentibus, ad lumina uitalia
Rediturum sese coràm promitteret.
Sed nimirum, opportunè nos huic malo
Remedium adhibuimus quàm præsentissimum.
Confluxêre ad Pilatum templi præsides,
Mystarum cœtus, turba sanctorum senum,
Pharisæi, Iuris prudentes, qui à satrapa, ad

Vnum

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[28]

CHRISTVS

Vnum omneis contendunt, ut armatos uiros
Det, bustum defensuros noctes ac dies.
Atqui, dum redeant, sedes hæc esto mea.

ACTVS II. SCENA II.

Annas. Caïaphas. Dromo. Dorus. Sangax. Brumax.

HOc in loco iamdudum nos Caïaphas
Amicus noster, unà expectat cum suis:
Dummodò statutum ei pactum non excidit.
Ellùm sedentem solum. Caï. Ecce autem quem uolo,
Stipatus aduentat militibus quatuor.
Ann. Miror quòd nullus ei adiungitur comes.
Caï. Cur unus adest, satis exputare non queo.
Adsurgam equidem. An. Adibo iamiam, *et* colloquar.
Caï. Nunc addiscam, acta quæ sunt in prætorio.
An. Hem noster: Deus hunc tibi solem det prosperum.
Caï. Et
Tu etiam atq; etiam aueto præsul dignissime. At
Vbinam sunt reliqui? An. confecto negocio,
Penates rursus quisq; petebat suos.
Caï. Bellè factum illud est. pulchrè se res habet.
Sed dicito, quod Romanus responsum dedit?
An. Illum, simul ac ad eius uentum est atria,
Conuenimus, *et* apud eum ista perorauimus.
Aduerti Ponti, imisq; repone sensibus,
(Nec enim est leuicula res aut parui ponderis)
Quid

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[29]

REDIVIVVS.

Quid Ψeudoprophetes uiuus adhuc uulgauerit.
Ego (inquit) post triduum è mortis faucibus
Euadam : *et* ab Orco uicto me reducem dabo, ac
Rediuiuus emergam. Ideò Romulidûm optime,
Forteis *et* fidos ne molestum sit tibi
Tradere, qui sarcophagi tueantur ostia,
Vsque dum tantillum temporis effluxerit.
Nam eius forsan comites cadauer clepere, *et*
Noctu sepultum auferre furto cogitant,
Ac postea totam urbem falsis rumoribus
Implere : qui nusquam est, usuram luminis
Huius recepisse, *et* communem spiritum.
Vt igitur ignis tenuis tenui de fomite
Primûm exilit, mox auctus per totam domum
Furit, *et* flamma lambit extructas trabes,
Ruinamq́; patitur ædes diram *et* flebilem :
Ita primo rumore, qui percrebuit
De illius ostentis ac de uirtutibus,
Opinionem istam sequens insania
Multo maiore periculo grassabitur.
Plebes leuis est, *et* inconstans *et* mobilis,
Plebs aucupatur stultorum rumusculos :
Apud plebem ualebunt plus deterrima
Quæuis, quàm si uel optima inculcabimus.
Ergò, donec licet, principij' occurrito, *et*
Insidias pelle præses prudentissime.

Nobisq́;

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CHRISTVS

Nobisq; potestatem facias, ut undiq;
Spelæa circum hastatos sistamus uiros.
Siquidem nauiter *et* cautè prospici
A nobis debet, ut uafri hominis asseclas,
Nostro consilio, spe sua frustrarier,
Planè apparere possit. Atq; hæc hactenus.
Tum Pilatus: Quod uoltis Hebræi, annuo.
Annuo uobis uigilias *et* custodias,
Annuo sepulchri tutores, qui ad crastinum
Vsque diem perpetuas excubias agant.
Sub hæc sigillum, quo hunc locum obsignem dedit,
Cum hisce unâ spectatis bellatoribus.
Deinde uiri Solymi, quisq; ad suos lares
Abeunt simul, ouanteis *et* uoti compotes.
Ego, quoniam huc me uenturum ad te receperam,
Memet sponte obtuli, solus qui hos dirigerem.
Idcirco uirilem operam nauate fortiter.
Tu Dromo, latus dextrum occupato. tu Dore
Quò te proripis? Ad cornu fac sinistrum eas.
Illic Sangax, istic Brumax consistito.
Si quis furtum facturus huc accesserit,
Vos post suum Christum hunc ad manes mittite.
Nam præter umbram quod timeatis, est nihil.
Quid multa? magnanimis dictum satis puto.
Drom. hàc
Quisquis uenerit, experietur meherculè,

Quàm

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REDIVIVVS.

Quàm aptas Dromo uireis ad uindictam gerat.
Dor. Et in me reperiet cor dignum milite.
Sang. Quicunq; Sangacem uel procul adspexerit,
Eum sola poterit fuga tutum reddere.
An. Quid tu uerò Brumax? Bru. Quid? per caput hoc,
Iurare ausim, quòd si quis fortè obuenerit, (tibi
Aut ego eum occidero, aut is me fugauerit.
An. Quod posterius dixti, credo futurum priùs.
Bru. Imò cognoscito clarissime uir, tam *et* cordatos
Et etiã oculatos, ut nec ire gygas nec muscula (esse nos
Præteruolare per nos impunè queat.
Caï. Quando igitur unusquisq; suum tenet ordinem,
Nos lætum hunc atq; hilarem traducenteis diem,
Expectemu' huius fabulæ catastrophen.

ACTVS II. SCENA III.

Dromo. Dorus. Sangax. Brumax.

HAud frustrà, mento bene barbato ætas mea Trimet.
Voltum ornauit, præsertim cùm mihi mascula
Corda nequaquam desint. Quid est quod ego tremam?
Ecquis tam à uero exorbitabit, ut putet
Muliebrem animum habitare in isto corpore?
O quot ego labores exantlaui bellicos?
Non me durissima fregerunt prælia.
Neque belligerandi disciplina me latet.
Nec à pueris modò, sed ab ipsis cunabulis
Sum armatus feliciter; ac Mauorti meum

Ingenium

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[32]

CHRISTVS

Ingenium finxit naturæ benignitas,
Meamq́; genesin Mars influxit ferox.
In me cum lacte materno iuraueris
Esse imbibitam bellatricem iracundiam.
Et hunc formidarem proiectum uermibus?
Quem uicimus, quem uictum ex orbe fugauimus.
Dor. Mihi uerò quanquam in cœlum non prominet
Bicorpor atq; gygantea granditas:
Tamen animum altum, excelsum, generosum, nobilem,
Non uastam, *et* prodigiosam corpulentiam
Iustus rerum æstimator in quoquam exigit.
Nam mutis pecudibus adsimilantur corpora:
Animis æquamur superis immortalibus.
Animisq́; sumus apti sydera transcendere.
Quanta est uis animo, tanti corpus æstimo.
Neq; enim ego magnitudine *et* ueluti gradibus,
Sed potiùs conditione metior uirum.
Virtutem non præstat figura uel statua:
Sed omnis in corde residet uirilitas.
Omninoq́; uirum fortis animus efficit.
Neq; uerò sumus nos ipsi corpora.
Neq; etiam ego hæc apud uos uerba faciens,
Corporibus iam uestris loquor, sed animis.
Est uerum, quod circunfertur prouerbio,
Non mercabor hominem in ulna atq; in pollice,
Ast in precio solus habetur animi uigor.

Quid

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[33]

REDIVIVVS.

Quid quòd maiora patent uulneribus corpora?
Quid quòd moles ingens agilitatem impedit?
Quid quòd crassa caro animi uim sepelit *et* obruit?
Exiguæ corporaturæ, nunc si placet,
Vnum ante oculos uestros exemplum ponite.
Minutu' accipiter uos magna docere poterit.
Superant profectò fidem, quæ audet auis tantula.
Obsecro, quàm longum collum, quàm largos pedes,
Quàm acutum rostrum, quàm amplas alas ardea
Possidet? Attamen à dominis cùm dimittitur,
Sinistra hic ales *et* in sublime uolitat: eam
Adoritur atque insequitur strenuissimè.
Ac motis pendenteis tibijs campanulæ
Tubæ sonitum supplent, crescat ut audacitas.
Iamq; pugnæ huius finem attendite. Vincit minor
Maiorem auis, atq; rapinam apprensam unguibus
Curuis, crebro rotundat orbe uolubilem. at
Quid aureis hisce uestras exemplis moror?
Ne dubitetis, quin modicus ego maxima
Subdere ualeam, si res *et* caussa postulat.
Sum equidem nunc iam seu uiuere præsto seu mori.
Sang. Si quis nimium nimiumq; temerarius
Iter hàc nobis fucum factum susceperit:
Se cognoscat summo esse periculo proximum.
Nam qui sentit Sangacis quid possint manus,
Nisi me communis philautia decepit,

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CHRISTVS

Se rursum infantem cupiet maximoperè
Inter genetricis adhuc latentem uiscera.
Equidem haud uerear cum Sampsone congredi.
Quid in hoc corpore desideretur? siue quis
Proceritatem siue magnitudinem,
Siue optimè compacta membra expenderit.
Arma illorum, quos exteri celebres habent,
Puto Cyclôpum esse fabricata manibus.
Ita non ad infligendos sunt tantummodò,
Sed ad declinandos ictus habilia.
Num uoltus, in quo cuiusque uelut indoles
Relucet ac uoluntas, me planissumè
Inuictum bello, *et* armis terribilem indicat?
Ac de hisce externis fari plura supersedeo.
Hîc, hîc uiget uis quædam innata *et* insita,
Quæ nil non audet, quod ferro est penetrabile.
Quomq̃; ars, quod inchoat natura, perficit:
Quid in re militari est, quod scientiam
Fugit meam? Quis me uno bellicosior?
En uobis quæ'nam à prælij' *et* conflictibus
Animosè pugnans, uolnera reportauerim.
Non'ne in bellando mira mihi felicitas
Data est? quando uirus toties euaserim?
Quamobrem, si molientem imposturas modò
Quenquam deprendero, in quem peccarit, sciat.
Bru. Qui me irritans, potis est dextram hanc euadere,
Hic

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REDIVIVVS.

Hic deinceps lucro, quos aget, annos deputet.
Adesdum, qui uitæ capiens tædium, ad
Horæ fatalis punctum cursitare uis.
Ac stabimus hîc socij, hîc unà pugnabimus.
Si quando fuerit opus, si iste caput exeret
Præstigiator, reuicturum quem somniant
Quidam, disseminante' ineptas fabulas,
Perinde quasi posset uel magus Aegyptius
Tam magna operari post mortem miracula. Hoc
Pol mihi nemo persuadebit mortalium.
Nec aureis adhibebo magistris mendacibus.
Ecquando à corporeis functionibus
Qui deficiuntur semel, ab irremeabili, *et*
Clauso barathro suum reducent halitum?
Quid? num uitam retinere facilius fuit,
Quàm nunc restituere amissam atq; perditam?
Verùm illud cùm nequijt, neq; hoc faciet quidem.
Sed quid speremus facturum hunc ueneficum,
Quod nec fuit, nec extat, nec fieri potest?
Ideoq;, sodales, si comitum manipulus
Hunc suffurari clanculum conabitur:
Armati nudos, strenui infirmo' ac debiles,
Incautos, ita parati persequamur, ut
Nullam esse testentur pedibus podagram suis.
Nemo igitur definitum egrediatur locum.
Det alteri quisque animos, terrorem hostibus

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CHRISTVS

Horrificum incutiamus, *et* etiam exitiabilem.

ACTVS II. SCENA IIII.

Cacodæmon.

O ô cælum, ô tellus, prata ô Neptunia,
Vos Plutonem recipite, quem tartarus euomit.
Date locum, in quem me liceat abstrudere:
Donec lux tanta, meis resedit sedibus.
Manes. Quàm tu expectatus aduenis clarissime
Olympi honos? Nos quàm replesti gaudio?
Venisti nanq;, uenisti, humanum ut genus
A regnis umbrosis *et* sole carentibus,
Educens, stellanti cælo sic inferas.
Cacod. Oh, iam splendet nouis aër fulgoribus.
Oh, uolitant agminatim ad cælum cælites.
Nunc uisam apud nos commotas tragœdias.

ARGVMENTVM ACTVS III.

AVdistis binorum gesta dierum omnia:
Sequitur lux tertia. Terræ fit agitatio.
Metu fracti tumuli statores concidunt.
Iesus Christus consurgit rursum è funere.
Mariæ uerò cum emptis noctu odoribus,
Valde mâne cauernam adeunt Galileïdes,
Perungant ut corpus telluri creditum.
De Christo multa suo per agros uerba faciunt.
Cùm ad bustum acceditur, *et* de saxo quæritur
Seponendo, insperatis atque subitis

Ab

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[37]

REDIVIVVS.

Ab angelis monumentum recluditur.
Hæc Iohanni renunciantur *et* Petro.
Citi adcurrunt, uera experiuntur. Petrus
Animum huc illuc alternans regreditur:
Iohanne' herum resurrexisse indicat.
Pòst Magdaléne sola eò reuertitur.
Compellat nuncios, astat forma Deus
Agricolæ, illiq́; se prodit uoce solita.
Ad eumq́; modum fit *et* reliquis mulierculis.
Illæ discipulis, hæc narrant incredulis.

ACTVS III. SCENA I.

Dromo. Dorus. Sangax. Brumax.

DEum immortalem, ubinam gentium sumus? Trimet.
Commilitones, quid' nam hoc esse creditis?
Vt omnia confusa ac turbata cernimus?
Vt auræ ruptæ colluctantur in auribus?
Fragore ut ingenti conuulsa uox sonat?
Qui terrarum motus ueniunt in prælia? Vt
Tellus mugit, mouetur, concutitur, fremit?
Credo ego non illam uno duntaxat in loco,
Sed omnibus horrendum tremiscere partibus.
Dor. Bone Deus, è cauea quanta' nam exit fulguratio? Octona. Iambic.
Non armis, consodaleis, hîc est utendum, sed cruribus.
En ipsemet in fuga sum. Sang. Et me fugæ dabo.
Bru. Me item in fugā confero. Dro. Postremus nō ero.

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CHRISTVS

Quis post terga sequatur, non curabo quidem,
Si mihi semel dabitur cunctos præcedere.
Sed ô Deus bone, tuam fidem obsecro.
Quid hoc? Heî nullus sum. Do. Perij. Sang. Interij
Brumax. Occidi.

ACTVS III. SCENA II.

Christus.

Trimet. ERgò, sunt rata de me uatum præsagia,
Finemq́; suum propè adepta sunt ac terminum.
Ergò, quod dissolubile modò corpu' extitit,
Quod conditionem habuit, ut posset mori,
Aeternitate iam imbutum, renascitur.
Et omni cum immortalitate æquabitur.
Tuq́; adeò Mors, quæ cæteris hominibus
Nunquam non impendes, ut quod certissimum.
Abiecta protinus hasta, uictorem agnoscito.
In me posthac tantum tibi posse negabitur.
Atque ecce tibi felix *et* faustum nuncium,
Quisquis es ô homo. Nam ut omittam tyrannidem
Octo. 2. Peccati, mortis *et* inferni, à queis liber iam
factus es,
Ego duræ lêgis austeritati pro te feci satis.
Si qua igitur tanti tangit amoris gratia:
Confide, tuam caussam sanguis aget meus.

ACTVS III. SCENA III.

Magdaléne. Cleophis. Chorus Galileïdum.

Bono

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[39]

REDIVIVVS.

BOno animo este sorores, magnam partem uiæ Trimet.
Superauimus, *et* multum æquoris confecimus.
Ast, quomodo nunc tecum Cleophis agitur?
Equidem te non tam fessam esse de uia,
Quàm sollicitudine fatigatam arbitror.
Cleop. Vix credas quoties inter eundum mihi
Veniebant in mentem huius ardua facinora.
Etenim memoria repetebam ultima
Tempus, quo Chanan urbem unà cum parentibus,
A ueteri quodam amico accitis, uenerat.
Qui adolescenti cupido, in matrimonium
Locabat filiolam castam *et* nubilem.
Et quum iam epulis optimis pulsa fuit fames,
Atque coronari uina potissimùm oportuit,
Ministrorum murmur cæpit consurgere,
Vacuis cadis Lyæi nihil esse reliquum.
Tum difficultateis miserata domesticas
Pia parens, *et* secum uoluens incommoda:
Nato confestim significabat suo,
Omnem domum absumpto Baccho tristarier.
Simul *et* famulos perbenigna monuit,
Vt quod mandaret eis, obirent sedulò.
Is etsi commotus, primùm caussatus est
Non aduenisse, quæ expectaret tempora:
Tandem tamen sex impleri à famulis iubet
Fontanis *et* puris undis carchesia.

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CHRISTVS

Quæ simul ut heros aspexerat: ecce omnibus
Humor cernebatur subitò rubescere.
Sentit aqua|uireis insuetas, *et* induit
Nouum quendam saporem alieno ex munere.
Hoc nesciens quidam è numero primarius,
Sponsum appellans, me magna (ait) admiratio
Tenet, quid sit, quòd præter morem [tam diu
Liquorem ambrosiæ similem conseruaueris.
Itaq; stupefacti omnes, priùs incognita
Vehementer admirantur Christi numina.
Suamq; in eum|comites conijciunt fidem.
Fama quoq; fuit, illum super alta maria
Et illæsum ambulasse, *et* summo in gurgite haud
Pedeis tinxisse. audieram *et* eius ipsius
Dicto, compesci agitationes fluctuum:
Et quamlibet proteruos austri spiritus,
Ac uenti flamina uim suam deponere.
Sunt plurima, quæ sæpè Iosephus mihi
Et Iudas, *et* Simon, *et* Iacobus, mea
Dulcissima narrare solebant pignora.
Mag. Imò si animo tuo iam compræhenderes,
Mihi, quæ nota sunt, magìs obstupesceres.
Nec ad stuporem modò res miras êdidit:
(Quod aliqui aliquando fortè præstiterint magi)
Verùm ad salutem operabatur uir inclytus.
Nam si uellem enumerare, haud uerbis consequi
Quot

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REDIVIVVS.

Quot ægris, adflictis, atq; laborantibus,
Quot hominum damnis ac incommoditatibus
Curationem atq; medicamentum attulit:
Non promptiorem haberet finem oratio,
Quàm si cuperem hac dictione persequi
In Lybico quanta iaceat arena littore: aut
Quot orbem stelligerum distinguant sydera.
Nam quos malè Erynnis uexabat pessuma,
Quos æstus ac febris iactabat ignea,
Quos profusis tumens hydrops humoribus
Aut quicunq; etiam alius torquebat dolor,
Ad sanitatem restituebat pristinam.
Quid memorem? numerosam turbam concurrere,
Tam à disiunctissimis quibusq; partibus,
Vidisses quàm à patriæ propinquis finibus.
Cæcosq́; tum *et* claudos, mutosq́; cerneres,
Lucem oculis debitam, pedibusq́; uim suam,
Et eloquendi facultatem recipere.
At illud est in primis commemorabile,
Quod erga fœminam miserandam præstitit.
Ea cùm laxis uenis annos duodecim
Flumen fuisset passa impuri sanguinis,
Etsi iam adficeretur morbi doloribus,
Et succo membris exhaustis pallesceret:
Tamen exanguis tantam concepit spem suæ
Salutis apud Christum obtinendæ, ut protinus

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[42]

CHRISTVS

Vel multitudine compressa sequentium,
Ad eum ipsum pleno cursu contenderet,
Quò saltem posset amictum contingere.
Vt ergò illum iuxta defessa steterat, *et*
Manum exporgens uestem extremam apprehēderat:
Vim quandam toti subitò infusam corpori
Persentiscit, uenasq́; patenteis claudier.
Mulier Iesum latuisse facinus hoc putans,
Se cogitabat clanculùm subducere.
Verùm fugientem scius ille reuocat,
Coràm in medio ut factum fateretur lubens.
Eamq́; subtrepidam ac timidiusculam,
Sui colloquij suauitate recreat.
Quid, quòd *et* ab inferis quosdam excitauerit
Morte oppressa? Cùm enim ab ora Sydonia
Veniens, Naymam adijt suis comitantibus:
Ecce, puelli egregij corpus miserabile
Feretro impositum, *et* uita defunctum conspicit.
Genetrix mœsto complens ululatu uiam,
Filiolum immaturo flet raptum funere.
Hanc Iesus noster ut uidit, mox parcere
Querelis iubet: *et* imperat corpusculo, ac
Denuò gelidis membris insinuatur anima.
Ipse uelut expleto somno, surgens puer:
Aperto se capulo (cunctis mirabile)
Viuum extollit, *et* exiliens matrem amplectitur.

Nec

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REDIVIVVS.

Nec ita multò pòst, idem ille uirginem,
Quæ naturæ uitam reddiderat, cui calor
E pectore, *et* omnis dilapsus erat spiritus:
Amisso iterum isthoc donauit lumine.
Sed enim nunc tandem ad tumulatum uenimus.
Hîc si uidetur, ponamus uestigia.
Vos facitote, è gremijs ne quid odorum excidat.
At, quis'nam hæc à clauso sepulchro grandia
Saxa euoluet, sepulchralia nos debita ut
Possimus hîc persoluere? Dimet.
Circunspicite, si propè quisquam auxiliariu' est.
Hui, quid hoc est? Atat, os monumenti patet.
Intremus. hem, perij: nihil hîc relinquitur.
Quàm uereor, ne quis etiam in extinctum sæuiat.
Quò properem? ubi quæram? quos uestigem? nescio.
Est animus tamen adire cum primis Petrum,
Eumq̃; hac de re certiorem reddere.
Cleo. Quæso matres, ut ab hoc loco terroribus
Pleno, uelitis mecum unà secedere.
Vix mente consto, *et* cor extra se ponitur.
Nuper latratu reboabat tellus, ita ut
Nubes refracto responderet aëre.
Nunc quid sibi tumulus inanis uelit, *et* pate=
Factum claustrum coniectura non adsequor.

ACTVS III. SCENA IIII.

Iohannes. Petrus.

Videlicet

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[44]

CHRISTVS

Trimet. VIdelicet, certò sciebam iam antea
Me facilè posse Petrum cursu præuertere, ac
Priusquam ille huc tardo gressu perrexerit,
Mihi licitum erit audita inuisere.
Papè, quid ego uideo? nil, nisi linteamina.
Sed iam accurrit senior, *et* crebro spirituum
Vireis uento restaurat. Petr. Quid, quid obsecro
Fit Iohannes? Vera'ne mulier omnia
Rettulerat? Ioh. omnia Simon uerissima.
Pet. Ingressus es? Iohan. Nequaquā, at conspexi tamen
Humi positum *et* iacentem pannum linteum.
Omnino, sese nusquam humatus obtulit.
Pet. Introëamus, *et* exploretur meliusculè
Cauerna. bone Deus: ecce uestem linteam,
En qua caput inuoluebatur, calanticam.
Nihil est pretereà, ne trahamus hîc moram.
Octona. Huî profectò res mihi magna uidetur ac
mirabilis.
Octona. Equidem hercle operam dabo, ut unde *et* quorsum
hæc fiant, intelligam.
Abeamus. Ioan. Sine dubio meliora dabit Deus.
Quid ni reuixisse putem? Etenim eum si quis hinc
Furatus esset, non quæq; locasset ordine:
Sed uestes arripuisset cum corpore.

ACTVS III. SCENA V.

Magdaléne. Angelus I. Ang. II. Christus.

Reuiso

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[45]

REDIVIVVS.

REuiso meæ portum atq; auram anxietudini.
Nam iterum atq; iterū uel introspicere tumulū,
In quo membra Galilæi sunt recondita,
Meum dolorem non mediocriter leuat.
O utinam, utinam, hunc rursum erectum cernerem,
Vt pridem germanum intuebar, qui incubans
Telluris gremio, iacuerat quatriduum.
Hei mihi, quòd precio, quòd precibus, quòd lachrymis
Obruta duro fato uita redimi nequit.
Ang. I. Quā tu ô fœmina uoce *et* querelis indicas
Tristiciam? Ang. II. Expedias matrona integerrima
Quid sit quòd êdere ploratum non desinis.
Mag. Eximij, pulchri *et* formosi adolescentuli, ex
Hoc monumento nescio quis herum abstulit meum.
Sed nec misera quonam deportatu' est, scio.
Væ mihi. Quid subitò obstupuistis perterriti?
Chr. Mea mulier, hoc unum mihi uelim edisseras
(Modò fides dignitasq́; patietur tua)
Quæ tantæ caussæ est lamentationis, aut
Quem uix orbe fugatis umbris iam quæritas?
Mag. Dabis hoc bone agricola uel facilitati tuæ,
Vel desiderio meo, ut si dum hortulo
Prospicis, ac metuis Iudæos, eum aliò
Detuleris mihi significes, ubinam nunc siet.
Tutò *et* honorificè illum terræ mandauero.
Quin certum est, quare stupefiebant iuuenes,

Ab

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[46]

CHRISTVS

Ab his cognoscere.
Chr. Maria. Magda. hem, mi magister? Chr.
optuma Magdalis
Noli adeò elata lætitijs incedere, *et* exultare
de carnis præsentia, ut
Nihil intereà de me sublime cogites.
Caue putes, te intueri morti obnoxium
Hominem, ut priùs, aut ea necessitudine
Vobis coniunctum: sed supremo cum patre
Ipso in cælo regnaturum perenniter.
Animum erigito, mente alta *et* insuperabili
Dimet. Feraris ad cælestia.
Quin uade, rei tantæ ut fias prænuncia,
Eisq̃;, quos fraterno amore prosequor,
Quorumq̃; naturam induere mihi placuit,
Dic me dein cælestem occupaturum thronum,
Cum nostro unà parente indulgentissimo.

ACTUS III. SCENA VI.

Cleophis. Chorus Galileïdum. Angel. I. Ang. II. Christus.

Trimet. HVc huc nosmet referamus, *et* experiamur an
Reuersio spem deturbatam reintegret.
Sed nunc memini, ut non solùm animo commota eram
Dudum, sed *et* corpore toto perhorrui.
Ang. I. Quid uos horretis ô matres? omittite
Metum *et* formidinem, nam isti iure optimo, ex=
Animantur

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REDIVIVVS.

Animantur consideratissimi homines.
Vestram nihilominus mœsticiam dehinc noua, *et*
Aeternùm perfruenda uincant gaudia.
Quandoquidem quem uos hinc ademptum plangitis,
Debellato Erebi rêge, imis ex manibus,
Rursum has in lucis oras uictor prodijt.
Non est quòd eum existimetis mortuum.
Aethereis iam uescentem auris, *et* integrum.
Imò uobi' in mentem uenire debuit,
Quod adhuc in Galilæa uersatus dixerat,
Oportere satum uirgine incidere in manus
Sceleratorum hominum, *et* figi funestæ trabi,
Quô cunctorum suapte sponte crimina
Deleret, *et* cum sole rediret tertio.
Ang. II. Nazarenum uos uelle non sum nescius,
Qui superiore die animam efflarit cruce.
A iure mortis exemit se, *et* uinculis
Expedijt, hinc uicturus æuo perpete.
Quod cum terna luce renasci promiserat,
Reuera *et* facto nunc fidelis præstitit.
Accedite, adsistite, oculis omnem locum
Perlustratote, qui uacuus cadauere,
Signum etiamdum effigiemq́; sepulti corporis
Retinet. Et exuuias, quibus implicatus est.
Si non facilè adduci potestis, ut mihi
Credatis, nec persuadeat oratio mea,

Vobis

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CHRISTVS

Vobis præsentia præsentem hæc facient fidem.
Quare hisce uestris officijs opus haud erit,
Quin hinc potiùs uos nulla interposita mora
Recipite *et* istam rem mox reliquis ostendite.
Sui ducis *et* capitis qui deplorant necem:
Sed seniori Petro in primis, cui scilicet
Ter abnegatus herus gemitum conduplicat.
Cuius conspectum si cupiscunt, conferant
Iter ad Galilæam, ubi eundem uiuum uiderint,
Per hæc quem collugent tempora demortuum.
Dixi. Cleo. Videam. Ecastòr, ita sese res habet.
Eamus, nunciemus discipuli' omnia.
Chr. Saluere uos iubeo Mariæ Galileïdes.
Abijcite pauores ex animo, qui expectorant
Intelligentiam, *et* intrepidè me attendite,
Ne non sanum sit attonitis in sensibus
Iudicium, surgite, *et* his osculationibus
Finem facite, *et* hinc celeriter nunc uadite,
Meisq; uisa monstratote fratribus,
Vt in Galilæam post me proficisci queant.

ARGVMENTVM ACTVS IIII.

EGressis fœminis, ad sese milites
Redeunt, *et* uisa sacerdotibus indicant.
Interea, quæ iussit Christus Galileïdes,
Discipuli' exponunt. Sed pharisæorum quidem

Posteaquam

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[49]

REDIVIVVS.

Posteaquam in parteis distractum contraria', *et*
Nil certo statuens concilium dimittitur:
Delegatur Alecto statim à cacodæmone,
Quæ aurum singulis præberi militibus monet,
Orationem ut commutent, *et* falsa pro
Veris fidenter in apertum proferant.
Hij, sicut erant edocti, faciunt sedulò:
Ac inficias eunt Christum esse superstitem.
Itaq; *et* custodes, acceptis pecunijs
Lætantur, *et* recedens quoq; Caïaphas
Elatus insolenti exultat gaudio,
Quia res processum habet ex sua sententia.

ACTVS IIII. SCENA I.

Brumax. Sangax. Dorus. Dromo

EQuidem animi pendeo hoc quid sit negocij, Trimet
Quorsum hic stupor alienatioq́; sensuum.
Ego sic timeo ut rerum nullam quodammodò
Perceptionem habeam, socij uerò mei
Timore stupidi obmutuerunt, strenuus modò
Ipse mihi uidebar, sed quò confidentia
Quò nunc animi uis, quò pristina generositas
Recessit? hei iacet sepultum in pectore
Omne meum robur, *et* omnis abest audacia.
Tentabo tamen si qua spes adfulgeat
In socijs. Tu Sangax, tu, inquam, Sangax age,

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CHRISTVS

Súrgito, ne paueas, in tuto sunt omnia.
Sang. Abierunt'ne igitur, abierunt fœminæ, aut
Furiæ potiùs *et* flammis corusci dæmones?
Bru. Abiêre mihi crede. Excitemus nunc Dorum.
Heus heus Dore: Ocyus ô Dore expergiscere.
Expergiscere Dore. Iam nihil est periculi.
Dor. Exurgo, modò non sit quidquam discriminis.
Ah, uix apud me sum, tremor ita me occupat.
Bru. Quam tandem hanc esse metamorφωsin autumas?
Tam'ne citò accipitris dedidicisti audaciam?
Sed, ut uidetur, Dromo nec haurit anhelitum,
Nec spiritum ullum êdit. Dromo. Dromo. Dromo.
Quid, humi prostratus, longus ut es, Dromo iaces?
Atat, auras incassum stultus diuerbero,
Surdisq́; auriculis me præconem præbeo.
Obsecro uos, uos aureis implete flatibus.
Sang. Dromo. Do. Dromo. Sang. Dromo. Do. Dromo
San. Dromo. Do. Dromo.
Bru. Hem salua res est, nobis Deus hodie fauet.
Anhelat nunc breui subinde spiritu.
Quid agitur Dromo? Agedùm temet iam collige.
Reuocato animum. Trepidandi causa euanuit.
Dro. Quis Dromonē appellat? Bru. fortunæ particeps
Tuæ Brumax. Age surge, ego te fulciam.
Tenebo labentem, *et* corruere non sinam.
Dro. Heu uireis deficiunt. Bru. brachia exporgito.

Dro.

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REDIVIVVS.

Dro. Quis me, quis appræhendit? Brumax. Brumax dico tuus
Consocius. Surge, surge. Dro. animo malè est meo.
Cor contrahitur, debilitatur, tremit.
Mirè uexatur caput, *et* sensuum organa
Vix functiones præstant etiamdum suas.
Incredibiliter mihi metus ossa concutit.
Horrorq́; occupat extremas parteis corporis.
Verùm sinite me respirare paululum.
Bru. Tandem, ô, tandem nobiscum abige formidinem.
Tenuit *et* hic nos pallor crepitusq́; dentium,
Euasit homo cum suis fallacijs,
Ac præstigijs, neq; nos terrebit amplius.
Atqui quod facto confestim nunc est opus,
Faciam, hæc ut cognoscant sacerdotum duces.
Addito te Sangax adsectatorem mihi,
Tu uerò te Dore Dromoni adiungito.
Dor. Vos non ita longo interuallo comitabimur.
Quid nunc mi homo, reuixisti'ne bone Dromo?
Quomodo uiget robur uetus in corpore?
Dro. Bene iam, sed longè melius opinor foret
Mecum, si quàm primùm locum hunc relinquerem.
Dor. Fiat, sequamur præeuntes boni' auibus.

ACTVS IIII. SCENA II.

Petrus. Magdaléne. Chorus discipulorum.
Cleophis. Chorus Galileïdum.

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CHRISTVS

Trimet. QVid narras Magdaléne? certa'ne prædicas?
Mag. Certissima. Pet. Sic scilicet ut dicam tibi.
Equidem tuos pauitanti' oculos existimo,
Vana quadam ac falsa lusos imagine.
Nam ueluti per quietem sepenumerò
Facit in se reflexa cogitatio,
Eorum uultus *et* simulachra cernere,
Quos maximè desideramu' interdiu,
Sic uel metum, uel amorem uel utrunq; te
Aut rapuisse, aut coniecisse reor in extasin,
Ita ut non secus ac mentiens quidam sopor
Sensus inanis præstringens fefellerit.
Cho. disc. Quid'nā hoc tandē est? Ain tu quæso? denuò
Nostrum uiuere dominum? Dic,
age, dic bona
Nec aliena fide, ut sese tibi obtulit?
Longam (sîs) narrandi continuatio seriem.
Et à capite ad calcem, iuxta prouerbium,
Singula diducito. De illo audire quidem iuuat:
Vtut, quod profers, parùm, sit probabile.
Mag. Quum de uacuo busto, tibi dixeram Petre:
Me recipiebam protinus eodèm loci.
Cumq; illò adueneram: eccè repentè mihi
Et nictu oculi, splendenteis albis uestibus
Apparent iuuenes. In uultu plurimus honos,
Et cœleste decus toto effulsit corpore.

Haud

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REDIVIVVS.

Haud nostra stirpe, exortos esse dixeris:
Sed administros superûm speciosissimos.
Hij uerò à me caussas exquirunt questuum.
Sublati heri desiderio me confiei
Respondeo. Quibus dictis à tergo stetit.
Tamen illum nesciebam: ut qui mihi se obuium
Dedit ignoti sub hortulani schemate.
Credo, ne si glorificam sumpsisset faciem:
Exanimasset me miseram præ formidine.
Cho. disc. Quî scis igitur, Christū esse, quē cōspexeras?
Mag. Agnoui ex uoce. Nam cùm ab eo digressa sum:
Statim reuocata notum accipiebam sonum.
Quinetiam Mariæ me appellabat nomine.
Tunc ô tunc menti quæ infundebat gaudia?
Quæ tunc toto expellebat corde tristia?
Sic nube sub nigra quum deprensa est dies,
Quum cœlum squalet ac sol umbris conditur:
Aura exurgens sub Oceano, aut è montibus
Tenebras depellit, nubilaq́; dissipat,
Lætamq́; nitido faciem restiuit polo:
Omnino taleis sentiebam in pectore
Motus, taleis triumphos, tamq́; serió
Tum gestiebam, ut iam nihil mirum mihi
Videatur, quod uix poteram olim credere,
Expirasse aliquos hilaritate nimia.
Et ille gaudium bene temperat meum,

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CHRISTVS

Iubetq́; non tam corpus intuerier,
Quàm oculis animi diuinum honorem, *et* ipsius
Membra deinceps planè facta immortalia.
Demum superiora poli palatia, ad
Patrem se nostrum dixit uelle ascendere.
Ego uerò exprimere læticiam cogitans,
Ter sum conata loqui, ter eum affarier
Incipiebam, solitasq́; uoces promere:
Sed mihi ter hæsit lingua prorsus mutilis,
Ter in summis labris mihi destitit sonus.
Dumq́; hæreo, quæ prima sumam exordia,
Nimis auidos reliquerat sensus meos.
Hæc summa est, hæc ut folia Sibyllæ credite.
Hæc uoluit, ego uobis ut prima panderem.
Cho. disc. Nimia mira, ô socij commemorát Magdalis.
Pet. Sunt incredibilia profectò, atq; ante hunc diem
Inaudita. At, quid hoc, quòd tam uelociter
Cleophis cum Galilæis huc aduolat?
Metuo ne quid eis obtigerit incommodi. At–
Tendamus. Ad nos rectà pergunt. Cleo. uidimus
Eia, eià uidimus (ô uiri) illum uidimus.
Pet. Quem' nam illum? Dic age. Cleo. Vidimus, inquam,
Illum ipsum Christum, quē putatis mortuum. (uidimus
Pet. Supreme Iehoua. Captum hæc superant meum.
Scio, esse uos nec mendaceis, nec perfidas:
Ipsa rei magnitudo tamen fidem negat.

Amabò

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REDIVIVVS.

Amabò, narra, quæ uidistis omnia.
Nam ad audiendum animos iamdudum ereximus.
Cleo. Primùm omnium, ut illò accessimus, ut in limine
Sepulchri stetimus, ecce tibi, duo iuuenum
Pulcherrimorum corpora.
Quid quæris? omnia ex parte fuêre splendidi.
Solantur. Quidq́; in Galilæa pollicitus est
Longè anteà Christus, reuocant in memoriam.
Nudum locum ostendunt, in eoq́; residuas
Exuuias. Atq́; nominatim te Petre
Voluêre Euangelio hoc per nos recrearier.
Hæc dixerant. Metum autem nostrum gaudia
Nunc uincunt, nunc eo mutuò uincuntur, *et*
Sese uicissim retrudunt pugnantia,
Atq; uiceis alternant spes *et* timor, usque dum
Nos ipse alacriter salutauerat herus,
Et aspectu ac sermone suo refecerat.
Qui se confirmabat, in ora Galileïde
A uobis omnibus uelle dein conspici.
Tum ab amplexu sistimus. Habetis ad omnia.
Pet. Multa audiui, multa inspexi, multa didici,
Multa memini: nihil post hominum memoriam
Tale accepi: nihil omni ætate huiusmodi
Cognoui: undè induci non queo, ut adsentiar.
Quoquomodo sit, nos nota adeamus loca.
Cho. disc. Eamus, *et* eas ueridicas faxit Deus.

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CHRISTVS

ACTVS IIII. SCENA III.

Caïaphas.

Trimet. DEum immortalem, quæ, quantaq́; miracula
Modò mihi memorauit Brumax? quemadmodũ
Imposita sigillisq́; obsignata adhuc petra:
Tamen erexit se tumulatus. Ac duo
Lapidem dicto citius amôrunt angeli.
Vt antra sonabant occultis mugitibus,
Ventisq́; furebat solum pugnantibus.
Et eorum, quasi si occubuissent, iacentium:
Vt artus, intercepta anima, tenuit tremor.
Vt auram neq; dedit neq; suscepit Dromo: ut
Vt sine colore, sine uoce, sine mente iacuit.
Quomodoq́; audierint alloquenteis fœminas,
Ministros angelicos, de cœli gente. Ita ut
Dubium non sit, uiuere Christum xylonicum.
Quid igitur? Quid nunc faciundum nobis erit?
Per urbeis ne hic rumor Palæstinas eat?
Nisi maturè uolgi sermoni occurrimus,
Ni astu famam premimus atq; extinguimus:
Actum de nobis est, sine controuersia.
Væ nostro tum ordini, uæ nostris mercibus.
Ibo, *et* cogam consilium in unum pectora, *et*
Legum, *et* religionis ritus callentia.

ACTVS IIII. SCENA IIII.

Cacodæmon. Alecto.

Orcicolæ

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[57]

REDIVIVVS.

ORcicolæ ô proceres, tartarei ô principes,
O Acherontæi magnates itinerum,
Voluntatum, sententiarum, facinorum,
Laborum, rerum deniq; nostrarum omnium
Socij perpetui, nullisq́; fatigabileis
Periculis, mementote, ut nos perpeti haud
Potuistis infandam conditionem, poli
Quando regnator nobis anteponeret
Hominum genus, ac nos deturbatos æthere,
Formidanda ui fulminis detruderet
In hæc loca tetra, horrenda, subterranea,
Terribilia, fœda, senta situ *et* squallida.
Probè hanc ulti estis luculentam iniuriam.
Nam horto Paradisiaco expulsum patrem,
Suamq́; sobolem eius contactam crimine,
Nobiscum ad sedes deuexistis infera', ac
Immani ditastis præda stygios lacus.
At enimuerò, humana sub nube *et* imagine
Deus occultatus, nuper hominum gratia, in
Terras descendit: illiusq́; spiritus
Apud nos hîc iamdudum, ut nostis, adfuit.
Quo præsente expauimus. Infernas hic domos
Reclusit. secum ingentem abduxit copiam.
Fuit, fuit tempestas, qua nostro iugo
Vel integrum terrarum orbem subiecimus.
Ast quæ nunc tanta nos tenet socordia?

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CHRISTVS

Vbi nunc antiquæ uireis, arteis, machinæ,
Doli? Vbi nunc prisca imperij nostri gloria?
Sic' cine multis nobis regia spoliabitur?
Sic' cine rem prolabi patiemur desides?
Audite potiùs quæ mea sit sententia.
Christum interimebant Iudæi, hic se reddidit
Vitæ. Res iam multis Hierosolymarijs
Manifestior est, quàm ut dubitari queat.
Trepidant sacerdotes, semper amici fidissimi
Qui nobis extitêre: atq; hoc ne in publicum
Emanet, ponere student retinacula.
Id ad amplificandum nostrum regnum tam ualet
Quàm quod uel plurimùm. Hîc opibus uestris opus.
Viru' inspirate furtim animis mortalium, ut
Hæc tam mirabilia negent increduli.
Atqui (quod caput est) prodi, prodi mens mea,
Alecto prodi, cincta colubri *et* anguibus.
Tibi mille nocendi arteis fœcundo in pectore.
Tuum hoc erit munus, tuarum partium, ut
Mystas ancipites consilio iuues tuo.
Fac nummis obturetur os militibus, ut
Quidquid uiderunt, se uidisse pernegent.
Vadito, manibus pedibusq́; obnixè rem agito: nunc
Tentamentis peropus est, ac fallacijs.
Properato, horam utilem utiliter transmittito.
Alect. Citò imperata peragam adamussim tua.

ACTVS.

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REDIVIVVS.

ACTVS IIII. SCENA V.

Alecto. Caïaphas.

O Mea quantum Adonij.
Penè apud omneis
Numina possunt?
Namq; ego semper
Ocyor euris,
Cursito nunc huc,
Nunc feror illuc.
Ac ea spargo
Dira uenena,
Quæ mihi cornu
Diuite, sæuus
Sufficit orcus.
Num tibi restim
Ipsa ferebam
Perdite Iuda?
Et tibi nummûm
Plena crumena
Est data, quorum
Sacra fames co-
Egit herum te
Prodere iustum?
Sic similem rem,
Nunc faciam, quô
Qui modò uiuit,

Vsque

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CHRISTVS

Vsque putetur
Mortuus esse.

Trimet. Euge, euge, eccum illum ipsum, quē uolo. Deus bone: ut
Ingreditur dubitabundus, *et* animum scindit in
Varias parteis? At paulisper ego tacita
Hîc auscultans, cautè obseruabo, quid nam agat.
Pòst, hominem adoriar, sicubi tempus monet.
Caïa. Non hoc mehercules mihi conuenticulum
Esse uidetur, hominum deliberantium:
Sed toto (ut aiunt) cœlo discrepantium,
Aut, quod ego uerè affirmem, delirantium.
Vnum aut altrum Annas sublimi è solio rogat,
Sententiam hac de re, ut pronunciet suam. Hic,
Quæcunq; uos, ait, iniungitis, ea perplacent.
Ille, in ponderosa, *et* seria *et* graui,
Certum spacium deliberandi postulat.
Alius, posse negat rem tantam occultarier.
Alius, ipsum Christum, iteratò occîdi uelit.
Reliqui nihil habuerunt, quod dicerent.
Sum itaq; multò incertior, ac dudum abiueram.
Alect. Hūc ego tibi, si uis, bone uir scrupulū adimā: *et*
Paucis expediam, quid fieri oporteat.
Caïa. Quin immortali me tibi deuincies
Beneficio mortalem, si hoc effeceris,
Charissima domina. Alect. Pone metum, effectum dabo.
Inprimis, tumuli custodes argenteis

Fac

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[61]

REDIVIVVS.

Fac superes muneribus, ut quæ uera sunt,
Nec proferant, nec diuulgent quouis modo.
Nummus rex, rex nummus, quid non facere potest,
In omnibus negocijs? Dimet.
Dicam, quod sentio, omnipotens pecunia,
Dat sola robur, uimq́; sola sufficit.
Quamobrem agitodum, *et* isthæc prædicta perfice,
Tibi quæ monstraui Furiarum ter maxima. Hîc
Scopus, hîc meorum uerborum meta est breuis.
Caïa. Quàm maximas habeo tibi diua gratias.
Nemo homo potuit melius consilium dare.
Geretur herclè mos tuis hortatibus.
Alect. Hei, nunc ergò nunc feci precium operæ, *et*
Nostro pergratum, perq́; iucundum gregi.
Multas regione' opplebit hæc opinio,
Quòd Christu' è mortuis non exurrexit.
Imò perficiam, ut apud mundi huius filios
Pium esse uideatur, eos occidere,
Quicunq; syncerè ipsius à morte reditum,
Et inde partam gratiam deprædicent.
Sed me, sat scio, Tartareus expectat chorus,
Re benè gesta, hinc memet recipio domum.

ACTVS IIII. SCENA VI.

Caïaphas. Dromo. Dorus. Sangax.
Brumax.

In

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[62]

CHRISTVS

IN hisce manibus est loculus pecunijs
Distentus *et* non pauco argento turgidus.
Intus latet, quod operatur miracula.
Intus latet, quod nil non cogit pectora.
Est intus, quod diuinam uirtutem exeret
Citò, atq; me magno exonerabit metu.
Nec dubito, quin hoc erit Annæ gratissimum.
Atq; etiam reliquis nostri ordinis hominibus.
Satius est unius obscurari gloriam,
Quàm tot nostrûm egregios honores eripi.
Ecce autem, commodum aduentare uideo
Dromonem *et* Sangacem, Brumacemq́; *et* Dorum,
Qui me leuabunt huius onere marsupij.
Dro. Sàlue pie præsul. Do. Salue antistes optime.
Sang. Sis saluos uir clarissime. Bru. Aue ipsa sanctitas.
Dro. Parmenoni seruo dedimu' obuiam tuo,
Qui te significauit, nos uelle colloqui.
Caïa. Volo certè quidem: quare animum aduortite.
Tu Dromo Christum esse rediuiuum non ambigis?
Dro. Equidem huius tibi rei argumenta protuli,
Neq; pauca, neq; parua. Nimis apertum illud est.
Caïa. Quid dicis Dore, sic' cine se res habet?
Dor. Ita factum prorsus est, ut te docuit Dromo.
Caïa. Adfirmas ne tu Sangax hæc eadē? San. qdni ego
Adfirmem, qui unà cùm his in re præsenti fui?
Caïa. Quid tu aūt Brumax? Bru. Id quod socij dictitāt.

Caïa.

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[63]

REDIVIVVS.

Caïa. Tacete, *et* mentem ad ea, quæ loquor, intendite.
Debetis nostra in uota condescendere,
Nisi exciderunt permulta in nos promerita.
Dro. Quid est? quod pro te aut uestræ classis quopiam
Recusemus? Dor. Nil medius fidius, id nisi
Summo fiat nostro damno atque incommodo.
San. Dic egregie sacerdos, præstabimus,
Ne dubita. Bru. Si uereis requiras corporis,
Faciemus, quod cordatos milites decet.
Dummodò non uersutis opponamuur magis.
Sin animi uirtutem, constantiam, fidem,
Quis non sentierit quoduis cum tali duce?
Caïa. Statuunt primates uim certam pecuniæ
Vobis donare, ueruntamen hoc nomine,
Vt singulis quibusque interrogantibus,
Statim *et* semper respondeatis in hunc modum:
Quòd nocte intempesta, ut latrones perditi,
Corpus clàm fallaceis tulêre comites,
Ac furati sunt uobis dormientibus.
Quòd si commentum hoc ad uestri aureis præsidis
Delatum erit, nos illi persuadebimus,
Et nos tutos in portu collocabimus.
Dro. Lubenter adsentimur. Do. Conditio placet.
San. Cur non authoritatem tantam imitabimur?
Bru. Sequimur decretum longè consultissimum.
Caïa. Accipite, unusquisq; thesauro ditabitur.

Agitote

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[64]

CHRISTVS

Agitote dum, eloquimini. quid dicitis?
Dromo, erexit' ne se Christu' ille à tumulo?
Dro. Non. Caïa. Quid' nam ergò? sepulchrum uacuum fuit?
Dro. Nox erat, exanimum clepserunt corpus alumni.
Nostra quidem tum membra sorpor Lethæus habebat.
Caïa. Dore, dic mihi bona *et* Iudaica fide,
Iesus in busto cur non repertus est?
Dor. Abstulit hūc furtiuū agmen dominātibus umbris,
Cùm nostros oculos premeret mera mortis imago.
Caïa. Num' nam *et* tu Sangax cantionem istam canis?
Dic quid habeas animi super hac re. dicito.
Sang. Funus iners noctu comites rapuêre dolosi,
Quando quies nostros nectebat languida sensus.
Caïa. Brumax tua superest unius adsentio.
Quomodo per omnia res acta est? edissere.
Bru. Surripitur gelidum media iam nocte cadauer,
Cùm nos fessa graui dederamus corpora somno.
Caïa. Laudo uos, quòd in ea diutius hæresi
Non perseuerabitis. istuc sapere quidem est.
Dro. Nemo tam nulla mente, uel tam nullius
Est consilij, qui respuat pecunias.
Dor. Conspiranteis animos, tam concinnat citò
Nihil, quàm hæc regina sacro sancta pecunia.
Sang. Quis est mortalium omnium, cui inest mica
Sani cerebri, qui hanc non ueneretur *et* colat?

Bru.

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[65]

REDIVIVVS.

Bru. O uos terq; quaterq; beatos, queis contigit
Tanta laborum merces, quantam uix tempore
Longo, aut talus nobis, aut alea dederit.
Dro. Valeto fortunarum nostrarum omnium
Auctor locupletissime. Dimeter.
Do. Deus te seruet nostri (ut res ipsa loquitur)
Thesauri supremum caput. Dimeter.
Sang. Tibi noster patrone beneficentissime
Dies agantur candidi. Dimeter.
Bru. Pro hisce opibus here Iehora summis tibi
Opem sempiternam ferat. Dimeter.
Caïa. Valete simul uiri fortissimi *et* optimi.
O faustam, ô niueam, ô peramœnam hanc istam diem.
Meos' ne labores operas atq; uigilias,
An prolixam diuæ bonitatem, an tempora
Vehementiùs extollam, planè nescio.
Quemadmodum etenim cùm sub nebuloso aëre
Et opaco cœlo sensus quodammodò
Hebescunt, *et* cuiq; suum corpus oneri est,
Tum si radios fortè Titan splendidos
Fundens, fugam atris nubibus indixerit,
Mundoq; arridens ore læto affulserit,
Quam mox erectam à corporeo pondere,
Animalem illam hominis partem spe ditissima
Pascit, quasiq; consopitos spiritus
Permulcet, incitat, fouet, exuscitat:

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[66]

CHRISTVS

Ita mediusfidius, furiæ præclarissimæ
Beneficio, sum usq; eò exhileratus denuò, ut
Qui dudum adueniens, cogitabundum hunc animum
Omnei' in parteis dubitatione ueluti
Suspensus distribueram, nunc deniq;
Recedam, noua *et* insolita prorsus læticia,
Et alacritate perfusus mirabili.

ARGVMENTVM ACTVS V.

QVoniam cùm Thomas Didymus aberat,
Intrans heros fenestris atq; foribus
Clausis, se discipulis ostentarat suis.
Illi reuerso uiuere conclamant herum.
Qui ut finem narrandi faciunt, ecce Cleopas
Alio loco, inquit, se conuenisse dominum,
Ad Emauntem dum iter castellum suscipit.
Quæ cùm cunctis uiderentur certissima,
Vnus Thomas se posse credere negat,
Tantisper dum improuisus adest iterum Deus,
Eiusq́; dubitatis confirmat fidem.
Pòst illos *et* dictis *et* factis instruit,
Quibus per populos dispergant noua gaudia.
Ad extremum autem undeni proceres admodum
De Christo rediuiuo plaudunt ad inuicem,
Salutem gratulanteis ac uitam sibi,
Deo reddenteis gloriam.

ACTVS

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[67]

REDIVIVVS.

ACTVS V. SCENA I.

Thomas. Petrus. Cleopas. Amaon.
Chorus discipulorum.

O Socij, neq; enim sumus antè malorum inscij, Trimet.
Vnde hic stupor, unde hoc mirum silentium?
Credo equidem ardentem *et* igne coruscum spiritum
E nube ruisse, *et* penetrasse hanc domum:
Ita statis trepidi, ita uos horror quatit.
Pet. Nullo pauore perculsi obstupescimus
Thoma frater: uerùm rei miraculo
Et nouitate attoniti ualdè reddimur.
Quam si plenè pernosceres, te, sat scio,
Velle lachrymas effundere præ gaudio.
Tho. Ne uiuam, si non quid sit acciperem lubens.
Pet. Lubentior ego rem omnem enarrauero.
Præsentem uidimus, loquentem audiuimus,
Ipsum Christum rediuiuum, quem nos modò
Multatum morte, *et* ademptum suspirauimus.
Tho. Quid prædicas? quæ uox aureis intrat meas?
Is per Deum, iam respirat' ne denuò?
An potiùs elusit simulachrum umbratile,
Et effigies quædam nobis apparuit?
Pet. Thoma, Thoma, illũ ipsum, haud incerta prædico,
Illa ipsa retinentem etiamdum uulnera
Aspeximus: ac membra palmis pertrectauimus.
Tho. Ita' ne uerò? quæso expone seriem

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[68]

CHRISTVS

Rei totius gestæ, atq; id bona fide.
Pet. Vespertinum tempus erat, occlusæ fores,
Occlusa fenestrarum etiam foramina.
Nos tenuibus escis *et* potionibus
Corpora refecimus *et* uireis reuocauimus,
Et ad unam cuncti mensam consedimus,
Quandò ille repentinò coràm in media domo
Diuino lumine circumseptus constitit.
Nos credenteis inanem adesse spiritum:
Primo aspectu tremebundi exhorrescere
Cœpimus, ac præ metu mensas relinquere.
Tum Christus, degenerem formidinem arguens,
Quid, inquit, perturbato uersatis animo?
Cernite manus, latus, pedesq; cernite,
Ego ipse sum: pacem unà coniunctissimi
Seruate, atq; trepidationem ponite.
Mox omnibus trectate dicit corpora.
Hîc hîc uera ossa, *et* ueram carnem inueneritis,
Quorum nouistis exortem esse spiritum.
At nos cùm adhuc mirabunda perpendimus,
Nec herum nostrum esse illum nobis persuasimus:
Tum de assato pisce, *et* fauo apiario
Nobiscum edere non recusans, reppetit
Eum sermonem, in quo ante mortem plurimus
Fuit, quem si tenuissemus, meherculè
Ipsius abitum forti tulissemus animo.

Hæc

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[69]

REDIVIVVS.

Hæc ubi facta: is eadem uirtute subitò à
Nobis euanuit, qua intrarat lumina.
Tho. O Petre, Petre quid uerba frustrà funditas?
Quid surdo fabellam canis? Tam' ne stupidum
Tam absq; ullo iudicio *et* sensu me uiuere
Putas, ut hisce fidem habeam ineptijs?
Nam hoc ex eo genere est, quod fieri non potest,
Vt sese à mortuis quisquam resuscitet.
Ec' quem è prophetis, ec' quem è sanctis patribus
Commemorabis, qui tale quidquam fecerit?
Cho. disc. Sic *et* nos uix nobismetipsis credere
Primùm poteramus, nec satis habuimus
Loquentem audire semel, quin pacem sæpius
Nobis commendans, multa de fati sui
Necessitate, multa de nostri' omnium
Dicebat commodis. Sic *et* Galileïdes,
Quæ primæ illum ipsum fœminæ conspexerant,
Tam nos tardos inuenêre ad habendam illis fidem,
Quàm tu iamdudum te præbes incredulum.
Quinimò Cleopæ non credidimus, *et* suo
Consocio, quibus ab urbe paulùm euntibus,
Antea quàm à nobis uisus est, apparuit.
Tho. De re tam inaudita, consensum tot hominum
Nusquam est reperire. Sed narra Cleopa omnia,
Nam te quoq; non minùs ac alios audiuero.
Cleop. Christum' met ipsum absq; ulla contronersia,

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CHRISTVS

Thoma, *et* ego *et* Amaon pariter aspeximus,
Et cum illo ultrò citrò́q́; uerba fecimus.
Quandò etenim dirigeremus ad arcem Emaun-
tem iter:
Tanquam peregrinus *et* hospes quidam barbarus
Et obscurus, nobiscum ingressus est uiam.
Quanquam nescio quid nostros præstrinxit oculos,
Quòd eum inter eundum minimè cognouimus.
At ille, qua de re, inquit, uos inter agitur?
Cur' nam uestros adfectus continere uix
Valetis, quô minùs erumpant in lachrymas?
Ego contrà: quid ais? num' nam tu solus es
Peregrinus hisce diebus in urbe Solyma, *et*
Nescis, quae dudum perpetrata fuerint?
Roganti quæ illa' nam essent, responsum hoc dedi:
De Iesu Nazareno, qui uates fuit,
Qui rebus gestis atq; uerbis præpotens,
Tam apud ipsum Deum quàm apud homines fuit.
Et eum sacerdotum quo pacto principes,
Ac primates nostri cruci suffixerint.
Atq; ut nos omneis spes magna tenuit, eum
Redempturum Israël, ac meliorem exitum
Illi futurum, ut qui meliora meruerat.
Et quo modo post triduum Galileïdes,
Quæ uacuum se tumulum uidisse, *et* Angelos
Aiebant, qui affirmarent illum uiuere, ad
Stuporem

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[71]

REDIVIVVS.

Stuporem usque admirari nos coëgerant,
Et quemadmodum quidam è nostro consortio,
Statim ad monumentum ipsum festinauerint,
Sintq; experti ueras fuisse fœminas,
Ipsum uerò Christum nusquam repererint.
Tum ille: Ea' ne uestros tandem animos incredulitas
Excæcauit? Num uaticinationibus,
Num literis ac monumentis sunt tradita
Posteritati ducis uestri discrimina?
Num' nam ille sic uos instruxit? Num deniq;
Istæc de se futura suis prædixerat?
Sic fatus, à Mose capiens exordium,
Obscura *et* inuoluta uatum oracula
Veterumq; scripta Patrum de misericordia,
Et de sapientia Dei, *et* de criminum
Etiam expiatione nobi' euoluere haud
Cessabat, ut omnia sibi crucem portenderent.
Quô uindicaret à tenebris hominum genus,
Quô peccatum, quô mortem, quô orcum uinceret.
Tum uerò, nos intrà motus quosdam nouos
Vterq; sentiebamus. Ita is animos
Dictis regebat, *et* mulcebat pectora.
Namq; memorabat, uti manuum laboribus,
Et seruitutis amaro depressos iugo,
Pharijs ab oris, ad proprios iterum Lareis,
Legumlator ciueis eduxerit suos.

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[72]

CHRISTVS

Hinc Abrahamum iussis actum cœlestibus
Charissimum filiolum ense petentem Isacon,
Demissumq́; refert angelum ipso ab æthere:
Qui aliter suadet, ac pueri insontis loco
Litari arietem iuxtà pascentem iubet.
Hijs adiungit Iosephum, fratres inuidi
Quo funere, quibus' ue discerptum feris,
Patri falsò dixêre, cùm uenundarant
Illum exteris, propter descripta somnia.
Quid loquor, aut suspensum à duce colubrum æneum,
Quo, serpentum afflatu prostrata corpora
Per campum surgebant sanata *et* integra:
Aut, ut natasse quosdam homines narrauerit,
Inclusos machina, quum iam tellu'
Et mare
Monom. Nullo discrimine
Agerentur, *et* reliquos mortalei' unda raperet.
Omnia quæ quondam meditanda suis posteris
Prophetæ cecinerunt inflati numine,
Ille meminit, donec processit Hesperus
Dimet. Olympo inuito, ut arbitror.
Et peruentum à nobis est ab eundem locum,
Quem suprà dixi. Sed quando ulteriùs iter
Habere se simularet, impetrauimus,
Vt idem nobiscum faceret hospitium.
Quod ipsum syderis alis superuolans,

Nox

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[73]

REDIVIVVS.

Nox tacita suadebat. Mox diuersorium
Subit. Ad mensam nobiscum adcumbit pauperem.
Quàm primùm autem manu uidimus apprendere
Cererem, atq; modo peculiari frangere:
E uestigio mens nobis est reddita.
Agnoscimus *et* colimus aperta numina.
At ille in puncto ipso *et* momento temporis,
Abijt, *et* è conspectu se nostro abstulit.
Tho. Dixti pulchrè. Sed tam impossibile facinus,
Nemo homo quamuis uehemens, facundus, *et*
eloquens,
Quamuis limatulè *et* politè pinxerit
Orationem, mihi persuadere poterit,
Eum ipsum his oculis nisi præsentem uidero,
Hijsq; auribus nisi præsentis uocem hausero, *et*
Nisi hisce manibus uolnera præsentia
Reuera *et* indubitanter contrectauero.
Verùm, quid hic moramur? Repetamus domum,
Ne quis iudeat ex Iudæis primoribus.
Bene est, omneis iam nunc tuti consedimus.

ACTVS V. SCENA II.

Christus. Thomas. Chorus disc.

SIt pax uobis, fratres longè charissimi.
STu uerò age Didyme, huc huc manum admoueas,
Admoueas in latus meum, ne dubita, ego sum.

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[74]

CHRISTVS

Tho. Mi domine, mi Deus, mea spes, uita mea,
Noli quæso hanc rebellionem, *et* pessimam
Incredulitatem posthac imputare mihi.
Næ inconsultus ego, atque excœcatus impia
Philautia fueram, qui proprio ingenio
Tantum attribuebam, ut rediuiuum credere
Te factum esse nequirem? quum *et* aderam
et memini
Quandò alios quarta iam luce solo conditos,
Ad huius uitæ munia reuocaueris.
Nunc demum didici, quid sit à te deseri.
Nunc demum didici, ad præsidium unius tuum
Confugere, abiectis rebus illis omnibus,
Meo quæ animo uidentur plausibilia. Nunc
Demum, fiduciæ remoti' obstaculis,
Victoriæ mortis *et* inferni gustum habeo.
Mortem ô faustam, mortem quæ nostram interficit.
Modis ô omnibus utilissimam necem,
Quæ nos dehinc in uitam sempiternam asserit.
Quas tibi grateis agam pater opt. max.
Qui non uel unigeno parcebas filio in
Nostrûm miserorum alioqui hominum gratiam?
Ad quantas, quàm certasq́; spes, nos anteà
Desperabundos erexisti? Ad quam gloriam
Ac dignitatem accersisti per filium?
Quum nos peccatorum grauitate *et* pondere,
Legisq́;

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REDIVIVVS.

Legisq; iudicio damnaremur miseri:
Tu clementissime *et* benignissime pater,
Quod nostra non potuit imbecillitas,
Effecisti, ut natus etiam tuus unicè
Tibi dilectus, pro nobis exolueret.
Quis autem, ô Christe, hominum uoluptas
et quies,
Tam erit ingratus, ferreus, adamantinus,
Qui ad gratuitam tuam beneficentiam,
Non totus desiderio tui flagret?
Non totus amore tui inflammetur *et* ardeat?
Et, ut ad solem cera, liquescat medullitus?
Sed ego nescio qua corruptus dementia,
Vt limus ad Phœbi radios durescere
Ni tua succurrisset præsentia, cœperam.
Quarè obsecro, facilis meam fidem adaugeas:
Vt mihi displiceam totus, uni tibi hæream, *et*
Vt, qui tua solius ope sic euaserim,
Per omnia semper te gratus deprædicem.
Christ. Post uisum ipsum corpus, *et* ipsissima uulnera
Tandem credis Thoma: sed felicissimos
Illos pronuncio, qui hoc persuadeant,
Etiamsi nunquam cernant. Verùm tu tamen
Rectè *et* facis, *et* loqueris. Morti caput obtuli
Pro multi' unus, meaq; sponte, quô omnia
Quæ per Adamum à suo dilapsa erant statu,
Restituerem

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CHRISTVS

Restituerem egomet maiori gloriæ.
Nunc igitur, quando me summus olympus manet,
Memori uos animo mea dicta recondite.
In omneis mundi regiones penetrabitis,
Et ubiq; gentium eritis rerum cœlestium
Nuncij: ut (si fieri possit) unusquilibet
Me mortuum sibi, me rediuiuum sibi putet.
Nihil opus erit, uetustas ceremonias,
Aut uictimas retinere, aut sacrificia.
Qui uiuida nixus fide, persuaserit
Sibi, quòd gratis una *et* sola morte mea,
Delicta *et* scelera remittuntur omnia,
Doniq́; signum huius aqua tinctus habuerit,
Et amori meo mutua responderit
Voluntate: is, quicunq; est, nil quidquam hæsitans,
Cœlum ut patriam nostro ex promisso uendicet.
Qui uerò isti non crediderit Euangelio,
Sed aud contemnit, aut uertit præposterè:
Nil hunc iuuabit lêgis obseruatio,
Nil philosophia, nil quæuis professio,
Quô minùs æternis destinetur ignibus.
Vos, cùm res ipsa poscet, nostro nomine
Serpenteis profligabitis, ac dæmonia
Exterminabitis, *et* linguis etiam nouis,
Quasi si eas dedicissetis, loquimini.
Nec hausta nocebunt ueneni pocula.

Erga

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[77]

REDIVIVVS.

Erga ægrotos nos ut medicos præbebitis.
Et (quod maius quidem est) animi fœdissimos
Morbo', arrogantiam, acediam, lubidinem,
Ambitionem, odium, auaritiam, iram, abdomini
Deuotam gulam, *et* id genus innumeros propemodum
Diuina ui radicitus extirpabitis.
Nam paruo pòst tempore, uos æthereus pater
Cœlesti afflabit *et* inspirabit numine.
Quo profectò, pro me quid non audebitis?
Hoc duce, rêges *et* rerum dominos purpura
Et sceptro insignitos, nihil dubitabitis
Adire, *et* ueritatem condocefacere: haud
Longè petita erit uobis oratio,
Neq; loquendi tempus, neq; forma *et* modus:
Hîc spiritus præsens uestra ora diriget, ac
Dabit cuiq; uim uerborum *et* copiam.
Hunc, hunc animi' uestri' arrabonem accipite, quô
Vitæ illius uobis fiat certissima
Spes, cuius inæstimabilia gaudia
Sub cogitationem humanam non cadunt.
Cho. disc. Vicit iò, uicit leo de Iudæ sanguine.
Vicit iò, uicit almum Iessæi genus.
Quis non tam felici applaudat uictoriæ?
Hunc unum authorem *et* conseruatorem unicum
Agnoscat quilibet suum.
Qui nos fuso cruore, exemit crimine

Ab

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[78]

CHRISTVS

Ab omni, *et* mortem morte deleuit sua
Nostram, ac uitam nobis rediuiuus attulit.
Adeò, quæ annorum tot clausa est recursibus,
Nunc sublimis olympi ianua recluditur.
Dies nunc est uatum promissa uocibus,
Vt monteis *et* colleis resultent læticia.
Nos autem, tantis iam cumulati gaudijs,
Solymæ simus, Deo canenteis gloriam.

Corônis.

Habetis rem totam, auditores optimi.
Quæ si uobis uisa est iucunda *et* amabilis,
Vt estis Christiani, uos de gloria
Christi rediuiui, deq́; uestris commodis
Iam seriò triumphanteis, plausum date.

Omnis uni Deo gratia
et gloria.

Columna 13. litera A. in ordine personarum, pro Cleophas, lege Cleopas.

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XIII.—*PEPPER, PICKLE,* AND *KIPPER.*

When we find an English word beginning with *p*, we quite properly suspect it of being an adopted word—if not evidently imitative or of nursery origin. For early English words beginning with *p* there are two chief sources: Latin (including indirectly Greek) and Celtic. If the word appears only in England, it may *a priore* have come from either of these languages. If it is found both in England and on the continent, it is almost sure to have come from the Latin. *Pickle* appears both in England and in North Germany, Holland, etc., and we are therefore justified in suspecting a Latin origin for it. It also belongs to the category of words that we know to have been largely drawn from Italy. In the earliest days the Italian traders introduced *piper* 'pepper,' *vinum* 'wine,' *acetum* 'essig,' etc. Later the Germanic peoples owed much of the development of the culinary art among them to the Christian priests and monks from Italy. They were fond of good living, of spices and of sauces. They brought with them from the South seeds and plants, and they raised vegetables and herbs for the table and for the cure of the sick. It is, therefore, but natural that we should suppose that so artificial a product as pickles should have had a

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similar source. These considerations and a knowledge of the South-German use of *pfeffer* in senses similar to those of *pickle* led me to associate *pickle* with *pepper*. One kind of pickling suggested that *kipper* was only another form of the same word.

The following are the important forms:—

OHG. *pfeffar*.

MHG. *pfeffer*.

NHG. *pfeffer*, *pfefferfisch*, *pfeffergurke*, etc., and, from Low German, *pökel*, *pökelfleisch*, *pickelhering*.

MLG. *peper*, *pekel*, *pickel*.

MnLG. *peper*, *pekel*, *pickel*, *pekelhering*, etc.

MDu. *peper*, *pekel*.

MnDu. *peper*, *pekel*, *pekelharing*, etc.

OFrz. *piper*.

MnFrz. *peper*, *päper*, *pekel*, *päkel*, *pekelherink*, etc.

OE. *pipor*, *piper*.

ME. *piper*, *peper*, *pikil*.

MnE. *pepper*, *pickle*, *pickleherring*, etc., *kepper*, *kipper*, *kippel*.

Icelandic *piparr*, *pœkill*, *saltpœkill* 'saltpetre.'

Sw. *peppar*.

Dan. *peber*.

The Latin word offered a temptation to dissimilate. We find that this happened in the two chief ways that would be most natural: (1) *pip-* > *pik-*; (2) *pip-* > *kip-*. Cf. Skt. *pipīlá-* > Pali *kipilla-*, Lat. *papilio* > Du. *pepel* and *kapel* (in *capellenvogel*). Lat. *papȳrum* > OE. *tapor*, Eng. *taper*, OF. *poupe* 'nipple,' 'breast' > *pouque* 'bag,' Ger. *pumpe* > Rhinefrankish *kumpe* (*gumbe*), Lat. *plēbānus* > Lith. *klebōnas*, etc. Lat. *hippopotamus* became *ypotamus* in Middle English, with loss of whole syllable (Brugmann², I, § 988); and children now usually call it *hitapotamus*. Eng. *hickock* became *hicket* and the proper names *Babcock* and *Bartlett* are often called, even by the members of the families, *Babcot* and *Barklett*. Cf. also Brugmann², I, p. 853. The dissimilated forms of the

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word we have under consideration appear only in the North—in Low German, Dutch, Frizian, English, and Scandinavian.

In the Germanic forms the Latin suffix *-er* is sometimes exchanged with *-el*. Compare the same phenomenon in OHG. *amar* > MHG. *amer* and *amel*, OHG. *hadara* > MHG. *hader* and *hadel*, OHG. *zinseri* > MHG. *zinsel*, OHG. *panthera* > MHG. *panter* and *pantel*, and see Wilmanns[2], I, § 114. The *i* also interchanges with *e*, for which see Wilmanns[2], I, § 181, middle p. 235, and Morsbach's *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, §§ 113–115. For the ö of German *pökel*, see Wilmanns[2], I, § 230.[1]

The chief meanings of the words are as follows:[2]—

I. *pepper, pfeffer*, etc.

(1) (*a*) The fruit of the pepper plant, whether powdered or in the berry.

(*b*) The latter is also called *pepper-corn*, which word then assumes the general meaning of anything small or of small value, also the technical meaning 'a rent or other consideration that is only nominal.' The verb 'to *pepper*' also has acquired a general meaning: 'to pelt with kernels of any grain or with other small bodies.' (*English and German.*)

(2) (*a*) A spiced sauce containing vinegar, stewed elderberries, etc. (*Tyrol*). A similar pearsauce, plumsauce, etc. (*Nassau*).

(*b*) A sauce or gravy of which the brine forms a small or a large part and to which vinegar is usually added. This is

[1] It is strange that Wilmanns attributes the change of *e* to ö to a neighboring *l* or *sch*, and admits the influence of a neighboring labial only in the dialects. There are but four words in his list that do not contain a labial, and more than that number that contain a labial but do not contain an *l* or *sch*. The truth appears to be that labials and *sch* and *l* tend to labialize an *e*, and that they are particularly successful if a labial and an *l* or *sch* occur near the same *e*, just as English *u* is generally retained only between a labial and an *l* or *sh* (*full, pull, bull, wolf*, etc.; *push, bush*, etc.), while it sinks and becomes unrounded elsewhere (*but, cup, us*, etc.; *rush, gush*, etc.).

[2] The meanings of the three words are classified and arranged alike, so that the corresponding uses may easily be found.

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poured over the pickled meat (cf. 3 below) after it has been boiled (in the brine, in *Bavaria*) or roasted (in *Hesse*, etc.), and is about to be served. Also distinguished as 'ein schwarzer pfeffer' or 'ein gelber pfeffer,' also 'pfefferbrühe' or 'pfeffersauce.' Cf. English 'peppersauce.'

(*c*) ———.

(3) A brine containing spices for pickling fish, game, and very fat meat, especially hare, mutton, goose, and pork; for example, 'einen hasen in pfeffer einmachen.' The period of pickling varies: in Silesia over night, in Hesse one or two days, in Bavaria four to eight days. (*Silesia, Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Switzerland, Hesse.*)

(4) The process: to *pepper, pfeffern, einpfeffern.*

(*a*) To strew or season with pepper.

(*b*) To strew or rub with pepper, etc., as a means of preserving: *gepfefferte würste, gepfefferte häringe, eingepfefferte melonen.*

(5) (*a*) The thing pickled according to 4: *hasenpfeffer, gänsepfeffer; pfeffergurke,* etc. Also the thing otherwise made with pepper = *pfefferwurst* etc.

(*b*) ———.

(6) Figuratively:—

(*a*) = 'pungent' in *pepperroot* etc., cf. *kippernut.*

(*b*) = uncomfortable situation: *in den pfeffer geraten; er liegt* (or *sitzt*) *im pfeffer; aus dem pfeffer laufen; einen aus dem pfeffer helfen.*

All these meanings the word *pepper, pfeffer*, still has in High-German territory. In the North and in England the byforms *pekel, pökel, pickle* and *kepper, kipper, kippel* have relieved it of some of its burden. It was natural that the original thing, the pepper itself, should retain the more original form of the word. The dealers were familiar with it in bills and orders and they and, in many cases, their customers could see the word daily in distinct letters on the front of the pepper drawer or can. The corrupted forms, therefore, attached themselves to the home preparations and

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Þarfor he wold him sett to lare;
And sone he gert bifor him come
Seuen maister*s* Þat war in Rome.
Þe tale vs telles who to it tentes
Þat Þai couth all Þe seuen scientes.
And sone, when Þai war eft*er* sent,
Hastily to Þe court Þai went.
Þai come bifor Þe Emp*er*oure,
And hailsed him w*ith* gret honoure
He said, 'lordynges, takes entent,
A*n*d sese whi I eft*er* yhow sent,
For yhe er wysest men of lare,
Þat in Þis world yhit eu*er* ware.
My son I will yhe haue forÞi,
To mak him conand in clergy;
And I will Þat yhe teche him euen
Þe sotelte of science seuen;
And all yho*ur* wisdom *and* yho*ur* wytt,
Mi will es Þat yhe teche him itt.
Whilk of yhow now will him haue,
And fullfyll Þis Þat I craue?'
Maist*er* Bancillas spak Þan,
For of Þam was he oldest man;
Lene he was *and* allso lang,
And mast gentyll man Þam omang;
Full p*er*fytely he couth his partes,
And sadly of all Þe seuen artes.
'Sir,' he sayd, 'tak me Þi son,
Full mykell thank I will Þe kon,
And trewly I sall teche him Þan
Of clergy more Þan any man.
Þat dar I vndertak Þe here
W*ith*in Þe space of seuen yhere.'
When Þis was sayd, he held his pese;
And Þan said maist*er* Anxilles,
(He was a man metelyest,

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And of eld als him semed best,
Of sexty wynter *and* no mare,
And als he was full wise of lare):
'Sir, tak me þi son,' he said,
'And þou sall hald þe full wele payd;
I sall him lere full ryght *and* rathe,
þat I kan and my felows bathe.
I vndertak he sall it lere
*With*in þe space of sex yhere.'
Þe thred maister was lytell man,
Faire of chere *and* whyte als swan;
His hare was white *and* nothing broune,
And he hight maister Lentilioune.
He spak vnto þe Emperoure,
'Tak me þi son, sir, p*ar*amoure,
And I sall teche him full trewly
All maner of clergy
þat any man leres in þis lyue,
*With*in þe terme of yheres fyue.'
(fol. 109ᵇ) [Þe][1] ferth maister a red man was,
And his name was Malquidras;
Of fyfty wynter was he ald,
Quaynt of hand *and* of spech bald.
Him thoght skorn *and* gret hething,
þat þai made swa gret rosyng.
'Sir,' he said, 'I sall tell þe,
Mi felows witt falles noght to me;
Ne of þair wisdome, on none wyse,
Will I mak no m*ar*chandyse.
Bot, sir, þi son vnto me take,
And I sall teche him for þi sake,
Þe science of Astronomy,
þat falles to þe sternes of þe sky,
And other sex science allswa,

[1] þe is no longer there.

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In foure yhere *with*outen ma.'
Þe fyft maist*er* was wise of dome,
And he was cald Caton of rome;
He made þe buke of Caton clere,
Þat es bigynyng of Gramere.
He carped loud vnto þe kyng,
'Sir, tak þi son to my techyng,
I wald noght he desayued ware,
Bot I ne knaw noght my felows lare.
Bot for to lere him I warand,
Als mykell als he may vnderstand,
And als his wyttes wele may bere[1]
Forthermare dar I noght say,
So *þat* in tyme of seuen yhere
He sall be wise *with*outen were.'
Þe sext maist*er* rayse vp onane,
Þe fairest man of þam ilkane
Iesse was his name, godote,
*With*outen faut fro heued to fote,
His hare was blayk *and* nothing broune;
With eghen faire als a fawkoune.
'Sir,' he said, 'if þi will were,
Tak þi son to me at lere.
I sall him teche *with* hert fre,
So þat *with*in yheres thre,
Sall he be so wise of lare,
Þat yhe sall thank me eu*er*mare.'

II.[2]

Variant readings of the *Avis* story.

MS. Rawlinson fol. 122.[b]

2420[3] It hanged] And it hynged
2455 And thar] þare

[1] So the MS.
[2] Cp. Petras, p. 56.
[3] The numbering of the lines is that of Petras.

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2462 leuyng] leuenyng
2465 cache] kage
2474 ester] efter
2477 and night] þe nyght
2478 shoke] hir schoke
2479–80 þat scho had neuer so euell rest
Sen scho come out of hir nest.
2492 leuenings] leuenyng
2513 was] war
2515 to knaw] we knaw
2516 of hy] o sky
2520 lok] toke
2525 the ledder] þat ledder
2526 He had] And had
2533 was gude] well gud
2534 his wife] þe wife
2538 his soth] hir soth
2547 moght] mot.

III.[1]

3915 With reuerence *and* with gret honoure.
3927 bren] brent
3933 he sayd] he had sayd
3935 efter] men efter
3939 soth] als soth
3957 gandes] gaudes[2]
3963 al the gilt] þe gylt
3973 Sir] sirs.

[1] Cp. Weber, III, p. 149.

[2] These variants from the printed texts exceed in number the real variants from the MSS. According to Dr. Killis Campbell's copies and collations of the MSS. the variants noticed by Professor Napier in 2420, 2455, 2462, 2474, 2478, 2479–80, 2492, 2515, 2516, 2520, 2525, 2534, and 2538 are to be attributed to the faults of Petras's text of the *Avis;* and Weber's text is to be held accountable for the variants 3927, 3939, and 3957. This note is added with the kind permission of Professor Napier.—J. W. B.

ARTHUR S. NAPIER.

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XV.—ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ITALIAN: THE TITLES OF SUCH WORKS NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND ARRANGED, WITH ANNOTATIONS.

IV. MISCELLANEA.

Introduction.

In 1894, while preparing my doctor's thesis at Yale University, on the subject, "*The Elizabethan Drama, especially in its Relations to the Italians of the Renaissance,*" I began to study the Italian sources of the English dramatic poetry of the age of Elizabeth. Many of the plays are dramatized versions of *novelle*, which, in translation, were so popular at that time. But I soon found that romantic fiction by no means exhausted the treasure-trove of Renaissance literature upon which the great dramatists drew so largely, both for their matter and their inspiration. Italian discovery, history, science, manners, music, all that Italy had so abundantly contributed to the general stock of intellectual wealth, was becoming more and more familiar to the eager, open, impressionable minds of Elizabethan Englishmen, and almost everything of importance that appeared in France and Spain was sooner or later pressed into the service of English genius. So I purposely set aside the main subject of my inquiry, the Italian sources of Elizabethan plays, until I had made a collection, as complete as possible, of all the translations from the Italian during the Elizabethan period, understanding by that, the entire cycle of the great drama, approximately from the accession of Edward VI. to the Restoration, from 1549 to 1660. With this paper, Part IV, I now complete the bibliography. Part I, comprising 70 numbers, on "Romances in Prose," will be found in the *Publications of the Modern*

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Language Association, Vol. x, No. 2, June, 1895; Part II, 82 numbers on "Poetry, Plays, and Metrical Romances," *Ibid.*, Vol. xi, No. 4, December, 1896; and Part III, 111 titles on 'Miscellaneous Translations,' *Ibid.*, Vol. xiii, No. 1, January, 1898. The present paper, an account of 139 translations, is the second half of Part III, and as that dealt with religion and theology, science and the arts, grammars and dictionaries, and proverbs, so this instalment of Miscellanea treats of voyages and discovery, history and politics, manners and morals, and Italian and Latin publications in England. The whole bibliography, corrected to date, consists of 411 translations, representing a total of 219 English translators, and 223 Italian authors.

The two hundred and nineteen Englishmen include, directly or indirectly, every considerable writer of the period. Bacon is not here, but his friend, Sir Toby Matthew, the most 'Italianated' Englishman of his time, translates the *Moral Essays* into Italian, and dedicates them to Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, eulogizing his lifelong friend for "having all the thoughts of that large heart of his set upon adorning the age in which he lives, and benefitting as far as possible the whole human race." Shakspere is not here, but Shakspere is the soul of the romantic drama, and the English romantic drama not only went to Italian literature for its subjects, but it borrowed from the Italian drama much of its machinery, the chorus, the echo, the play within the play, the dumb show, the ghosts of great men as Prologue, apparatus in general, and physical horrors *ad terrorem*. The stories of fourteen Shaksperean dramas are found in Italian fiction, and several other plays contain suggestions from it. The list of Italian authors includes practically every notable Italian writer of the Renaissance, on all sorts of subjects.

Of the foreign influences that shaped Elizabethan literature, unquestionably the Italian was the greatest. In discovery and commerce, Columbus was merely the last of a long line of Italian navigators, who, in the service of the western nations,

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sailed into distant and unknown seas. In history, translations of the great vernacular Italian historians, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and Cardinal Bentivoglio, prepared the way for our English Hall, Grafton, Stow, and Holinshed. In politics, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Monmouth, and James Howell, follow in the footsteps of Malvezzi, Father Paul, Botero, and Paruta. Philosophy, through the intrepid spirit of Bruno, cast off forever the shackles of scholasticism to enter upon its inheritance from antiquity, and it was the England of Elizabeth that permitted Bruno to speak. The Italian astronomers reveal the secrets of the skies, and Milton, travelling in Italy, seeks out and visits, at Arcetri, the greatest of them, "the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought." Teofilo Folengo, Trajano Boccalini, Paolo Giovio, and Poggio-Bracciolini, helped at least to make known to the more sombre English the sunny smile of humor and the rapier thrust of wit. In manners, the Italians of the 16th century had all Europe for their pupils. Della Casa's *Galateo* is a graceful and intelligent guide to good manners to this day, and *Il Cortigiano* is a classic, the best book on manners that has ever been written. It was the fashion for young Englishmen of family to finish their education by the tour to Italy, and many of the translators are these 'Italianated' travellers, Crashaw, Daniel, Greene, Drummond, Gascoigne, Howell, and Milton.

In the *Courtyer*, a knowledge of music is said to be necessary for the well-bred gentleman, and Venice, which was the Paris of that time, was the most musical city in Italy. So we find the Elizabethan lutanists and madrigalists both travellers and imitators of Italian musicians. John Dowland, in the Epistle prefixed to his *First Book of Songs or Airs*, refers with pride to the encouragement he had received from Luca Marenzio and Giovanni Croce. Thomas Oliphant, in *La Musa Madrigalesca*, accuses Thomas Morley of barefaced

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plagiarisms from the *madrigali* of Felice Anerio and the *ballate* of Gastoldi. In the preface to Part II. I suggested that a study of the relation between the Elizabethan lutanists and Italian madrigal writers might throw considerable light on the lyrical quality of Elizabethan dramatic poetry. For some one who knows both historical music and the Italian poetry of the Renaissance, I feel sure that there is something of value to be learned from John Dowland, John Wilbye, best of English madrigalists, John Ward, John Hilton, Thomas Weelkes, organist successively of Winchester College and of Chichester Cathedral, and from other Elizabethan composers.

Nor was all the travel in one direction. Bruno, Vanini, Vermigli, Ochino, and Michelangelo Florio found refuge in Protestant England. Other Italians came over as teachers of various arts. Vincentio Saviolo taught fencing and suggested the immortal Touchstone. Charles I. employed Orazio de' Gentileschi (Orazio Lomi) and his daughter, Artemisia, both painters, to decorate his palace at Greenwich. Girolamo Cardano visited Edward VI. in a medical capacity, and left an account of his impressions of the young king which is extremely favorable, and all the more valuable because it comes from a competent and disinterested observer.

It is really wonderful how familiarly Italian and things Italian were known in England in Elizabeth's time. I question whether any foreign vogue, before or since, ever took such hold upon English society. Pietro Bizarri, the historian, said of Queen Elizabeth, "she is a perfect mistress of our Italian tongue," and we read how in her last illness the great Queen turned wearily away from matters of state to listen with charm to the *Hundred Merry Tales*. The Portuguese ambassador habitually corresponded with Sir Francis Walsingham in Italian, and among the State Papers of the period Italian letters are not at all uncommon. We see here Cecil issuing political papers in Italian, as well as in English and Latin.

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My next paper will essay to bring together the Elizabethan dramas that are Italian in source, or scene, or direct suggestion. The whole cycle of the drama, within the limits of this bibliography, consists, roughly speaking, and including all sorts of representations, of upwards of 1500 plays, masques, pageants, and shows. Of these about one-half have survived. My studies of these surviving 700 or so plays show nearly 300 that hark back to Italy. If imitative plays, or plays of remote suggestion be included, the number of 'Italianated' dramas would be still greater. For example, Mr. Courthope, in his *History of English Poetry*, argues ably, and, to my mind, conclusively, that Marlowe produced his great plays under the spell of Machiavelli. Peele also wrote under the Italian spell. Perhaps some one some day may find the names of Marlowe and Peele among the English students of the University of Padua. Elze says that students representing twenty-three different nations thronged to Padua towards the close of the 16th century, and that not a few Englishmen were among them.

I have many friends to thank for encouragement and suggestions during the progress of this work. They will appreciate with me a thought from that most charming of books, Anatole France's *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*,—

"I opened a book which I began to read with interest, for it was a catalogue of manuscripts. I do not know any reading more easy, more fascinating, more delightful, than that of a catalogue."

a. Voyages and Discovery.

1555. *The [three] Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste riche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the Kinges of Spayne. . . . Written in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated*

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into Englysshe by R. [ichard] Eden. (The hystorie of the Weste Indies, wrytten by Gonzalus Ferdinandus.—A discourse of the marvelous vyage made by the Spanyardes rounde aboute the worlde, gathered owt of a large booke wrytten hereof by master A. [ntonio] Pygafetta.—The debate and stryfe betwene the Spanyardes and Portugales, for the division of the Indies and the trade of Spices and also for the Ilands of Molucca .... by J. Lopez de Gomara. [Francisco López de Gómara].—Of Moscovie and Cathay.—The historie written in the latin toonge by P. Jovius .... of the legation or ambassade of greate Basilius Prince of Moscovia to pope Clement the vij. Other notable thynges as touchynge the Indies. Of the generation of metalles and their mynes with the maner of fyndinge the same: written in the Italian tounge by Vannuccius Biringuczius [Vannuccio Biringuccio]. Description of two viages made owt of England into Guinea .... in .... M. D. L. III.).

R. Jug. *In aedibus Guilhelmi* Powell, London, 1555. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*, (3 copies).

Francisco López de Gómara, 1519–1560, was chaplain to Hernán Cortés, *El Conquistador*. He wrote *Conquista de Méjico*.

González Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, 1478–1557, was once secretary to the Great Captain. His *Historia general y natural de Indias* was published at Salamanca in 1535, folio.

Peter Martyr, Pietro Martire, of Anghiera, by Lago Maggiore, was a member of the Council of the Indies, and secretary to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to the Emperor Charles V., and also the friend and correspondent of Columbus. It is said that Pope Leo X. sat up all night to read the *Decades*, so keen was the curiosity and the sense of wonder roused by the tales of the returning voyagers from the new world.

See *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies*, 1577, and *Of F. Magalianes .... The Occasion of his Voyage*, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. 1625.

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1577. *Of the viages of . . . . S.* [*ebastian*] *C.* [*abot*]. See Anglerius, P. M.

The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, etc. 1577. 4to. *British Museum.*

1577. *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying eyther way, towardes the fruitfull and ryche Molluccaes. As Moscouia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Aegypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and Giapan: With a discourse of the Northwest passage. . . . Gathered in parte, and done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly set in order, augmented, and finished by Richarde Willes.*

Imprinted at London by Richarde Jugge. 1577. *Cum Priuilegio.* 4to. Black letter. *Huth. British Museum,* (4 copies).

Dedicated, by Richarde Willes, to "The Lady Brigit, Countesse of Bedforde, my singuler good Lady and Mystresse."

This is a new edition of Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's, "*The Decades of the newe worlde or west India.*" 1555. 4to. Two additions to the work are, "*The Voyages of the Spanyards round about the worlde,*" translated from the relations of Maximilianus Transylvanus and Ant. Pigafetta, *Il viaggio fatti dagli Spagnivoli atorno a'l Mondo,* and *An Abridgement of P. Martyr his 5. 6. 7. and 8. Decades.*

The Chevalier Francisco Antonio Pigafetta, of Vicenza, "for to see the marvels of the ocean," accompanied Ferdinand Magellan [Fernão de Magalhaes] in his circumnavigation of the globe, from September, 1519 to September, 1522. He was one of the eighteen survivors (out of some 280 men) of that splendid feat of navigation, and a journal kept by him during the three years

Of moving accidents by flood and field

is our chief source of information as to the first voyage around the earth.

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It is more than likely that Shakspere had read Pigafetta's journal in Eden's *History of Trauayle*, for he takes from it the name of Caliban's god, Setebos [Tempest, i. 2. and v. 1]. While the ships were wintering at Port St. Julian, Patagonia, 1520, Magellan captured two of the Patagonians "by deceyte by loading them with presents and then causing shackels of iren to be put on theyr legges, makynge signes that he wold also giue them those chaynes; but they begunne to doubte, and when at last they sawe how they were deceaued they rored lyke bulles and cryed uppon theyr greate deuyll Setebos to helpe them."

1577. *A briefe description of Moscovia, after the later writers, as S. Münster* [*Sebastian Muenster*], *and J. Gastaldus* [*Jacopo Gastaldi*].

See Anglerius, P. M., *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, etc. 1577. 4to.

1577. *Certaine reportes of the province of China, learned . . . . chiefly by the relation of G. P.* [*Galeotto Perera*]. . . . *Done out of Italian into Engylyshe by R. W.* [*illes*].

See Eden, R., "*The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*," etc. 1577. 4to.

1580. *A Shorte and briefe narration of the Two Nauigations and Discoueries to the North-weast partes called Newe Fraunce: First translated out of French into Italian by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned into English by John Florio*, etc.

H. Bynneman. London. 1580. 4to. Pp. 80. Black letter. *British Museum. Huth.*

Dedicated to "Edmund Bray, Esq., High Sheriff of Oxfordshire," and "To all Gentlemen Merchants and Pilots." At the end occurs,—"Here endeth the second Relation of James Carthiers [Jacques Cartier] discouerie & navigation to the newe founde Lande, by him named 'New Fraunce,' translated out of Italian into Englishe by I. F."

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The original French work based on Cartier's notes is, *Brief Récit de la navigation faite ès isles de Canada, Hochelage, Saguenay et autres.*

Paris. 1545, et Rouen. 1598. 8vo. 1863. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The Italian translation from the French used by Florio is in the third volume of the third edition of Ramusio's *Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venice. 1565.

Primo volume, & terza editione delle Navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da M. G. B. Ramusio & con . . . . discorsi, da lui . . . . dichiarato & illustrato. Nel quale si contengono la descrittione dell' Africa & del paese del Prete Janui, con varij viaggi, etc. (*Secondo volume . . . . in questa nuova editione accresciuto, etc. Terzo volume, etc.*) 3 vol.

Venetia, nella stamperia de Giunti, 1563–74–65. Folio. *British Museum.*

Jacques Cartier was sent out to Canada by King Francis I., and made his first voyage during the summer of 1534. The second voyage was made in 1535–6 when the navigator wintered in New France. Hochelaga was the name of an Iroquois village which he found on the site of Montreal. Ramusio's third volume contains a two-page pictorial plan of the town of Hochelaga, and a general map of the New World in a hemisphere.

1582. *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Ilands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons: with two mappes annexed heereunto.* [*By R. H., i. e. Richard Hakluyt.*]

(T. Dawson,) for T. Woodcocke: London. 1582. 4to. 2 pts. Black letter. *British Museum.*

Between the title and sig. A there are five leaves containing "The names of certaine late travaylers," etc.; "A very late and great probabilitie of a passage by the Northwest part of America," and the "Epistle dedicatorie" to "Master

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Phillip Sydney, Esquire." One of the maps is also dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney by Michael Lok.

1582. *Discoverie of the isles of Frisland &c. by N. Z.* [*Nicolò Zeno*] *and Antonio his brother.*

See, Richard Hakluyt, *Divers voyages*, etc. 1582. 4to. *British Museum.*

The discouerie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria: made by two brethren, namely M. Nicholas Zeno, and M. Antonio his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino.

The Voyages of The English Nation to America, before the year 1600, from Haklyyt's Collection of Voyages (1598–1600). Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. Edinburgh. 1889. Vol. I. P. 274.

The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century. [Translated, for the Hakluyt Society, by Richard Henry Major]. London. 1873.

The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic About the end of Fourteenth Century, and the Claim founded thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America. A Criticism and an Indictment. By Fred. W. Lucas. 50 copies. *Édition de luxe.* London, Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles. 1898. 4to. Pp. 233 and 18 facsimile maps.

The Zeno family was one of the most distinguished in Venice, furnishing during the 13th and 14th centuries a doge, several senators and members of the Council of Ten, and military commanders of ability and renown.

The adventures of the two Zeni in the North Atlantic are related in six letters, two from Nicolò Zeno, known as "the Chevalier," to his brother, Antonio, a third, presumably addressed to some other member of the family, and three letters written by Antonio, after he had joined Nicolò, to a third brother, Carlo, called, for his success in the war against Genoa, "the Lion of St. Mark." The voyages were made

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about 1390–1405, and the narrative was first published in 1558, by Nicolò Zeno, the younger, a member of the Council of Ten, and great-great-great-grandson of Antonio.

In brief, the letters relate how Nicolò, the Chevalier, sailing from Venice around to the North of Europe, was caught in a storm and wrecked on one of the Faeroe islands. About to be murdered by the natives, he was rescued by a great chieftain, who, recognizing the rank and nautical skill of the stranger, gave him a post of authority in the national fleet. This chieftain has been identified as Henry Sinclair, Earl of the Orkneys and Caithness. Nicolò persuaded Antonio to join him, and together they undertook various expeditions, one of which carried them a long distance to an island in the western ocean. The name of this island suggests Greenland, but the description fits Iceland. Nicolò's health was broken by the cold of the western island, and he died soon after his return to the Faeroes, probably in 1395.

Antonio Zeno and Earl Sinclair made another voyage westward, somewhere about 1400, "but, the wind changing to the southwest, the sea therefore becoming rough, the fleet ran before the wind for four days, and at last land was discovered." In returning to the Faeroes from this country, Zeno sailed steadily eastward for 20 days, and then for five days towards the southeast, seeing no land for the whole five and twenty days. The basis of the Venetian discovery of America rests upon the assumption that this land, upon which Antonio Zeno left Earl Sinclair to found a city, was Greenland. This is the conclusion of Richard Henry Major, who translated the Zeno narrative for the Hakluyt Society, and it is accepted by John Fiske in his *Discovery of America.*

1582. *Relation of J. Verrazano of the land discovered by him.*

See R. H. (Richard Hakluyt), *Divers voyages*, etc. 1582. 4to. *British Museum.*

The relation of John de Verrazano a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name of his Maiestie [*King Francis I.*]. *Written at Diepe the eight of July, 1524.*

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See *The Voyages of The English Nation to America. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and Edited by Edmund Goldsmid.* Edinburgh, 1889, Vol. II, 389.

Verrazano sailed from Madeira, January 17, 1524, and having struck the east coast of America, sailed along it from about the 34th to the 54th parallel of latitude. At latitude "41 deg. and 2 tierces" he notes a haven which "lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelve leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are five small Islands very fruitful and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Nauie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Hauen on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the Sea." This describes New York harbor and the Hudson river, eighty-three years before Henry Hudson made his voyage up the North River in the Half-Moon.

1588. *The Voyage and Travaile: of M. C. Frederick, [Cesare Federici], merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained very pleasant and rare matters, with the customes and rites of those Countries. Also, heerein are discovered the Merchandises and commodities of those Countreyes, aswell the aboundaunce of Goulde and Silver, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles and other Jewelles. Written at sea in the Hercules of London. . . . Out of Italian by T. [homas] H. [ickock].*

R. Jones and E. White, London, 1588. 4to. *British Museum* (2 copies).

See R. Hakluyt. *The principal navigations*, etc. Vol. 2. Pt. 1, 1598, etc. Folio.

1589. *The principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or over Land . . . . within*

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the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: Devided into three . . . . parts, according to the positions of the Regions wherunto they were directed. . . . Whereunto is added the last most renowned English Navigation [viz. Sir Francis Drake's] *round the . . . . Earth.* [Nov. 15, 1577–Nov. 3, 1580.]

G. Bishop and R. Newberie, Deputies to C. Barker, London, 1589. Folio. *British Museum* (2 copies). Also, London, 1598–1600. Folio. B. L. *British Museum* (5 copies).

This book, in one volume, small folio, is the germ of the later edition of Hakluyt, 1598–1600, with a title almost identical, but enlarged to three volumes. Hakluyt's *Voyages* has been called the "great Elizabethan bible of adventure." Besides furnishing English versions of Italian and Spanish discoveries, it recounted for Englishmen the undying story of their own great navigators; of Sir Hugh Willoughby, found frozen in his cabin, his hand resting on his journal over this entry as to the fate of his crew: "In this haven they died;" of Sir Humphry Gilbert vanishing with his little bark into the darkness and the unknown with the words on his lips, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land;" of Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Richard Grenville, and Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake.

1597. *A Reporte of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Africa. And of the Countries that border rounde about the same. 1. Wherein is also shewed that the two Zones, Torrida & Frigida, are not onely habitable, but inhabited, and very temperate, contrary to the opinion of the olde Philosophers. 2. That the blacke colour which is in the skinnes of the Ethiopians & Negroes &c. proceedeth not from the Sunne. 3. And that the Riuer Nilus springeth not out of the mountains of the Moone, as hath beene heretofore beleeued: Together with the true cause of the rysing and increase thereof. 4. Besides the description of diuers plantes, Fishes and Beastes, that are founde in those Countries. Drawen out of the writinges and discourses of Odoardo Lopes* [*Duarte Lopes*] *a Portingall, by Philippo Pigafetta. Translated out of Italian by Abraham Hartwell.*

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London. Printed by John Wolfe. 1597. 4to. *Huth. British Museum*, (4 copies).

Reprinted in *Purchas his Pilgrimes, The Second Part.* 1625. Bk. VII, Ch. IIII, p. 986. *British Museum. Peabody.* Also, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels.* 1745. Vol. II.

This work is a translation of Filippo Pigafetta's *Relatione del Reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade tratta dalli scritti & ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez Portoghese. Con dissegni varie di Geografia, di piante, d'habiti, d'animali & altro. In Roma Appresso Bartolomeo Grassi.* [1591.] 4to.

In a prefatory address to the reader, Hartwell states that he was urged to make the translation by Richard Hakluyt, who, he says, gave him a copy of Pigafetta, "intreating me very earnestly, that I would take him with me, and make him English: for he could report many pleasant matters that he sawe in his pilgrimage, which are indeed uncouth and almost incredible to this part of Europe." So, he goes on, "I brought him away with mee. But within two houres conference I found him nibling at two most honourable Gentlemen of England, [Drake and Cavendish] whome in plaine tearmes he called Pirates: so that I had much adoo to hold my hands from renting of him into many mo peeces, than his Cosen Lopez the Doctor was quartered."

1600. *A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian by John Leo a More [by Ḥasan Ibn. Muḥammad Al-Wazzān Al Fāsi, afterwards Giovanni Leone Africano]. . . . Before which . . . . is prefixed a generall description of Africa, and . . . . a particular treatise of all the . . . . lands . . . . undescribed by J. Leo. And after the same is annexed a relation of the great Princes, and the manifold religions in that part of the world. Translated and collected by J. [ohn] Pory.*

Impensis G. Bishop, Londini, 1600. Folio. *British Museum,* (Grenville Library).

Reprinted by Purchas, *Observations of Africa taken out*

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of John Leo his nine Bookes, translated by Master Pory. Purchas his Pilgrimes. Pt. 2. 1625. Lib. vi, Ch. i, §§ i–ix, pp. 749–851. Folio. *British Museum.*

Giovanni Leone's work was first written in Arabic, and then translated into Italian, Latin, French, English, Dutch, and German. The Italian title reads, *Descrittione dell Africa & delle cose notabili che ivi sono.* It was published by Ramusio, in his

Primo Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrittione dell' Africa, e del Paese del Prete Ianui, con varii viaggi, dal Mar Rosso à Calicut, et infin all' Isole Molucche . . . . et la Navigatione attorno il Mondo. [*Edited by G. B. Ramusio.*]

Gli Heredi di Lucantonio Giunta. Venetia. 1550. Folio. *British Museum.*

1601. *The Travellers Breviat, or an historical description of the most famous Kingdomes in the World. Translated into English* [*by R. J. i. e. Robert Johnson*].

E. Bollifant for J. Jaggard. London. 1601. 4to. *British Museum.*

This is a translation of a part of Giovanni Botero's *Le Relationi Universali.* Rome. 1591. 4to.

The *Relationi Universali* was a very popular book, frequently reprinted. It treats of the situation and resources of each state of Europe, and of the causes of its greatness and power. The author, Giovanni Botero Benese, *abbate di S. Michele della Chiusa,* was secretary to S. Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan.

See *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Commonweales thorough the world.* 1608.

1603. *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo. Wherein is delivered as well a full and perfect Report of the might and power of Mahomet the third, Great Emperour of the Turkes now raigning . . . . as also a true description of divers Peoples,*

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Countries, Cities, and Voyages, which are most necessarie to bee knowen, especially at this time of the present Warre in Hungarie. Translated out of Italian into English by A. Hartwell.

J. Windet. London. 1603. 4to. *Bodleian. British Museum.*

Translated from the Italian by Abraham Hartwell the younger, and dedicated by him to Archbishop Whitgift. A chance question of the Archbishop's about Turkish "Bassaes and Visiers" led to the translation.

1608. *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Commonweales thorough the world. Discoursing of their Scituations, Manners, Customes, Strengthes and Pollicies. Translated into English and enlarged with an addition of the estates of Saxony, Geneva, Hungary, and the East Indies, etc.*

London. 1608. 4to. *British Museum.*

Relations of the most famous Kingdomes and Commonwealths thorowout the World. . . . Translated out of the . . . . Italian of Boterus . . . . by R. [obert] J. [ohnson]. Now . . . . inlarged according to moderne observations; With Addition of new Estates and Countries . . . . unto which a Mappe of the . . . . World, with a Table of the Countries, are now newly added.

John Haviland. London. 1630. 4to. *British Museum.*

A translation of Giovanni Botero's popular geographical work, *Le Relationi Universali.* Rome. 1591. 4to.

See *The Travellers Breviat.* 1601.

1612. *De Nouo Orbe, or The Historie of the west Indies, Contayning the actes and aduentures of the Spanyardes, which haue conquered and peopled those Countries, inriched with varietie of pleasant relation of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Gouernments, and Warres of the Indians. Comprised in eight Decades. Written by Peter Martyr Millanoise of Angleria, Cheife Secretary to the Emperour Charles the fift, one of his Priuie Councell. Whereof three, haue beene formerly translated*

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into English, by R. Eden, whereunto the other fiue, are newly added by the Industrie, and painefull Trauaile of M. Lok Gent.

In the handes of the Lord are all the corners of the earth. Psal. 95.

London. Printed for Thomas Adams. 1612. 4to. *Huth.*

A later edition, without date, London, [1620?] 4to. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Sir Julius Caesar, Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is the first complete edition of the eight decades in English.

1625. *Purchas his Pilgrimes. In fiue bookes. The first, containing the voyages . . . . made by ancient Kings, ... and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne world,* etc. 4 pts.

W. Stansby for H. Fetherstone, London, 1625. Folio. *British Museum,* (4 copies).

The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives this title,—

Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land-Trauells by Englishmen and others.

Purchas modelled his book on Hakluyt and repeats some of his material, but the likeness between a good book and a poor one ends at this point.

1625. *Extracts of C. F.* [*Cesare Federici*] *his eighteene yeeres Indian Observations.*

See *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* etc. Pt. 2. 1625. Folio. *British Museum. Peabody.*

The Voyage and Travaile of M. C. Frederick was rendered into English, in 1588, by Thomas Hickock, who describes his work on the title-page as "Written at sea in the Hercules of London."

1625. *Of F. Magalianes* [*Fernão da Magalhães*]*: The Occasion of his Voyage. . . . Gathered out of A. Pigafetta,* etc.

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See *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, etc. 1625. Folio. Part 1. See, also, *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies*, 1577.

1625. *The Relation of G. P.* [*Galeotto Perera*] .... *that lay prisoner in China.*

See *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, etc. Pt. 3. 1625. Folio. See, also, *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies.* 1577.

1625. *Indian Observations gathered out of the Letters of N. P.* [*Nicolò Pimenta*].

See *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, etc. Pt. 2. 1625. Folio.

1625. *The first Booke of .... M. P.* [*Marco Polo*] .... *his Voyages.*

See *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, etc. Pt. 3. 1625. Folio.

Marco Polo, 1254 (?)–1324, was of an aristocratic Venetian family which had a commercial house in Constantinople. In 1271, then a lad of seventeen, he accompanied his uncles, Nicolò and Maffeo, on their second trading journey to Cathay, at that time under the rule of the great Kublai Khan, grandson of the all-conquering Jenghis. Young Marco became proficient in speaking and writing Asiatic languages, and the Chinese annals of the year 1277 mention him as a commissioner of the privy council. He remained in Kublai's service until 1292, when, in company with his uncles, he set out to return, arriving in Venice in 1295. Two years later, during a war between Venice and Genoa, he was taken prisoner, and held in durance for about a year. One of his companions in captivity was a certain Rusticiano, of Pisa, a compiler of French romances. Rusticiano was so charmed with Marco's tales of his adventures in Asia, that he wrote them down, not in Italian, but in French. The Italian version was prepared by G. B. Ramusio, and published in the second volume of his *Navigationi e Viaggi.* Some 80 MSS. of Marco Polo are known.

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The Book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East is one of the most famous books of the Middle Ages. Although some of the 'marvels' were stories of the fabulous kingdom of Prester John, and of the "one-eyed Arimaspians," still during his four and twenty years of travel Marco had learned more about the geography of the earth than any other traveller before his time. He was the first to describe the great empire of China, and he knew, or knew of, Thibet, Burmah, Siam, Cochin China, the Indian Archipelago, Java, Sumatra, Andaman, Hindustan, Japan, Siberia, Zanzibar, and Madagascar. Up to the close of the 13th century, the known geography of the world comprised Europe, with a fringe of Asia and Africa. It is no wonder that to Marco's contemporaries his sober statements of fact read like a fairy tale, or a romance of chivalry.

1625. *A Discourse of the Kingdome of China, taken out of Ricius* [*Matteo Ricci*] *and Trigautius.*

See *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, etc. Pt. 3. 1625. Folio.

Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610, was an Italian Jesuit, who founded Christian missions in China. He adopted the Chinese dress, and taught Christianity in conformity with the general principles of morals he found prevalent among the Chinese. He wrote numerous works, in Chinese, on moral subjects, and on geography, geometry, and arithmetic. In the Chinese annals he is called Li-ma-teu. Ricci's pleasant way of living on friendly terms with mandarins, and learned men, and his liberality of m nd in accepting the moral truths of Buddhism, were displeasing to the Dominicans. They accused him of heresy, and eventually the Jesuits were expelled from China. Browning alludes to the quarrel between the two orders in the *Ring and the Book*, x, *The Pope*, ll. 1589–1603:

> Five years since, in the Province of To-kien,
> Which is in China, as some people know,
> Maigrot, my Vicar Apostolic there,
> Having a great qualm, issues a decree.
> Alack, the converts use as God's name, not

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Tien-chu but plain *Tien*, or else mere *Shang-ti*,
As Jesuits please to fancy politic,
While, say Dominicans, it calls down fire,—
For *Tien* means heaven, and *Shang-ti*, supreme prince,
While *Tien-chu* means the lord of heaven: all cry,
"There is no business urgent for dispatch
As that thou send a legate, specially
Cardinal Tournon, straight to Pekin, there
To settle and compose the difference!"

1633. *Cochinchina. Containing many admirable Rarities and Singularities of that Countrey. Extracted out of an Italian Relation . . . . by C. [ristoforo] B. [arri] . . . . and published by R. [obert] Ashley.*

London. R. Raworth for R. Clutterbuck. 1633. 4to. *British Museum*, (3 copies.)

1873. *Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini. Translated from the Italian by William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI, and by S. A. Roy, Esq. And Edited, with an Introduction, by Lord Stanley of Alderley.*

London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. M.DCCC.LXXIII. 8vo. *Peabody.*

Dedicated to King Edward VI., by William Thomas,— . . . . "I have thought good to translate out of the Italian tonge this litell booke, written by a Venetian of good fame and memorie, who hath travailed many yeres in Tartarie and Persia, and hath had greate experience of those p'tes, as he doth sufficiently declare, which I determined to dedicate unto yo^{r} Ma^{tie} as unto him that I knowe is most desirouse of all vertuouse knowledge. Trusting to God yo^{u} shall longe lyve and reigne a most happie king over a blessed countrey, most humbly beseeching yo^{r} highnes to accept this poore newe yeres gift, being the worke of myne owne hande, as a token of the faithfull love that I am bounde to beare unto yo^{u} as well naturally as through the speciall goodnesse that I have founde in yo^{u}.

Yo^{r} Ma^{ts} most bounden Servant,
Willm. Thomas.

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The work is translated from Giosafat Barbaro's, *Viaggi [two] fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Costantinopoli: con la descrittione particolare di città, luoghi, siti, costumi, et della Porta del gran Turco: et di tutte le intrate, spese, et modo di gouerno suo, et della ultima impresa contra Portoghesi. [Edited by A. [ntonio] M. [anuzio].*

Nelle case de Figliuoli di Aldo: Vinegia. 1543. 8vo. Pp. 180. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Barbaro states that he set out, in the year 1436, for Tana, "wheare for the most parte I contynewed the space of XVI yeres, and haue compassed all those cuntreys as well by sea as by lande not only wth diligence, but in maner curiousely."

Of the second voyage, he gives this account,—"During the warres between our most excellent Signoria and Ottomano, the year 1471, I, being a man, used to travaile, and of experience amongst barbarouse people, and willing also to serue o^{r} foresaid most excellent Signoria, was sent awaie wth thambassado^{r} of Assambei, King of Persia: who was come to Venice to compfort the Signoria to folowe the warres against the said Ottomanno."

Ramusio interpolates a note in Barbaro's last paragraph which fixes the final date,—"I finished the writing on the 21st December, 1487."

The translation of Ambrogio Contarini is a contemporary one, made by Mr. Roy of the British Museum.

For an account of William Thomas, see his III. Miscellaneous Translations. *The Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar.* 1550.

b. History and Politics.

[1550?] *The History of Herodian . . . . treating of the Romayne Emperors after Marcus, translated oute of Greeke into Latin by Angelus Politianus, and out of Latin into Englysche by N. [icholas] Smyth. Whereunto are annexed, the Argumentes of euery Booke, ... with Annotations, etc.*

W. Coplande. London. [1550?]. 4to. *British Museum.*

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The Greek text of *Herodian*, with Politian's Latin translation, appeared at Basle, in 1535.

The *British Museum* contains a copy of the original, dated 1568,—

Herodiani historiae de imperio post Marcum, vel de suis temporibus e Graeco translatae A. [ngelo] Politiano interprete. It is in Volume II of *Varii Historiae Romanae scriptores, partim Graeci partim Latini, in unum velut corpus redacti. De rebus gestis ab urbe condita, usque ad Imperii Constantonopolin translati tempora . . . . . [By H. Stephanus?] 4 vols.*

H. Stephanus. [Geneva?]. 1568. 8vo.

The history of Herodian extends from the death of Marcus Aurelius, March 17, 180, to 233, A. D., and includes the reigns of the Emperors Commodus, Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximin, the two Gordians, and Maximus and Balbinus.

1562. *Two very notable Commentaries, the one of the originall of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottommanno, written by A. Cambine, and thother of the warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg, ... and of the great victories obteyned by the said George. . . . . Translated oute of Italian into Englishe by I. Shute.*

Dedicated to the 'high Admirall,' Sir Edward Fynes. There is a long preface by the translator on discipline and soldiery.

B. Hall, for H. Toye, London, 1562. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

The first of these commentaries is a translation of Andrea Cambini's,—

Libro d'A. C. . . . della origine de Turchi et imperio delli Ottomanni. [*With a Prefatory Epistle by D. di Giunta.*]

Firenze. 1529. 12mo. *British Museum.*

The second commentary I have not met with. Shute says he does not know its author.

George Castriota, called Scanderbeg or Skanderbeg, from the Turkish Iskander Beg (Alexander Bey), was an Albanian

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chieftain who lived from 1403 to 1468. In his youth, his father, Ivan (John) Castriota, lord of Croya, a hereditary principality in Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea, sent him and his three brothers as hostages to the Ottoman Court. When John Castriota died, in 1443, the Sultan, Amurath II., decided to annex the principality to Turkey. But George Castriota returned to Albania, in 1444, proclaimed his independence, and resisted successfully for twenty-three years, both Amurath II. and his son Mohammed II., called the Conqueror.

Scanderbeg finally died a fugitive, at Lissus in the Venetian territory, and Albania (Epirus) was added to the Turkish empire.

Gibbon. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Vol. VI, pp. 360–4.

1563. *The Historie of Leonard Aretine, concerning the Warres betwene the Imperialls and the Gothes for the possession of Italy. Translated out of Latin . . . . by A.* [*rthur*] *Goldyng.*

London. Printed by Rouland Hall for G. Bucke, 1563. 8vo. Black letter. 180 leaves, besides an epistle and a preface. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Sir William Cecil, in whose family Golding was living.

A translation of *Leonardi Aretini de bello Italico adversus Gotthos.*

Nicolaus Jenson. [Venice]. 1471. 4to. *British Museum.*

[1570.] *A very briefe and profitable Treatise declaring howe many counsells, and what maner of Counselers a Prince that will governe well aught to haue.* [*Translated by Thomas Blundeville, from the Italian version of Alfonso d' Ulloa.*]

W. Seres. London. [1570]. 8vo. *British Museum.*

There is a dedication, dated from Newton Flotman, 1 April, 1570, to the Earl of Leicester.

The original of this is a Spanish work by Federigo Furio Ceriol,—

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El Concejo i Consejeros del Principe . . . . que es el libro primero del quinto tratado de la institucion del Principe.

Anvers. 1559. 8vo. *British Museum.*

I do not find an Italian version by Alfonso de Ulloa, but there is one by his friend and correspondent, the voluminous Lodovico Dolce,—

Il concilio, overo Conciglio et i Consiglieri del Prencipe. Opera di F. C. . . . tradotta di Lingua Spagnuola nella volgare Italiana per L. Dolce.

Vinegia. 1560. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Alfonso de Ulloa was a Spaniard who knew Italian so well that he rendered Spanish and Portuguese works into that language. His most famous translation is the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, 1571, Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father; a book now of priceless value, because the original does not survive. Washington Irving described the *Vita* as "an invaluable document, entitled to great faith, and is the corner-stone of the history of the American continent."

1572. *The true Report of all the successe of Famagosta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a Citie in Cyprus. In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines and assaultes geven to the sayd Fortresse, may plainly appeare. . . . Englished out of Italian [of Count Nestore Martinengo] by W. [illiam] Malin [or Malim]. With certaine notes of his and expositions of all the Turkishe wordes herein necessary to be knowen, etc.*

J. Daye: London. 1572. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.* 1599. Folio. *British Museum.* 1810. Folio. *British Museum.*

A translation of the Count Nestore Martinengo's *Relatione di tutto il successo di Famagosta: dove s'intende . . . . tutte le scaramuccie, batterie, mine & assalti dati ad essa fortezza. Et ancora i nomi de i Capitani, & numero delle Genti morte, ... et medesimamente di quelli, che sono restati prigioni.*

G. Angehiri. Venetia. 1572. 4to. *British Museum.*

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Malim, who was headmaster successively of Eton and of St. Paul's School, dedicates his work to the Earl of Leicester, "from Lambheth, the 23rd of March, An. 1572." The dedication occupies seven pages out of a total of forty-eight for the whole pamphlet.

1574. *The true order and Methode of wryting and reading Hystories according to the Precepts of Francisco Patricio and Accontio Tridentino, no less plainely than briefly set forth in our vulgar speach, to the greate profite and commoditye of all those that delight in Hystories.*

W. Seres. London. 1574. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.

This is a translation of Francesco Patrizi's *Della Historia diece dialoghi . . . . ne' quali si ragiona di tutte le cose appartenenti all' historia, et allo scriverla, et all' osservarla.*

A. Arrivabene. Venetia. 1560. 4to. Pp. 63. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

See also,

J. A. [Jacobus Acontius] Tridentini de Methodo, etc., in G. J. Vossii [Gerardus Vossius, Canon of Canterbury] et aliorum de studiorum ratione opuscula.

Ultrajecti. 1651. 12mo. *British Museum.*

1575. *A notable Historye of the Saracens, briefly and faithfully descrybing the originall beginning, continuaunce and successe aswell of the Saracens, as also of Turkes, Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassines, Tartarians and Sophians, with a discourse of their affaires and Actes from the byrthe of Mahomet their first peeuish prophet and founder for 700 yeeres space; whereunto is annexed a compendious chronycle of all their yeerely exploytes from the sayde Mahomet's time tyll this present yeere of grace 1575. Drawen out of Augustine Curie, and sundry other good Authours by Thomas Newton.*

Imprinted at London by William How, for Abraham Veale, 1575. [Colophon.] Imprinted at London by William

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How for Abraham Veale dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Lambe. 1575. 4to. Black letter. 144 leaves. *Huth. British Museum.*

Dedicated, "to the Ryghte Honorable the Lorde Charles Howarde, Baron of Effyngham."

A translation of *C.* [*aelius*] *A.* [*ugustinus*] *Curionis Sarracenicae Historiae libr: III. . . . His accessit V. Drechsleri rerum Sarracenicarum Turcicarumque chronicon, auctum et ad annum* MD. LXVII *usque perductum.*

Basiliae. 1567. Folio. *Francofurti.* 1596. Folio. *British Museum.*

The second book contains an interesting account of the battle of Roncesvalles, in 778, and the death of Roland, one of the most popular themes of mediaeval romance.

The translator is Thomas Newton, of Cheshire, who edited *Seneca his tenne Tragedies*, in 1581, translating the *Thebais* himself. Newton wrote the most elegant Latin elegiacs of the time, and often prefixed recommendatory verses, in both Latin and English, to the publications of his friends. His chief patron was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

1576. *A Moral Methode of civile Policie. Contayninge a learned and fruictful discourse of the institution, state and government of a common Weale. Abridged oute of the Cõmentaries of . . . . F.* [*rancesco*] *Patricius* [*Patrizi, Bishop of Gaeta*]. . . . *Done out of Latine into Englishe by R.* [*ichard*] *Robinson, etc.*

T. Marsh, London, 1576. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

A translation of Francesco Patrizi's *F. Patritii Senensis de Regno et Regis Institutione libri IX, etc.* [*With a preface by D. Lambinus.*]

Apud Aegidium Gorbinum. Parisiis. 1567. 8vo. *British Museum.*

1579. *The Historie of Guicciardin; containing the Warres of Italie and other partes, continued for manie yeares under*

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sundrie Kings and Princes, together with the variations and accidents of the same: And also the Arguments, with a Table at large, expressing the principall matters through the whole historie. Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton. Mon heur viendra.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vantroullier, dwelling in the Black Friers by Ludgate. 1579. Fol. Pp. 1184. *British Museum.* London. 1599. Fol. *Brit. Mus.* (2 copies). London. 1618. Folio. *Brit. Mus.*

Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

A translation of

L'historia d'Italia di F. G. [*Edited by A. Guicciardini.*]

L. Torret[ino]: Firenze. 1561. 8vo. *British Museum.* Also, 1561. Folio. Fiorenza: 1563. 8vo. Venetia: 1567. 4to. Vinegia.

This translation of Guicciardini was the greatest literary undertaking of Sir Geoffrey Fenton. It was extremely popular, and seems to have recommended the author to the Queen's favor permanently. Soon after its publication, he went to Ireland, under the patronage of Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton, where he was sworn into the Privy Council, in 1580. He was knighted in 1589, and remained in Ireland as principal secretary of state through a succession of lord deputies.

Fenton says in his Dedication to Queen Elizabeth,—"I am bold, under fear and timidity, to prostrate these my last pains afore that divine moderation of mind which always hath holden for acceptable all things respecting learning or virtuous labors." He concludes,—"The Lord bless your Majesty with a long and peaceable life, and confirm in you, to the comfort of your people, that course of well-tempered government by the benefit whereof they have so long lived under the felicity of your name."

Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* extends over forty years, from 1494 to 1534. During the latter half of this period Guicciardini was in the papal service as governor succes-

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sively of Modena, Reggio, Parma, the Romagna, and Bologna. The fact that he was himself a conspicuous actor in the scene enabled him to write with a peculiarly intimate knowledge of the events and the personages of contemporary politics. Keenly observant, he was in the habit of recording his impressions of men and things, and it was his mental turn to record them in the form of aphorisms. His history is, therefore, rather the maxims and memoranda of a statesman, scientifically arranged, than a philosophical view of human affairs.

Montaigue observes acutely of Guicciardini's moral insensibility, his cold, passionless manner of depicting a great national tragedy, the decline and fall of his own country after the French invasion of 1494, 'among the many motives and counsels on which he adjudicates, he never attributes any one of them to virtue, religion, or conscience, as if all these were quite extinct in the world.' "*I'ay aussi remarqué cecy, que de tant d'ames et d'effects qu'il iuge, de tant de mouvements et conseils, il n'en rapporte iamais un seul à la vertu, religion et conscience, comme si ces parties là estoient du tout esteinctes au monde.*"

Essais de Montaigue. Livre II. Chapitre X, p. 227. Paris. 1876.

See *Two Discourses of Master Frances Guicciardin*, 1595.

1579. *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarke of Chaeronea: Translated out of Greeke into French by James Amyot, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the King's Priuy Counsel, and Great Amner of Fraunce; and out of French into Englishe by Thomas North.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vantrouiller and John Wight, 1579. Folio. *British Museum.*

A new title-page introduces "the Lives of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, translated out of Latin into French by

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Charles de L'Écluse, and out of French into English by Thomas North."

Other editions were, 1595. Folio. 1603. Folio. 1610–12. Folio. 1631. Folio. 1657. Folio,—all in the *British Museum*. Also, Cambridge, 1576. Folio. *British Museum*.

Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and one of the most popular books of her day.

The *Lives of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus* were written by the humanist, Donato Acciajuoli. North found them in

Les vies de Hannibal et Scipion l'Africain, traduittes par C. de l'Escluse [*from the Latin of Donato Acciajuoli*].

Paris. 1567. 8vo. *British Museum*, in the third edition of,

Les Vies des Hommes illustres Grecs et Romains, comparees l'une avec l'autre . . . . translatees de Grec en François [*by J. Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre*].

Michel de Vascosan. Paris. 1559. Folio. *British Museum*.

The earliest edition of Acciajuoli's lives I find is,

Plutarch's Parallel Lives, translated into Latin, by various persons, including Donato Acciajuoli's lives of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, and Charlemagne.

[Rome. 1470?] Folio. *British Museum*.

Among the manuscripts left by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, are translations of the lives of *Hannibal and Scipio Africanus by Acciajuoli.* (See II. *Poetry, Plays, and Metrical Romances. The tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke.* [1565?]

North's book, as is well known, was Shakspere's storehouse of classical learning.

1582. *The Revelation of S. John reueled as a paraphrase. . . . Written in Latine. . . . Englished by J.* [*ames*] *Sandford.*

London, by Thomas Marshe, 1582. 4to. *British Museum*.

Dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

This is a translation of Giacopo Brocardo's *Interpretatio et paraphrasis in Apocalypsin.*

Leyden. 1580, 1610. 8vo.

Giacopo Brocardo was a Venetian, who, in 1565, pretended

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to have had a vision in which was revealed to him the application of certain passages of Scripture to particular political events of the time. His revelations concerned Queen Elizabeth, Philip II., the Prince of Orange, and other personages.

1583. *De Republica Anglorum. The Maner of Government or Policie of the Realme of England, etc.*

London, by Henrie Middleton, 1583. 4to. 1584. 4to. *British Museum.* 1589. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1594. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1601. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1609. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1612. 4to. 1621. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1628. 4to. 1633. 12mo. *Brit. Mus.* (2 copies). 1635. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1640. 12mo. *Brit. Mus.* 1681. 4to.

Sir Thomas Smith embodied in this work a translation from Giovanni Botero's *Le Relationi Universali*, Part II.; the extract is entitled, *Relatio J. Botero de regno Angliae.*

John Budden, 1566–1620, made a Latin translation of Sir Thomas Smith's book,—

De Republica et Administratio Anglorum libri tres interprete . . . . J. Buddeni . . . . fide . . . . in Latinum conversi. London. [1610?] 8vo. *British Museum.* 1625. 16mo. *Brit. Mus.* 1630. 16mo. *Brit. Mus.* 1641. 16mo. *Brit. Mus.*

[1584.] *The Praeface of J. Brocard upon the Revelation.* [*Translated from the Latin, of Giacopo Brocardo, by James Sandford?*]

[London? 1584.] 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

1590. *A Discourse concerninge the Spanishe fleete invadinge Englande in the yeare 1588, and overthrowne by her Ma^tie^s Navie under the conduction of the Right-honorable the Lorde Charles Howarde Highe Admirall of Englande: written in Italian by P. Ubaldino . . . . and translated* [*by Robert Adams*]. . . . *Unto the w^ch^ discourse are annexed certaine tables expressinge the severall exploites and conflictes had with the said fleete. MS. Notes.*

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A. Hatfield, London, 1590. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

The plates referred to were made by Robert Adams, and were published separately under the title,

Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam vera descriptio anno do. MD. LXXXVIII.

1593. *The Description of the Low countreys, and of the Provinces thereof, gathered into an Epitome out of the Historie of L. Guicchardini.* [*By Thomas Danett.*]

Imprinted at London by Peter Short for Thomas Chard. 1593. 8vo. *British Museum.* (1591. 16mo. Lowndes.)

Dedicated, "To the Right Honorable my especiall Lord Burghley, High Treasorer of England, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Maister of hir Majesties Court of Wards and Liveries."

A translation of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione . . . . di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimente detti Germania inferiore, etc. Anversa.* 1567. Folio. *British Museum. en français by Fr. de Belleforest. Anvers.* 1568. Folio. *Brit. Mus.*

Thomas Danett's masterpiece in translation is, *The Historie of Philip de Commines, Knight, Lord of Argentan,* 1596; this work has been edited, in two volumes, with an Introduction, by Charles Whibley. Tudor Translation Series. (David Nutt.) See *The Academy,* July 17, 1897, pp. 44–45. Nothing is known of this excellent and vigorous translator, except that, besides these two translations, he put forth, in 1600, a *Continuation of the Historie of France from the death of Charles the Eighth, when Comines endeth, till the death of Harry the Second (1559).*

Danett's style is admirable, easily ranking him the compeer of Sir Thomas North.

1595. *The Florentine Historie written in the Italian tongue by Niccolo Macchiavelli, citizen and secretarie of Florence, and translated into English by T.* [*homas*] *B.* [*edingfield*] *Esq.*

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T. [homas] C. [reede] for W. [illiam] P. [onsonby]. London. 1595. Folio. Pp. 222. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

A translation of Machiavelli's

Istorie Fiorentine.

Firenze: Benedetto di Giunta. 1537. 4to. *British Museum.* Also, *nuovamente . . . . ristampate. In casa de' Figliuoli di Aldo. Venegia.* 1540. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Machiavelli's *Istorie Fiorentine* was begun after 1520, at the instance of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici; it was completed in 1527, and dedicated to Cardinal Giulio, then Pope Clement VII. It recounts, in eight books, the whole story of Florence from the earliest times down to the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, in 1492. It is not, however, a chronicle of events, but rather a national biography, written from Machiavelli's political point of view. Having formulated a theory of the state in the *Principe* and the *Discorsi*, he applies these abstract principles to the example furnished by the Florentine republic. In literary form Machiavelli modelled his history upon Livy, a peculiarly happy choice for a historian in whom the personal equation and the sense of literary perspective are the strongest qualities. Following the classical manner, he inserts here and there speeches, which partly embody his own comments on situations of importance, and partly express what he thought dramatically appropriate to particular personages.

The story of Rosamund's revenge upon Alboin, found in the *Istorie Fiorentine, libro* i, is the subject of two Elizabethan dramas.

1. *The Tragedy of Albovine, King of the Lombards.* Sir William D'Avenant. Printed, 1629.

Plot also found in Bandello, iii. 18; Belleforest, *Histoires Tragiques*, iv. 19; Queen Margaret's *Heptameron*, Nov. 32.

2. *The Witch.* Thomas Middleton. Printed, 1770.

The most important intrigue of the tangled plot of *The Witch* is again the tragedy of Rosamund and Alboin. Ward (*History of English Dramatic Literature*, ii. 509, and iii. 169,

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1899) thinks that both Middleton and D'Avenant found the tale in Belleforest.

1595. *Two Discourses of Master Frances Guicciardin, which are wanting in the thirde and fourth Bookes of his Historie, in all the Italian, Latin, and French Coppies heretofore imprinted; which for the worthinesse of the matter they containe, were published in those three Languages at Basile 1561, and are now doone into English* [*by W. I.*]. *It. Lat. Fr. and Eng.*

Printed for W. Ponsonbie, London, 1595. 4to. *British Museum.*

See Fenton's, *The Historie of Guicciardin*, 1579.

1595. *The History of the Warres betweene the Turks and the Persians, written in Italian by John Thomas Minadoi, and translated by Abr. Hartwell, containing the Description of all such Matters as pertaine to the Religion, to the Forces, to the Government, and to the Countries of the Kingdome of the Persians; together with a new Geographicall Mappe of all these Territories, and last of all is discoursed what Cittie it was in the old Time which is now called Tauris, &c.*

London, J. Wolfe, 1595. 4to. Pp. 500. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Dedicated to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Abraham Hartwell was secretary.

This work is a translation of

Historia della Guerra fra Turchi, et Persiani di Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi . . . . dall' istesso riformata, and [*sic?*] *aggiuntivi i successi dell' anno 1586. Con una descrittione di tutte le cose pertinente alla religione, alla forze, al governo, & al paese del Regno de Persiani, et una Lettera all' Ill^re^ M. Corrado, nella quale si dimostra qual città fosse anticamente quella, c'hora si chiama Tauris, etc.*

Venetia. 1588. 4to. Pp. 383. *British Museum.* 1594. 4to. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

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Abraham Hartwell, the younger, flourished 1595–1603. He was probably the Abraham Hartwell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who took his B. A. degree in 1571, M. A., in 1575, and was made an M. A. of Oxford in 1588. About 1584, he became secretary to Archbishop Whitgift, to whom his three translations from the Italian are dedicated. He was an antiquarian of some note, and died rector of Toddington, Bedfordshire, where he founded a library. The date of his death is unknown.

Although he was a translator of geographical writings, he was not himself a traveller, as has been asserted.

Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi, 1540–1615, was a physician. After being graduated from the University of Padua, he became physician to the Venetian consulates in Constantinople and in Syria, where he collected the materials for his history of the wars between the Turks and Persians, 1576–1588. On his return from the East, he was made physician to William of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. In 1596, he was preferred to the professorship of medicine in the University of Padua. He died in 1615, in Florence, where he had been summoned by Cosimo II., Grand Duke of Tuscany.

1599. *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice. Written by the Cardinall Gasper Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English by* [*Sir*] *Lewis Lewkenor, Esquire. With sundry other Collections, annexed by the Translator.... With a short Chronicle of the liues and raignes of the Venetian Dukes.*

London: Imprinted by John Windet for Edmund Mattes, etc. 1599. 4to. 115 leaves. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to the Countess of Warwick, and with commendatory verses by Edmund Spenser, Sir John Harington, Maurice Kyffin, etc.

A translation of a work by Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, Bishop of Belluno, entitled,

La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia [*translated by E. Anditimi*]. *Vinegia.* 1544. 8vo. *British Museum.*

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The original was written in Latin,

De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum libri V. Paris. 1543. 4to. The *British Museum's* copy is an Aldine edition of this,

De Magistratibus, et Republica Venetorum.

Venetiis ap. Aldum. 1589. 4to.

The book was also translated into French, and was often reprinted.

Epigram 26. Book III.

In commendation of Master Lewknor's Sixth Description of Venice. Dedicated to Lady Warwick, 1595.

Lo, here's describ'd, though but in little room,
Fair Venice, like a spouse in Neptune's arms;
For freedom, emulous to ancient Rome,
Famous for counsel much, and much for arms:
Whose story, erst written with Tuscan quill,
Lay to our English wits as half conceal'd,
Till Lewknor's learned travel and his skill
In well grac'd stile and phrase hath it reveal'd.
Venice, be proud, that thus augments thy fame;
England, be kind, enrich'd with such a book;
Both give due honour to that noble dame,
For whom this task the writer undertook.

Sir John Harington.

The antique Babel, Empresse of the East,
Upreard her buildinges to the threatned skie:
And Second Babell, tyrant of the West,
Her ayry Towers upraised much more high.
But, with the weight of their own surquedry,
They both are fallen, that all the earth did feare,
And buried now in their own ashes ly;
Yet shewing by their heapes, how great they were.
But in their place doth now a third appeare,
Fayre Venice, flower of the last worlds delight;
And next to them in beauty draweth neare,
But farre exceedes in policie of right.
Yet not so fayre her buildinges to behold
As Lewkenors stile that hath her beautie told.

Edm. Spencer.

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1600. *The Historie of the uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill, containing the last warres of the Portugalls against the Moores of Africke, the end of the house of Portugall and change of that government. The description of Portugall, their principal Townes, castles, places, rivers, bridges, passages, forces, weakenesses, revenues and expences; of the East Indies, the Isles of Terceres, and other dependences, with many battailes by sea and lande, skirmishes, encounters, sieges, orations, and stratagemes of warre.*

Imprinted at London by Arn. Hatfield for Edward Blount. 1600. Folio. Pp. 324. *British Museum.*

The dedication to "Henry Earle of Southampton is signed, Edw. Blount," but the *Dictionary of National Biography* says Blount styled it "a translation 'by a respected friend.'"

The original is Girolamo Conestaggio's,

Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia, istoria del Sig. Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio [*or of J. de Silva, Count Portalegre?*] Genova. 1585. 4to. *British Museum.*

1600. *The Mahumetane or Turkish Hystorye, containing three Bookes. . . . Heereunto have I annexed a briefe discourse of the warres of Cypres . . . . and . . . . a discourse conteining the causes of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire. Translated from the French and Italian tongues by R. Carr, of the Middle Temple, in London, Gentleman.*

London: Printed by Thomas Este dwelling in Aldersgate street. 1600. 4to. 122 leaves. *British Museum.*

Each book is dedicated to one of the three brothers, Rob., Will., and Edw. Carr separately; and *The Narration of the Warres of Cyprus* to them all jointly. The translator was Ralph Carr.

See *Censura Literaria*, Vol. VIII, p. 149, and Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 1021.

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1601. *Civill Considerations upon many and sundrie histories, as well ancient as moderne, and principallie upon those of Guicciardin. . . . Handled after the manner of a discourse, by the Lord Remy of Florence* [*Remigio Nannini, Fiorentino*], *and done into French by G. Chappuys . . . . and out of French into English, by W. T.*

Imprinted by F. K. for M. Lownes. London, 1601. Folio. *British Museum.*

The Italian original of this work is,

Considerationi Civili, sopra l'Historie di F. Guicciardini, e d'altri historici, trattate per modo di discorso da M. Remigio Fiorentino, ... con alcune lettere familiari dell' istesso sopra varie materie scritte à diversi Gentil'huomini, e CXLV. advertimenti di F. Guicciardini nuovamente posti in luce. [*Edited by Sisto da Venetia.*]

Venetia. 1582. 4to. *British Museum.*

W. T. translated from Chappuys' French version, *Considérations civiles, sur plusieurs et diverses histoires tant anciennes que modernes, et principallement sur celles de Guicciardin. Contenans plusieurs preceptes et reigles, pour Princes, Republiques, Capitaines . . . . et autres Agents . . . . des Princes: avec plusieurs advis touchant la vie civile . . . . traitées par manière de discours par Remy Florentin, et mises en François par G. Chappuys, etc.*

Paris. 1585. 8vo. *British Museum.*

1606. *A Treatise concerning the causes of the Magnificencie and Greatnes of Cities. Devided into three bookes by Sig. Giovanni Botero, in the Italian Tongue, now done into English.* [*by Robert Peterson.*]

At London, Printed by T. P. for Richard Ockould and Henry Tomes. 1606. 4to. *British Museum.*

Dedicated, to 'my verie good Lord, Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight.'

A translation of Giovanni Botero's,

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Della cause della grandezza delle città, libri tre. [*Edited by S. Barberino.*] *Milano.* 1596. 8vo. *British Museum.*

This work came to many editions, and was translated into Latin, French, Spanish, and German.

1623. *The Popes Letter* (*20 April, 1623*) *to the Prince* [*Charles*] *in Latine, Spanish, and English. . . . A Jesuites Oration to the Prince in Latin and English.*

Printed for N. Butter, London, 1623. 4to. *British Museum.*

A letter from Alessandro Ludovisio, Pope Gregory XV. to Charles I. when Prince of Wales; a later reprint, with the answer, explains the general subject of the correspondence,—

The King of Scotland's Negociations at Rome [*in 1650*] *for assistance against the Common-Wealth of England in certain propositions there made, for, and on his behalf; in which propositions his affection . . . . to poperie is asserted, etc. Ital., Lat., Eng., and Fr.* (*The Pope's letter* [*of 20 Apr. 1623*] *to the King* [*Charles I*] *when Prince of Wales.* [*With the answer.*])

William Dugard. London. 1650. 4to. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

1626. *The New-Found Politick, disclosing the Intrigues of State . . . . now translated into English.* [*Part 3, by Sir William Vaughan.*]

London. 1626. 4to. *British Museum.*

A translation of Trajano Boccalini's,

Pietra del Paragone Politico tratta dal Monte Parnaso, dove si toccano i governi delle maggiori monarchie dell' universo. (*Nuova aggiunta alla Pietra del Paragone.*)

Cosmopoli [Amsterdam?] 1615. 4to. *British Museum.*

The head title reads, *De i Ragguagli di Parnaso parte terza di Troiano* [*sic*] *Boccalini Romano.*

Sir William Vaughan, born 1577, was younger brother to the first Earl of Carbery. He "became chief undertaker for the plantation in Cambriol, the southermost part in New-

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foundland, now called by some Britanniola, where with pen, purse, and person [he] did prove the worthinesse of that enterprize." Anthony à Wood alludes here to the publication of *The Golden Fleece*, in 1626, a book written by Vaughan for the purpose of attracting emigrants to his settlement. Sir William Vaughan was living at Cambriol in 1628, but the colony does not seem to have proved successful, for in 1630 he published *The Newlander's Cure*, giving, in an introductory letter, some account of his experiences in the New World. The undertaking is mentioned in *Purchas*,—"The Worshipfull William Vaughan of Terracod, in the Countie of Carmarthen, Doctor of Ciuill Law, hath also undertaken to plant a Circuit in the New-found land, and hath in two seuerall yeeres sent thither diuers men and women, and hee is willing to entertaine such as will be Adventurers with him upon fit conditions."

Purchas his Pilgrimes. Lib. x. Chap. 9. Vol. iv. P. 1888. 1625. Folio.

1636. *Machiavel's Discourses upon the first decade of T. Livius, [Books 1–3], translated out of the Italian; with some marginall animadversions noting and taxing his errours. By E. [dward] D. [acres].*

T. Paine for W. Hills and D. Pakeman. London. 1636. 12mo. Pp. 646. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Machiavel's Discourses upon the First Decade of T. Livius, translated out of Italian. To which is added his Prince. [The Life of Castruccio Castracani, etc.] With some marginal animadversions. . . . By E. D. 2 pts.

T. N. for D. Pakeman. London. 1663. 12mo. *British Museum.* Second edition, much corrected, etc. For C. Harper. London. 1674. 8vo. Pp. 686. *British Museum.*

A translation of Nicolò Machiavelli's *Discorsi . . . . sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio.* L. P. *Per A. Blado de Asola* [Rome.] 1531. 8vo. *British Museum.* [Including Dacres's translation of *Il Principe* in the last two editions.]

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1637. *Romulus and Tarquin. First Written in Italian . . . . and now taught English by* [*i. e. Henry Carey, Baron Carey of Leppington, afterwards earl of Monmouth.*]

Printed by I. H. for J. Benson. London. 1637. 12mo. *British Museum.* Also, 1638. 12mo. *British Museum.* With commendatory verses prefixed by Thomas Carew, Sir John Suckling, Sir William Davenant, Sir Robert Stapylton, and others.

Romulus and Tarquin. Written in Italian by the Marques Virgilio Malvezzi. And now taught English by Henry Earle of Monmouth. The Third Edition.

London, printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Prince's Armes in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1648. 12mo. *British Museum.*

" Dedicated, " to the most sacred Majesty of Charles the First, Monarch of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland," etc.

This work is a translation of two of the political publications of the Marquese Virgilio Malvezzi, *Il Romulo.* Bologna. 1629. 4to. *British Museum,* and *Il Tarquinio Superbo.* Venetia. 1633. 12mo. *British Museum.*

Il Romulo is a biography with political and moral reflections; it was a very successful book, reprinted several times in Italy and translated into French and Spanish.

To my much honoured friend, Henry Lord Cary of Lepington, upon his translation of Malvezzi.

In every triviall worke 'tis knowne
Translators must be masters of their owne
And of their Author's language; but your taske
A greater latitude of skill did aske;
For your Malvezzi first requir'd a man
To teach him speak vulgar Italian.
His matter's so sublime, so now his phrase
So farre above the stile of Bemboe's dayes,
Old Varchie's rules, or what the Crusca yet
For currant Tuscan mintage will admit,
As I beleeve your Marquesse, by a good
Part of his natives, hardly understood.

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You must expect no happier fate; 'tis true
He is of noble birth; of nobler you:
So nor your thoughts nor words fit common eares;
He writes, and you translate, both to your peeres.

Thomas Carew.

To his much honoured the Lord Lepington, upon his translation of Malvezzi, his Romulus and Tarquin.

It is so rare and new a thing to see
Ought that belongs to young nobility
In print, but their own clothes, that we must praise
You as we would do those first show the ways
To arts or to new worlds. You have begun;
Taught travelled youth what 't is it should have done
For 't has indeed too strong a custom been
To carry out more wit than we bring in.
You have done otherwise: brought home, my lord,
The choicest things famed countries do afford:
Malvezzi by your means is English grown,
And speaks our tongue as well now as his own.
Malvezzi, he whom 't is as hard to praise
To merit, as to imitate his ways.
He does not show us Rome great suddenly,
As if the empire were a tympany,
But gives it natural growth, tells how and why
The little body grew so large and high.
Describes each thing so lively, that we are
Concerned ourselves before we are aware:
And at the wars they and their neighbours waged,
Each man is present still, and still engaged.
Like a good prospective he strangely brings
Things distant to us; and in these two kings
We see what made greatness. And what 't has been
Made that greatness contemptible again.
And all this not tediously derived,
But like to worlds in little maps contrived.
'T is he that doth the Roman dame restore,
Makes Lucrece chaster for her being whore;
Gives her a kind revenge for Tarquin's sin;
For ravish'd first, she ravisheth again.
She says such fine things after 't, that we must
In spite of virtue thank foul rape and lust,
Since 't was the cause no woman could have had,
Though she's of Lucrece side, Tarquin less bad.
But stay; like one that thinks to bring his friend

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A mile or two, and sees the journey's end,
I straggle on too far; long graces do
But keep good stomachs off, that would fall to.
The Poems, Plays and Other Remains of Sir John Suckling.
Ed. W. C. Hazlitt. 1874. Vol. I. P. 20.

1639. *The History of the Inquisition, Composed by the Rev. Father Paul Servita. Translated out of the Italian by R.* [*obert*] *Gentilis.*

J. Okes, for H. Mosley, London, 1639. 4to. *British Museum,* (3 copies). 1655. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1676. Folio. *Brit. Mus.*

A translation of Fra Paolo's,

Historia della Sacra Inquisitione composta . . . . dal R. P. Paolo Servita ed hora la prima volta posta in luce, etc.

Serravalle. 1638. 4to.

1640. *Nicholas Machiavel's Prince. Also, the Life of Castruccio Castracani* [*degli Antelminelli, duke*] *of Lucca. And the meanes Duke Valentine us'd to put to death Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto of Fermo, Paul, and the Duke of Gravina. Translated out of Italian into English. By E.* [*dward*] *D.* [*acres*].

R. Bishop for Wil : Hils and are to be sold by D. Pakeman. London. 1640. 12mo. Pp. 305. *British Museum.*

A translation of Machiavelli's,

Il Principe. . . . La Vita di Castruccio Castracani da Luca. . . . Il Modo che tenne il Duca Valentino, per ammazare Vitelozzo, Oliverotto da Fermo. . . . I ritratti delle cose della Francia, et della Alamagna . . . . nuovamente aggiunti.

Bernardo di Giunta. Firenze. 1532. 4to. *British Museum.*

Machiavelli's *Prince* is an elaboration of one line of thought of the *Discourses,* upon which he was engaged when he took it in hand. Although cast in the form of comments on Livy, the Discorsi, *in toto,* is really an inquiry into the genesis and maintenance of the state. It is *Il Principe* on a larger scale, copiously illustrated by historical examples, and enriched by the fruits of Machiavelli's own experience and observation.

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John Morley characterizes the two books clearly,—"in the *Prince* he lays down the conditions on which an absolute ruler, rising to power by force of genius backed by circumstances, may maintain that power, with safety to himself and most advantage to his subjects; while in the *Discourses* he examines the rules that enable a self-governing state to retain its freedom. The cardinal precepts are the same. In either case, the saving principal is one: self-sufficiency, military strength, force, flexibility, address,—above all, no half-measures. In either case, the preservation of the state is equally the one end, reason of state equally the one adequate and sufficient test and justification of the means. The *Prince* deals with one problem, the *Discourses* with the other."

As to the minor works translated by Dacres, Machiavelli's *Life of Castruccio Castracani* is more romance than history. Machiavelli describes Castruccio as a foundling, and depicts him when lord of Lucca as the ideal soldier and statesman. In fact, Castruccio was of the noble family of the Antelminelli. He succeeded Uguccione della Faggiuola, lord of Pisa, at Lucca, in 1315, and was supported by the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, who created him duke of Lucca. Castruccio dominated all Tuscany, until his death, in 1328, enabled the Guelfs to breathe freely again.

The story of Oliverotto da Fermo is told in the 8th chapter of the *Prince*. He was one of the captains of Cesare Borgia who revolted, and entered into a conspiracy against him. With many arts, Cesare got four of the conspirators to visit him at Sinigaglia, where two of them, Oliverotto and Vitellozzo, were seized and forthwith strangled. It was only a year after Oliverotto had become tyrant of Fermo by murdering his uncle, Giovanni Fogliani, whom he had invited to a banquet for the express purpose of making way with him.

The character of Machiavelli seems to have made a profound impression on the Elizabethan dramatists. Three plays are named after him.

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1. *Machiavel.* An anonymous play, acted at the Rose theatre, and recorded in *Henslow's Diary*, under the date, March 2, 1592.
2. *Machiavel and the Devil*, a tragedy, by Robert Daborne. Daborne was in treaty with Henslow for this play between April 17, and June 25, 1613. It may have been the older play worked over.
3. *Machiavellus.* By D. Wiburne.
   A Latin play acted at Cambridge University, 1597. MS., of date 1600, Douce, 234, *Bodleian.*

Shakspere alludes to Machiavelli three times,—

> "Alençon, that notorious Machiavel." *I. Hen. VI. v. 4.*

> "I can add colors to the chameleon,
> Change shapes with Proteus, for advantage,
> And set the murd'rous Machiavel to school."
> *III. Hen. VI. iii. 2.*

> "Peace, I say! hear mine host of the Garter.
> Am I politic? am I subtle? am I a Machiavel?"
> *Merry Wives. iii. 1.*

Marlowe brings Machiavelli on the stage in person as the Prologue to the *Jew of Malta*, expressing his admiration for him in the lines,—

> "I count religion but a childish toy,
> And hold there is no sin but ignorance."

Mr. Courthope, in his *History of English Poetry*, maintains that all of Marlowe's plays are but different conceptions of Machiavelli's principle of *virtù*. In this view Tamburlaine is the apotheosis of power as ambition; Barabbas, of power as revenge; Faustus, of overweening intellectual power. Whether Machiavelli did indeed revolutionize the English drama, as Mr. Courthope's interesting contention holds, certain it is that he was a familiar and popular figure on the stage. Making mere casual notes on the subject, I find sixteen dramatists, in twenty-six plays, all alluding to Machiavelli in the same way, crediting him with the craft, malice,

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and hypocrisy of the devil. Mr. Edward Meyer, in his dissertation, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (Weimar, 1897), has collected 395 instances of Machiavelli's name, or supposed maxims, occurring in Elizabethan literature. As the *Prince* was not translated until 1640, Mr. Meyer argues that the source of Elizabethan Machiavellianism was Simon Patrick's translation of Innocent Gentillet's, *Discours d'Estat sur les moyens de bien gouverner et maintenir en bonne paix un royaume et une principaute, contre Nicol. Machiavel.* (1576.) The difficulty of this argument is, that, although the dedication of Patrick's translation is dated 1577, the book was not entered on the *Stationers' Register*, nor printed, until 1602. Many of the allusions belong to the sixteenth century. It is possible that Patrick's translation may have been known in manuscript; it is also possible that many persons may have read Gentillet, either in the original Latin, or in French. From the vogue of Italian at the time, and from the constant travelling to and fro between England and Italy, I myself see no difficulty in supposing what must have been the fact, that educated Englishmen at least read Machiavelli in his own simple, unaffected, vivid Italian. Machiavelli is a writer who will never be read, except by the few, but his positive spirit, his practical method, is precisely of the sort that must have appealed most strongly to the Elizabethans. "We are much beholden," said Bacon, "to Machiavel and others that wrote what men do, and not what they ought to do."

The Elizabethans were deeply interested in government, as the English have always been, and they had many perplexing problems, both in State and Church, to deal with. From abstract principles in the sphere of government, Machiavelli appealed to experience, for authority as the test of truth, he substituted scientific facts. All this seemed well enough to a people in the first blush of civil and religious freedom, but it was confusing, it was especially confusing when concretely applied to new and urgent moral questions,

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such as early Protestant England had to settle. The popular misconception of Machiavelli might easily have arisen in ignorance, it was certainly in the air, as Gentillet's book shows; it must have been added to by the Italian travellers' reporting half truths; Marlowe's extravagant admiration undoubtedly overleaped the mark; and lastly, there is the *vitium gentis*, the natural antipathy of race and morale, to intensify the current opinion.

Lord Burghley and Elizabeth probably rated Machiavelli nearest his proper worth, and it is well known that both these great personages walked in devious paths. "Party Government is not the Reign of the Saints," wittily says John Morley, in his brilliant Romanes lecture on Machiavelli, and goes on to show that among the canonized saints of the Roman Church, there have been but a dozen kings in eight centuries, and no more than four popes. "So hard has it been," he adds, quoting Cosmo de' Medici, "to govern the world by paternosters."

1641. *An History of the Ciuill Warres of England betweene the two howses of Lancaster and Yorke. The originall where of is set downe in the life of Richard ye second; theire proceedings in ye lives of Henry ye 4th Henry ye 5th and 6th Edward ye 4th and 5th Richard ye 3d and Henry ye 7th in whose dayes they had a happy period. Englished by ye Right Honble Henry Earle of Monmouth in two Volumes.*

Imprinted at London for John Benson & and are to be sould at his shop in St Dūstans churchyard. 1641.

The Second Part of the History of the Civill Warres of England Between the two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke. Wherein is contained The Prosecution thereof, in the lives of Edward the fourth Edward the fifth Richard the third, and Henry the seventh. Written originally in Italian By Sir Francis Biondi Knight, late Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to His Majesty of Great Brittaine. Englished by the Right Honourable, Henry Earle of Monmouth: The second Volume.

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London, Printed by E. G. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at his shop in the Kings Armes in Pauls Churchyard. 1646. 2 volumes in 1. Sm. folio. *Peabody*, in beautiful binding, full fawn calf, extra, gilt edges. Pp. 177 + 236. *British Museum.*

The engraved title-page contains portraits (half length) of Charles I. and Queen Henrietta Maria, and of Richard II. and Henry VII., at full length.

The work is a translation of Giovanni Francesco (Sir John Francis) Biondi's,

L'historia delle guerre civili d'Inghilterra tra le due Cose di Lancastro e di Iorc, sotto Ricardo II, Arrigo IV, V, VI, Odoardo IV, etc.

Venezia. 1637–44. 4to. 3 vols. *British Museum.*

Dedicated, by the author, Giovanni Francesco Biondi, "To the High and mighty Monarch, Charles, King of great Britaine, France and Ireland."

The Earl of Monmouth says in his epistle "To the Readers his beloved countrey-men," prefixed to the Second Part,—

"The reasons then that drew me to this (otherwise Unnecessary) Epistle, are; First, to let my Readers know, lest I may seem to derogate from my Authour, by tacitely arrogating to My Selfe, that the three Last lives [those of Edward the fifth, Richard the third, and Henry the seventh] of this Volume are not yet (as I can heare of) printed in Italian, and the Authour being dead, out of whose Papers, whilst he was here in England, I translated them; I know not whether they may ever undergoe the Presse in the Language wherein they were by him penn'd or no. My next inducing reason is; That the subject of both parts of this Treatise being Civill Warres, and this Second comming forth in a Time of Civill Warres in the Same Countrey, I hope I may be excused for doing what in me lies to perswade to a Happy Peace: whereunto I know no more powerfull Argument, then by shewing the Miseries of Warre, which is a Tragedie that alwaies destroyes the Stage whereon it is acted; and

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which when it once seizeth upon a Land rich in the plenty of a Long Peace, and full with the Surfeit of Continued Ease, seldome leaves Purging those Superfluities, till All (not only Superfluous but meere Necessaries) be wasted and consumed, as is sufficiently made to appeare throughout this whole History."

1642. *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus. Translated into English by Sir R.* [*ichard*] *B.* [*aker*].

London. 1642. Folio. *British Museum.*

A translation of the Marquese Malvezzi's,

Discorsi sopra il libro primo degli Annali di Cornelio Tacito. Venetia. 1622. 4to. *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito.* Venetia. 1635. 4to. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

Sir Richard Baker, 1568–1645, made this translation of Malvezzi's *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito* for a bookseller named Whittaker. It was one of the literary works with which he occupied himself in the Fleet prison, where he lived from about 1635 until his death.

It is impossible to mention Sir Richard Baker without referring to his famous book, the *Chronicle of the Kings of England from the time of the Romans' Government unto the Death of King James,* which appeared in 1643. *Baker's Chronicle* was reprinted ten times up to 1733, was continued to the year 1658 by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew (1660), was abridged (1684), and was translated into Dutch (1649). It is written in a pleasant, readable style, and was long popular with country gentlemen. Addison represents Sir Roger de Coverley as well posted in his *Chronicle,* which he always kept lying in his hall window. One of the most humorsome papers of the *Spectator* is that (No. 329, March 18, 1712) describing Sir Roger's going through Westminster Abbey with *Baker's Chronicle* on the tip of his tongue. Before the figure of Queen Elizabeth's maid of honor who died from the prick of her needle, he wonders why Sir

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Richard Baker has said nothing about her; he informs the *Spectator* that Edward the Confessor was the first who touched for the evil; Henry IV. reminds him that "there was fine reading in the casualties of that reign;" upon the whole, he observes with some surprise, that Sir Richard Baker "had a great many kings in him whose monuments he had not seen in the Abbey."

So, Fielding, in *Joseph Andrews*, refers to *Baker's Chronicle* as part of the furniture of Sir Thomas Booby's house.

There is one notable accuracy in *Baker's Chronicle;* it gives for the first time the correct date of the poet Gower's death.

1647. *The Pourtract of the Politicke Christian-Favourite. Originally drawn from some of the actions of the Lord Duke of St. Lucar. . . . To this translation is annexed the chiefe State Maxims . . . . and . . . . observations . . . . upon the same story of Count Olivares, Duke of St. Lucar.*

London. 1647. 8vo. *British Museum.*

A translation of Malvezzi's,

Il Ritratto del Privato Politico Christiano estratto dall' originale d'alcune attione del Conte Duca di S. Lucar [i. e. G. de Guzman] *dal Marchese V. Malvezzi.*

Bologna. 1635. 4to. *British Museum.*

1647. *Il Davide Perseguitato: David Persecuted: . . . . Done into English by R.* [*obert*] *Ashley.*

London. 1647. 12mo. *British Museum.* Also, 1650. 12mo. ("with a picture of King Ch. I. playing on a harp, resembling K. David, purposely to make all the impression sell off, such are the usual shifts which booksellers use." Anthony à Wood). *British Museum.*

A translation of the Marquese Virgilio Malvezzi's *Davide Perseguitato.*

Venetia. 1634. 12mo. *British Museum.*

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1647. *The Chiefe Events of the Monarchie of Spaine, in the yeare 1639. . . . Translated out of th' Italian copy by R. Gentilis.*

London. 1647. 12mo. *British Museum.*

A translation of the Marquese Virgilio Malvezzi's,

I successi principali della Monarchia di Spagna nell' anno 1639. Anvers. 1641. 16mo.

A Spanish translation is dated a year earlier,

Successos principales de la Monarquia d'España en el año de mil i seis cientos i treinta i nueve, etc.

Madrid. 1640. 4to. *British Museum.*

1648. *A Venice Looking-Glass; or, a Letter written very lately from Lond. to Card. Barbarini at Rome by a Venetian Clarissimo touching the present Distempers in England. Translated from the Italian by James Howell.*]

1648. 4to. Pp. 24.

To the Lady E., Countess Dowager of Sunderland.

Madam,

I am bold to send your La. to the Country a new *Venice Looking-glass*, wherein you may behold that admir'd Maiden-City in her true complexion, together with her Government and Policy, for she is famous all the world over. Therefore, if at your hours of leisure you please to cast your eyes upon this Glass, I doubt not but it will afford you some objects of entertainment.

Moreover, your Ladyship may discern thro' this Glass the motions, and the very heart of the Author, how he continueth still, and resolves so to do, in what condition soever he be, Madam—

Your most constant and dutiful Servant,

J. H.

1650. *Considerations upon the lives of Alcibiades and Corialanus* [*sic*]. . . . *Englished by R. Gentilis.*

London. 1650. 12mo. *British Museum.*

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Dedicated to the daughter of Thomas, Earl of Strafford, "as a small token of the manifold obligements whereto I am everlastingly tied to you."

Translated from the Marquese Malvezzi's,

Considerationi, con occasione d'alcuni luoghi, della vite d'Alcibiade e di Coriolano. 2 pts.

Bologna. 1648. 4to. *British Museum*, (2 copies.)

"Like Shakspere's *of respect* is Robert Gentilis's *respectful*,—'Alcibiades . . . . strives to become great, and make himself *respectfull*, by contending with great ones."

Considerations, etc., p. 64.

F. H. in *The Nation*. July 4, 1895.

1650–52. *An exact Historie of the late Revolutions in Naples; And of their Monstrous Successes, not to be parallel'd by any Antient or Modern History. Published by the Lord Alexander Giraffi in Italian; And (for the rarenesse of the subject) Rendred to English, by J. H. Esq^r.*

London, Printed for R. Lowndes. 1650.

The Second Part of Massaniello, His Body taken out of the Town-Ditch, and solemnly Buried, With Epitaphs upon him. A Continuation of the Tumult; The D. of Guise made Generalissimo; Taken Prisoner by young Don John of Austria. The End of the Commotions. By J. H. Esquire.

Truth never look'd so like a Lie
As in this modern Historie.

London, Printed by A. M. for Abel Roper at the sign of the Sun, and T. Dring at the George near S^t. Dunstans Church in Fleetstreet, MDCLII. The two Parts together, 24mo, pp. 345. With a colored frontispiece subscribed *Effigie & nero Ritratto di Masianello, comandante, in Napoli. Peabody. British Museum* (2 copies). 1664–3. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated by the translator, James Howell, "To the right Worshipfull, the Governour, the Deputy, and the rest of the worthy Company, trading into the Levant."

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The work is a translation of Alessandro Giraffi's *Le rivolutioni di Napoli . . . . con pienissimo ragguaglio d'ogni successo, e trattati secreti, e palesi. (Primo libro—Manifesto del . . . . Popolo di Napoli.) Venetia.* 1647. 8vo. *British Museum.* (Eight editions between 1647 and 1844 in the British Museum.)

Masaniello (Tommaso Aniello) was a young fisherman of Amalfi who led a popular uprising in Naples during the summer of 1647. The cause of the civil revolution was the heavy taxation of the Spanish Government then in possession of Naples, and particularly the duty on fruits, both green and dry. The first riot, incited by Masaniello, broke out on Sunday, July 7, 1647, and lasted ten days; on the third day Masaniello was made Captain-General, or Absolute Patron, of the city, and as Howell translates, "from an humble, judicious, and zelous spirit which raign'd in him; he became proud, a Fool and a Tyrant." After a rule of but eight days and eight hours, he was assassinated, July 16, 1647.

The Second Part of Massaniello describes the continuation of the civil war, the intervention of the French commanded by the Duke of Guise, and the subjugation of the city by Spain, in 1648, under the leadership of Don John of Austria.

1650. *The History of the rites, customes and manner of life of the present Jews throughout the world. Written in Italian by Leo Modena. . . . Translated into English by E.* [*dmund*] *Chilmead.* Pp. 249.

J. L. for J. Martin and J. Ridley. London. 1650. 8vo. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Translated from Leo Modena's

Historia degli Riti Hebraici, Dove si hà breve e total relatione di tutta la vita, costumi, riti et osservanze, degl' Hebrei di questi tempi. [Edited by the French mystic, Jacques Gaffarel.]

Parigi. 1637. 12mo. *British Museum.*

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1650. *De Bello Belgico. The History of the Low-Countrey Warres. Written in Latin by F. S.* [*Famiano Strada*]*; in English by Sir R. Stapylton, Kt. Illustrated with divers figures.* [*A translation of Decade I. only.*]

London. 1650. Folio. 1667. Folio. *British Museum.*

A translation of

F. S. . . . de Bello Belgico decas prima (*secunda*), [1555–90]. 2 pts. *Romae.* 1632–47. Folio. *British Museum.*

1651. *Stoa Triumphans: or, two sober paradoxes, viz. 1. The Praise of Banishment. 2. The Dispraise of Honors. Argued in two letters by . . . . V. M. Now translated out of Italian, with some annotations annexed.*

London. 1651. 12mo. *British Museum.*

V. M. is the Marquese Virgilio Malvezzi. The translator's dedication is signed "T. P."

1652. *Historicall Relations of the United Provinces and of Flanders, written originally in Italian by Cardinall Bentivoglio, and now rendered into English by Henry* [*Carey*] *Earle of Monmouth.*

London. 1652. Folio. *British Museum.* Prefixed is a portrait, by Faithorne, of the Earl of Monmouth. Also, 1654. Folio. *Brit. Mus.* 1678. Folio. *Brit. Mus.*

The work is a translation of Bentivoglio's,

Relatione fatte dall' Ill^mo. Cardinal Bentivoglio in tempo delle sue nuntiature di Fiandra e di Francia. Date in luce da E. [*ricio*] *Puteano. 2 vols.*

N. Pantino. Colonia. 1629. Folio. *British Museum.*

Guido Bentivoglio was sent as papal nuncio to Flanders by Pope Paul V., in 1607; he remained there nine years, until the beginning of 1617, when he was transferred to France. He was so acceptable to France that when he was made a cardinal, January 11, 1621, Louis XIII. chose him to protect French interests in Rome. He died in conclave, in 1644, just as he was about to be elected Pope, done to death,

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J. V. Rossi (Nicius Erythraeus) asserts, by the snoring of the cardinal in the next cell, which kept him awake for eleven successive nights.

To the Earle of Monmouth. Upon his translation of Bentivoglio.

Those who could rule the Ancient World with ease,
Could strictly governe all, yet none displease,
Were such as cherisht Learning; not because
It wrapt in rev'renc'd Mistery the Lawes,
Nor that it did the Nobles civillize,
But rather that it made the People wise;
Who found by reading Story (where we see
What the most knowing were, or we should be)
That Peace breeds happiness, and only they
Breed Peace, who wisely any Pow'r obey.
Books much contribute to the Publick good,
When by the People eas'ly understood;
But those who dress them in a Forraigne Tongue
Bring Meate in cover'd Plate to make men long.
Whilst those who Foraigne Learning well translate
Serve plaine Meate up, and in uncover'd Plate.
This you have done my Lord! which only showes
How free your Mind in publick Channels flowes,
But if that good to which some men are borne
Doe less then good acquir'd our Names adorne
The ceaseless nature of your kindness then,
(Still ready to informe unlanguag'd Men)
Deserves less praise, if rightly understood,
Then does your judgment how to do Men good:
Which none can value at too high a rate,
Judging the choice of Authors you translate.

The Works of S^r William Davenant K^t. London. 1673. Folio. P. 316.

1653. *The Scarlet Gown, Or the History of all the present Cardinals of Rome. Wherein is set forth the Life, Birth, Interest, Possibility, rich offices, Dignities, and charges of every Cardinal now living. . . . Written originally in Italian [by N. N.] and translated into English by H. [enry] C. [ogan] Gent.*

London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley, etc. 1653. 8vo. *Huth. British Museum,* (3 copies). Also, 1654: 1660. 8vo. *British Museum.*

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Dedicated to John, Earl of Rutland.

I find in the *British Museum Catalogue*,

The Court of Rome. . . . Translated out of Italian into English by H. [*enry*] *C.* [*ogan*]. 1654. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Possibly this is a variant title for the 1654 edition of *The Scarlet Gown.*

1654. *The Compleat History of the Warrs of Flanders. written in Italian. . . . Englished by . . . . Henry* [*Carey*] *Earl of Monmouth. Illustrated with figures of the chief personages mentioned in this history, with a map of the 17 provinces and above 20 figures.*

London. 1654. Folio. With a portrait of the Earl of Monmouth. *British Museum.* Also, 1078. Folio. *British Museum.*

A translation of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio's,

Della Guerra di Fiandra, descritta dal Cardinal Bentivoglio parte prima (*terza*).

Colonia. 1632–39. 4to. 3 pts. *British Museum.*

1654. *A discourse touching the Spanish Monarchy; wherein we have a political glasse, representing each particular country . . . . and empire of the world, with wayes of government. . . . Newly translated into English* [*by Edmund Chilmead*] *according to the third edition . . . . in Latin.* Pp. viii + 232.

E. Alsop. London. 1654. 4to. *British Museum.*

[1660?] *Thomas Campanella, an Italian friar and second Machiavel, his advice to the King of Spain for attaining the universal Monarchy of the World: particularly concerning England, Scotland and Ireland, how to raise division between King and parliament, to alter the government from a kingdome to a commonwealth. . . . Translated into English by Ed. Chilmead . . . . with an admonitorie Preface by William Prynne.* Pp. xiv + 232.

P. Stephens. London, [1660?]. 4to. *British Museum.*

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A translation of Tommaso Campanella's,

Th. C. de Monarchia Hispanica discursus.

L. Elzevir. Amstelodami. 1640. 12mo. *British Museum.*

The work was also translated into Italian and German.

In his *De Monarchia Universali*, Campanella, a Dominican monk, revives Dante's political dream of a universal Church and a universal Empire, substituting Spain for Germany.

1654. *Parthenopoeia or the history of the Most Noble and Renowned Kingdom of Naples With the Dominions therunto annexed and the Lives of all their Kings. The First Part by that Famous Antiquary Scipio Mazzella made English by Mr. Samson Lennard Herald of Armes. The Second Part Compil'd by James Howell Esq.; who broches some supplements to the First part, drawn on the Thread of the Story to these present Times.* 1654.

London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley . . . . 1650. Sm. folio. Pp. xviii + 191 + 62 + ii. *British Museum.*

A translation of Scipione Mazzella's

Descrittione del regno di Napoli. . . . Con la nota de' fuochi, delle impositione . . . . e dell' entrate, che n'ha il Rè. E vi si fa mentione de i Rè, che l'han dominato, ... de' Pontifici e de' Cardinale, che si nacquero, e . . . . delle famiglie nobili, che vi sono, etc.

G. B. Capelli. Napoli. [1586]. 4to. Pp. 710. *British Museum.*

1654. *The Court of Rome. . . . Translated out of Italian into English by H. C.* [*Henry Cogan*].

1654. 8vo. *British Museum.*

1656. *I Ragguagli di Parnaso: or Advertisements from Parnassus, in two centuries, with the politick Touchstone . . . . put into English, by Henry* [*Carey*] *Earl of Monmouth.*

London. 1656. Folio. With portrait of the Earl of Monmouth, by Faithorne. *British Museum.* Also, 1669 and

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1674, folio, *British Museum*, and 1706, folio. "Revis'd and Corrected by Mr. Hughes" (John Hughes, the poet). Pp. xvi + 454. *British Museum.*

This is a translation of Trajano Boccalini's *De' Ragguagli di Parnasso centuria prima.* Venice. 1612. 4to. [*Milano.* 1613. 8vo. *British Museum.*] *Centuria seconda.* Venice. 1613. 4to. [*Venetia.* 1616. 8vo. *British Museum.*]

The Politick Touchstone is a translation of Boccalini's *Pietra del Paragone Politico*, which had already been translated by Sir William Vaughan, under the title, *The New-Found Politick.* 1626.

The title of a later, and different, translation of the *Ragguagli* reads,

Advertisements from Parnassus . . . . newly done into English, and adapted to the present times. Together with the author's Politick Touchstone; his Secretaria di Apollo; and an account of his life. By N. N. 3 vols.

London. 1704. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The *Ragguagli di Parnasso* represents Apollo, seated upon Parnassus, hearing the complaints of all who come before him, and distributing justice according to absolute desert. Boccalini was a keen and daring wit, and his book, which is a sort of *Dunciad*, is full of lively satire on the lives and writings of famous Italians. His touch is light, with a fantastic turn, and some of his hits are extremely happy. Apropos of Guicciardini's longwindedness, he relates this pleasantry,—

A citizen of Lacedaemon having said in three words what could be said in two (a capital crime in Sparta), was condemned—to read Guicciardini's history of the Pisan war. He read the first pages in a mortal sweat; then utterly unable to go on with it, he ran and threw himself at the feet of his judges, beseeching them to imprison him for life, to send him to the galleys, to burn him alive, anything rather than prolong his intolerable weariness in reading Guicciardini.

Dr. Richard Garnett thinks that the *Advertisements from*

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Parnassus probably exerted considerable influence upon Quevedo, Swift, and Addison.

1656. *The Siege of Antwerp written in Latin. . . . Englished [from the 6th and part of the 7th book of Famiano Strada's De Bello Belgico decas primo (secunda)] by Thomas Lancaster. Gent.*

London, [May 29, 1656] 8vo. *British Museum.*

1657. *Political Discourses; written in Italian, and translated into English by Henry [Carey] Earl of Monmouth.*

London. 1657. Folio.

A translation of Paolo Paruta's,

Discorsi politici ne i quali si considerano diversi fatti illustri, e memoraboli di Principi, e di Republiche antiche e moderne, [divisi in due libri:] Aggiuntovi nel fine un suo soliloquio, nel quale l'autore fà un breve essame di tutto il corso della sua vita.

Venetia. 1599. 4to. 2 pts. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

The *Discorsi* is a series of twenty-five essays on Athens, Rome, Venice, and contemporary politics, written with a broad and just spirit, and in an admirable style.

1658. *The History of Venice . . . . written originally in Italian . . . . likewise the wars of Cyprus . . . . wherein the famous sieges of Nicossia and Famagosta, and battel of Lepanto are contained. Made English by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth.*

London. 1658. Folio. 2 pts. *British Museum.*

A translation of Paolo Paruta's *Historia Vinetiana.* [Edited by G. Paruta and "fratelli."

Venice. 1605. 4to. 2 pts. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

Paruta's *Storia Veneziana* was begun in Latin with the design of following Cardinal Bembo's history of Venice; in three books, it covers the period from 1513 to 1552, relating the war with Cyprus. The style is simple, clear, and elegant. Paruta was not only an historian, but also an able statesman

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and diplomatist. He became Procurator of the Venetian Republic, and was only prevented by his death from becoming Doge.

1663. *History of the Wars of Italy, from the year 1613 to 1644, in eighteen books. Rendred into English by Henry* [*Carey*] *Earl of Monmouth.*

London. 1663. Folio. With Faithorne's portrait of the Earl of Monmouth. *British Museum.*

A translation of Pietro Giovanni Capriata's,

I due primi libri dell' Istoria di P. G. C. . . . sopra i movimenti d'arme successi in Italia dall' anno . . . . MDCXIII *fino al* MDCXVIII. *Aggiuntivi i Sommarij de gli altri quattro libri che mancano al compimento dell' opera.*

Genova. 1625. 4to. *British Museum.*

Dell' historia di P. G. C. libri dodici, etc. (*Parte seconda . . . . 1634 fino al 1640.—Parte terza* [*edited by G. B. Capriata*] *. . . . 1641 fino al 1650*). *3 pt. Genova.* 1638–63. 4to. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

1664. *A new Relation of Rome, as to the government of the city, the noble Families thereof, etc. Englished by G. T.* [*Giovanni Torriano*].

London. 1664. 8vo. (Lowndes.)

1664. *Rome exactly described as to its present state under Pope Alexander VII., out of Italian by G. T.* [*Giovanni Torriano*].

London. 1664. 8vo. (Lowndes. Allibone.)

1676. *The History of France, written in Italian. . . . The translation whereof being begun by Henry* [*Carey*], *late Earl of Monmouth, was finished by William Brent, Esq.*

London. 1676. Folio. *British Museum.*

A translation from the Italian historian, Galeazzo Gualdo-Priorato, Count of Comazzo,—

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Historia della Rivoluzioni di Francia sotto il regno di Luigi XIV, dall' anno 1648 sin all' anno 1654, con la continuazione della guerra tra le due corone.

Venice. 1655. Paris. 1656. Folio.

Aggiunta d'altri accidenti occorsi in Europa sino alla pace de' Pirenei.

Cologne. 1670. 4to. 2 vols.

The Earl of Monmouth was engaged upon the translation of this work at the time of his death, in 1661.

c. Manners and Morals.

1561. *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge Gentilmen and Gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palaice or Place, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby.*

Imprinted at London, by wyllyam Seres at the signe of the Hedghogge. 1561. Woodcut title. [Colophon.] Imprinted at London, by Wyllyam Seres, Dwelling at the west end of Paules, at the Signe of the hedghog. 4to. Black letter. *Huth. British Museum,* (2 copies): 1577. 4to. Black letter. *Brit. Mus.,* (2 copies): 1588. 8vo. Pp. 616. Printed by John Wolfe, in three columns, Italian, in Italics, French, in Roman, and English, in Black letter. *Brit. Mus.*: 1603. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* (With a spurious autograph of Shakspere, forged by S. W. H. Ireland): London. 1727. 4to. With a life of Count Baldessare Castiglione, by A. P. Castiglione: 2nd edition. London. 1742. 4to. *Peabody*: Another edition, by R. Sambre, London, 1729. 8vo.

1571. *Balthasaris Castilionis comitis de Curiale sive Aulico libri quatuor, ex Italico sermone in Latinum conversi. B. Clerke . . . . interprete. Non aute aediti. Apud J. Dayum. Londini.* 1571. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*: 1577. 8vo.: *Londini.* 1585. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*: *Londini.* 1603. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*: *Londini.* 1612. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*: *Argentorati* (Strassburg). 1619. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*: *Cantabrigiae.* 1713. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*

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The Courtyer is a translation of

Il libro del Cortigiano del Conte B. C. Nelle case d'Aldo Romano & d'Andrea d'Asola.

Venetia. 1528. Folio. *British Museum.*

Rigutini, in his edition of *Il Cortigiano* (Barbèra, 1889), accounts for 45 Italian editions of the book before his own; he also enumerates three Latin translations of it, two Spanish, two French, and one English. In this bibliography, not intended to be complete, I have mentioned 66 editions or reprints of *Il Cortigiano*, in five languages. The Italians call it the "Golden Book."

The first English edition contains "A Letter of syr I. Cheekes. To his loving frind Mayster Thomas Hoby," in which Sir John Cheeke says of the English language,

"I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tunges."

To the first Latin edition, by Bartholomew Clerke, is prefixed a Latin Epistle by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset, author of *Gorboduc*, the earliest English tragedy. Clerke's Latin translation is highly commended by Sir John Harrington, in the preface to his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso.* 1591.

The Huth Library copy of the *Courtyer* belonged to the poet Southey, and contains his autograph and bookplate.

Il Cortigiano is dedicated by the author, Count Baldessare Castiglione, to Don Michele de Silva, Bishop of Viseo; by the English translator, Sir Thomas Hoby, "To Right Honourable the Lord Henry Hastinges, sonne and heire apparent to the noble Earle of Huntington."

"To join learning with cumlie exercises, Conte Baldesar Castiglione in his booke, *Cortigiano*, doth trimlie teache, which booke, advisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one year at home in England, would do a yong jentleman more good, I wisse, than three yeares travell abrode spent in Italie. And I mervell this booke is no more read in the

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Court, than it is, seying it is so well translated into English by a worthie Jentleman Syr Th. Hobbie, was many wayes furnished with learnyng, and very expert in knowledge of divers tonges."

Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, Bk. 1, p. 61.

"The best book that ever was written upon good breeding, *Il Cortigiano*, by Castiglione, grew up at the little court of Urbino, and you should read it."

Boswell's Johnson. Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. 2nd. Oct. 1773. G. Birkbeck Hill, v, p. 276.

Count Baldessare Castiglione, 1478–1529, was a Mantuan who spent his life in the service first of the Duke of Milan and afterwards of Giudubaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. One of his diplomatic journeys took him to England, whence, in 1507, he carried home, from Henry VII., the Order of the Garter, for his master, the Duke of Urbino.

Il Cortigiano, the result of its author's travels and observations and social experiences, represents the highest conception of manners of the Renaissance. It is a mixed type of manners, in that the education of letters of the Renaissance is engrafted upon the martial discipline of feudal times. In form, *Il Cortigiano* is modelled on the *Decameron*, of Boccaccio, and the *De Oratore*, of Cicero. It is a dialogue supposed to be carried on by a distinguished company of ladies and gentlemen who are assembled at the Court of Urbino. Among these personages the chief are Giuliano de' Medici, called Il Magnifico, afterwards Pope Clement VII.; Ottaviano Fregoso, afterwards Doge of Genoa; Cardinal Bernardo Bibbiena, author of *Calandra;* Cardinal Bembo, author of *Gli Asolani;* L'Unico Aretino; Elizabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino; and Emilia Pia, Countess of Montefeltro.

The subject of discussion agreed upon is that proposed by Messer Federigo Fregoso, "the perfect courtier, what are all the conditions and particular qualifications required of the man who shall deserve that name."

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The discussion is continued through four evenings, taking up the subject under four heads: (1) Of the form and manner of a court life; (2) Of the qualifications of a courtier; (3) Of the court lady; (4) Of the duty of a prince. The debate on the first evening, on the form and manner of a court life, is conducted by Count Lodovico da Canossa. Following the chivalric ideal, it is laid down that the perfect courtier should be a man of birth, a good horseman, and able to swim, leap, cast the stone, and play tennis. In the education of letters, he should be able to speak and write well, imitating the diction of the best writers, of whom, in the vulgar tongue, Boccaccio and Petrarch are praised as models. Further, the perfect courtier ought to be more than moderately instructed in polite letters, he should understand Greek and Latin literature also, 'on account of the variety of things that are written in those languages with great accuracy and beauty.' So in the other arts of expression, he should know something of music, and be able to play upon the lute; some skill also in painting increases the knowledge of the beautiful and cultivates the taste.

On the second evening, the debate is led by the proposer, Messer Federigo Fregoso, who develops a lively and entertaining discussion of wit and humor. Among many sprightly bon mots, here is one or two,—

The Bishop of Cervia said to the Pope, "Holy Father, the whole court and city will have it that you have pitched upon me for governor."

"Let the fools talk," replied the Pope, "you may assure yourself there is not a word of truth in it."

Marc' Antonio, being one day exasperated by some words of Botton da Cesena, cried, "O Botton, Botton, the time will surely come when thou shalt be the button and a halter the button-hole."

Julian de Medici leads the conversation of the third evening, on the court lady. The conception of woman brought out is made up partly of the formal and sentimental ideas of

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the old *Cours d'Amour*, and partly of the colorless feminine light o' love introduced into Italian literature, to its immense damage, by Boccaccio, together with a smack of Platonism. The sentimental, Platonic lady is ably defended by the Magnifico, while the disparager of women is Signor Gasparo Pallavicino.

Signor Ottaviano Fregoso conducts the final debate, on the duty of a prince. It is held that a monarchy, under a good prince, is the best constituted government, although Bembo prefers a republic 'because liberty is one of the excellent gifts of God.' In this book Castiglione quotes himself on the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry VIII. He says that 'in this prince nature seemed to try to outdo herself by uniting in him alone enough excellencies for an infinity of men.'

George Wyndham (*Introduction to The Poems of Shakespeare*) thinks that Shakspere derived the Platonic philosophy of his *Sonnets* from the *Courtyer*. As the *Courtyer* was far and away the most popular Elizabethan translation from the Italian, it is more than likely than Shakspere was familiar with it. Among other suggestions which might be made to strengthen this supposition, it may be pointed out that the Countess Emilia Pia is the type of witty, sprightly lady that Boccaccio first made known in Pampinea, and who is, in English, our fascinating Beatrice.

I note two allusions to *The Courtyer* in the Elizabethan drama; in *Westward Hoe*, i. 1, by Webstor and Dekker, and in Marston's *The Malcontent*, i. 1, where Malevole says to Bilioso,—

"Adieu, my treu court-friend: farewell, my dear Castilio."

[1565.] *The boke of Wisdome otherwise called the Flower of Vertue, folowing the Auctorities of auncient Doctours and Philosophers, deuiding and speaking of Vices and Vertues, wyth many goodly examples wherby a man may be praysed or dyspraysed, wyth the maner to speake well and wyselie to al folkes, of what estate so euer they bee. Translated fyrst out*

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of Italion into French, and out of French into English by John Larke. [1565.] *Lerne my godly chyldren to eschew vyce* [Woodcut of a philosopher pointing to the stars] *and loke you to lerne wisdo˜e of your fore fathers.*

[Colophon.] Imprinted at London in Fletestreate, beneathe the Conduyte, at the sygne of S. John Euangeliste by Thomas Colwell. 8vo. 107 leaves. Black letter. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

The *Boke of Wisdome* is a translation of,—

Comencia una opera chiamata Fiore de uirtute che tratta de tutti i uitti humani x iḡle defugire ihomini cḥ desidera uiuere secōdo dio, etc. [By Tomaso Leoni? Venice. 1470?] 4to. 46 leaves. *British Museum.* There are sixteen Italian editions catalogued in the British Museum, eleven between [1470?] and 1538.

In enumerating "the auctoures of thys booke," John Larke cites sixty-two persons, of whom the first is Jesus and the last "Galyen." The work consists of fifty-seven chapters, generally in pairs, each virtue being accompanied by its corresponding vice. The titles of some of the chapters are as follows,—

"How Prudence is cheefe buckler, and defence of all Vertues. And of the great goodnes, that may come of the same to all persons, after the auncyente Phylosophers."

"How temperaunce is one of the flowers of Prudence. And how he that hath it in hym maye resiste and withstande many evils after the saienges of the wise men, in ye chapter going before."

"How a man oughte to take gladnesse and Joye; and of what thynge, and what gl̄adnesse or Joye is."

"Howe Heuynesse is contrarye to gladnesse; and howe the wyse man oughte neuer to put any in his hearte, wherof heuynes and mellancolly may be engendred."

"Howe the uertue of peace ought to be mayntayned and kepte; and of the greate goodnesse that commeth of the same, and what peace is."

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"Howe Justyce ought to be done and howe it is that thynge that dothe measure all thynges upon earthe."

"Howe Injustyce or wrong is contrary to Justyce, and howe manye maners there be of Iniustyce, and how Iniustyce demañdeth vengeaunce afore God."

Example of Justyce.

Apologue of the Angel and the Hermit.

"Of Justice it is red in the life of holye fathers, that there was an hermyte whyche long time had serued God and had done greate penaunce for hys synnes, to whom God sent afterwarde great sicknesse; and bycause that he could not recouer hys healthe agayn he began to complaine of God and to murmure in hymselfe. So it chaunced on a day that the aungell of God appered unto hym, in lykenesse of a yonge man, and sayd unto hym, come wyth me, for God will that I doe showe thee of hys secret Justyce; and dyd leade him into the towne, to a marchauntes house, whyche had in a coffre a great number of florences. And the aungell, in the syghte of the hermyte, did take the same florence, and did beare them into the house of another man, whych they founde in sleepe, and the aungell dyd leue the sayde florence at hys chambre dore, to the intente that when he should open the dore, that he should fynde them; and thys doone, he ledde hym to the house of another marchaunte that had a chylde, the whyche chylde the aungell dyd kyll, in the presence of the sayde heremite, and the heremite seinge all these thynges, thoughte that the aungell had ben a deuyll, and wolde fayne haue departed from hym. The aungell, seinge that he woulde depart from hym, sayde unto hym, tarye yet a litle, for I wyll showe thee the reason, wherfore I haue doone these thinges in thy presence; knowe first wherfore that I haue taken the florence from the burges; it is because that he had solde his herytage for the sayde florences, and was purposed to gyue them to certaine murtherers, whyche had promysed hym to kyll a man for hys sake, the whyche had

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dyspleased hym aforetymes; and the man which he wolde haue caused to be kylled, is a man of noble byrth, wherof shuld haue come greate inconuenyence, and therfore to resyst the euyl that might haue come therof, and also to let hym of hys euyll, and myscheuous wyll and purpose, I haue taken the sayde florence from hym; and when he shal see hym selfe pore and to haue loste hys herytage and goodes, he wyll gyue hymselfe to the seruice of God, and where he shulde haue ben dampned nowe he shalbe saued. The reason wherfore I haue born the florence to the chambre doore of the other man, is because that he was a ryche marchaunte whyche came from beyonde the sea, and had bestowed in marchaundyce all the goodes that he had, and putte it in a shyppe, the whych shyppe did peryshe upon the sea, then he did remembre one daye howe that he had loste all hys gooddes, and had nothynge to lyue uppon, began to fall in dyspayre, and was purposed to hang hym selfe, and therfore to the intente that he shoulde not destroye bothe the bodye and the soule, I dyd beare hym the foresaid florences. The reason whereof I haue kylled the chylde, is because that afore that the father had him he was a very good man, and gaue much almons, and did many good dedes for the loue of God; and sence that he had the chylde, he cared for none other thynge, but onelye to get rychesse, were it by ryghte or wronge, and therefore I haue kylled the chylde, to the intente that the father maye retourne to hys purpose; doe not meruayle nor grudge therfore, for the syckenesse that thou haste, for if it hadde not bene, thou shoulde ofte tymes haue thy mynde and courage in vanytyes wherby thou shoulde greatlye haue dyspleased God; and be thou sure, that God doth nothyng, but by reason, but the persones haue not knowledge therof, for God hathe not promysed it them, but of two euylles he dothe allwayes take the lesse. And, this said, the aungell dyd departe from the heremyte.

"And from thenceforthe, the sayde heremyte dyd neuer murmure againste God, for anye maner syckenesse or aduer-

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syty that he did send him, but rather dyd thanke God, and alwaies dyd reioyce hymselfe in his sicknes and aduersyties, consyderynge alwayes that it was of the goodnesse of God."

Censura Literaria, Vol. VII, p. 225 (Ed. 1808).

The apologue of the *Angel and Hermit* is one of the stories of the *Gesta Romanorum*, MSS. Harl. 2270, ch. LXXXX., and its first appearance in English must have been in Wynkyn de Worde's translation of the *Gesta*, without date.

A second translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*, made by Richard Robinson, went through six impressions between 1577 and 1601.

Besides the versions of the *Boke of Wisdome* and of these two translations of the *Gesta Romanorum*, there are four later ones in English. The first occurs in, *Certaine Conceptions or Considerations of Sir Percy Herbert, upon the strange Change of Peoples Dispositions and Actions in these latter Times. Directed to his Sonne.* London. 1652. 4to. Pp. 220 to 230. *British Museum.* It is entitled,—

A most full, though figurative Story, to shew that God Almighties Wayes and inscrutable Decrees are not to be comprehended by Humane Fancies.

James Howell, in one of his *Letters, To my Lord Marquis of Hartford*, without date, gives a variant of the tale, citing Sir Percy Herbert's *Conceptions* as his source. Vol. iv. Letter 4, of Howell's *Letters*, published between 1647 and 1650, and p. 7 of the edition of 1655.

The story is also found in the *Divine Dialogues* (Pt. I., p. 321. Dialogue II. Edit. London. 1668. 12mo.), of Dr. Henry More, the Platonist, where it is enriched with interesting moral reflections. And Thomas Parnell closely follows More in *The Hermit*, his most popular poem. W. C. T. Dobson, royal academician, contributed "The Hermit," with a quotation from Parnell, to the Academy Exhibition of 1842.

Parnell's version is said to be the tenth—the story, like many another one, having originated in Arabic, and come into English by a natural process of descent.

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The story is inserted in the twentieth chapter of Voltaire's *Zadig, De l'Hermite qu' un Ange conduisit dans le siècle.* The germ of the tale occurs in the *Koran,* Ch. xx, where it is entitled the *Cave.*

With *Fiore di virtu,* No. 22 [Zambrini's *Libro di Novelle Antiche,* Bologna, 1868], compare the *Decameron,* Introduction to Day 4, the story of the hermit's son who had never seen a woman.

[1570?] *The Fables of Esope in Englishe with all his life and Fortune . . . . whereunto is added the Fables of Avyan, And also the Fables of Alfonce, with the Fables of Poge the Florentyne, etc.*

H. Wykes, for J. Waley. London. [1570?]. 8vo. Black letter. Also, 1634. 8vo. Black letter, both editions in the *British Museum,* 2 copies of the last.

This is a reprint of Caxton's translation of the fables of Aesop, Avicenna, Petrus Alphonsus, and Poggio-Bracciolini, 1484, folio, Caxton's own imprint "at Westmynstre in thabbey;" and [London, 1500?], Pynson.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* records, "The Fables of Aesop translated by Caxton from the French, folio, Westminster, 26th March, 1484. With woodcuts. [Unique perfect copy at Windsor, imperfect copies in the British Museum, and at Oxford.]"

I find an early French Aesop, but of a little later date, *Les subtilles fables de Esope,* etc. [1499?] 4to. *British Museum.*

The *British Museum* also gives,

The Fables of Alfonce [Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alphonsus, formerly Rabbi Moses Sephardi] translated out of Frensshe by W. Caxton. 1484.

Whether Caxton translated Avicenna [the celebrated Arabic physician, Ḥusain Ibn 'Abd Allah (Abū 'Alī) called Ibn Sīnā, 980–1037 A. D.], and Poggio-Bracciolini from the French, I do not know.

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1570. *The Morall Philosophie of Doni: drawne out of the auncient writers. A worke first compiled in the Indian tongue [by Sendabar or rather Bidpai] and afterwards reduced into diuers other languages: and now lastly englished out of Italian by Thomas North. Brother to the right Honorable Sir Roger North Knight, Lord North of Kyrtheling.*

Here follows an engraving, a bad copy of the original, with the motto 'The wisdome of this worlde is folly before God.'

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham. 1570. Sm. 4to. 4 parts. 116 leaves. Woodcuts. *Bodleian.* [Colophon.] Here endeth the Treatise of the Morall Philosophie of Sendebar: In which is layd open many infinite examples for the health & life of reasonable men, shadowed under tales and similitudes of brute beaste without reason. Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham, dwelling in Paternoster Rowe, at the signe of the Starre. Also, London, 1601. 4to. *British Museum.*

The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai, 'The Morall Philosophie of Doni,' by Sir T. North. Edited by Joseph Jacobs. London. 1888. 8vo.

Dedicated to Robert, Earl of Leicester, and with commendatory verses in English and Italian.

This is a translation from Antonio Francesco,—

Doni, La Moral Filosophia del Doni, Tratta da gli antichi scrittori; Allo Illustriss. S. Don Ferrante Caracciolo dedicata. [Engraving, with the motto Η ΓΑΡ ϹΟΦΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟϹΜΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΩΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΕϹΤΙ] *Con privilegio. In Uinegia per Francesco Marcolini.* MDLII. [4to.] Six later editions.

The *Moral Filosophia* is an Italian version of the old Indian collection of Tales, called Kalilah wa Dimnah, or '*The book of Kalilah and Dimnah.*' It corresponds to chapters five and six of Silvestre de Sacy's "*Calila et Dimna ou Fables de Bidpai en Arabe.*" (Paris. 1816. 4to.)

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5. The lion and the ox; or two friends between whom a crafty interloper sows dissension.

6. Investigation of Dimnah's conduct, and his defence of himself.

In the Indian fable Kalilah and Dimnah are two jackals, who are courtiers at the gate of the King, Pingalaka, the lion; but Kalilah in Doni appears as *l'asino* and Dimnah as *il mulo*.

Sir Thomas North translated the first part only of Doni's work, which goes on, in the same volume, freshly and continuously paged, with six treatises, entitled, "*Trattati diversi di Sendebar Indiano filosopho morale. Allo illustriss, et excellentiss. S. Cosimo de Medici dedicati.*" [Engraving bearing the motto 'Fiorenza.']

In Uinegia nell' Academia Peregrina. MDLII; and at the end (p. 103) stands '*In Uinegia per Francesco Marcolini.* MDLII.'

The book of Kalilah and Dimnah is a collection of tales supposed to be related to a King of India by his philosopher, in order to enforce some particular moral or rule of conduct. In many of the stories the characters are animals thinking and acting just like men and women. Originally Sanskrit, the book passed from Buddhist literature into Persian, and thence into nearly every known Oriental and modern language. Doni's "*Moral Filosophia,*" for example, is based on the Latin of John of Capua, "*Directorium humanae vitae, vel Parabole Antiquorum Sapientum* (1263–1278, printed, 1480(?)) and this, in its turn, upon a Hebrew translation from the Arabic.

In its migrations, from the Sanskrit original of the Pantchatantra, though Persian and Arabic, the names of both king and philosopher vary. Bidpai, or Pilpai, the philosopher of the Persian version known as the "*Lights of Canopus,*" or, in English, *the Fables of Pilpay,* is a wise Brahmin who lives in a cave of the holy mountain of Ceylon. Doni's Sendebar is from Sandabar, the name of the philosopher in the Hebrew

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version from which John of Capua translated. Possibly this form is a reminiscence of Shanzabeh, the Sanskrit name of the ox in the well-known story of the *Lion and the Ox* which is the opening tale of the original Indian book.

In the *Trattati diversi* the king is *Fr. Strrza,* Duke of Milan, the philosopher is *maestro Dino filosofo Fiorentino,* and the scenes and personages are all Italian. Dino may be an anagram of Doni.

1573. *Cardanus Comforte translated into English* [*by Thomas Bedingfield*]. *And published by commaundement of the Right Hon. the Earl of Oxenford.*

T. Marshe, London, 1573. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

Newly . . . . corrected and augmented.

T. Marsh, London, 1576. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

There is a dedication to the Earl of Oxford dated "1 Jan. 1571–2," which is followed by a letter to the translator, and some verses to the reader, both written by the Earl of Oxford.

The work is translated from Girolamo Cardano's,

H. C. . . . . De Consolatione libri tres.

Venetiis. 1542. 8vo. *British Museum.*

A different English translation of this book came out one hundred years later,—

Cardan, his three bookes of Consolation Englished. London, 1683. 16mo. *British Museum.*

1575. *Golden epistles. Contayning varietie of discourse, both Morall, Philosophicall, and Divine: gathered, as well out of the remaynder of Gueuaraes woorkes, as other Authours, Latine, Frenche, and Italian. By G.* [*eoffrey*] *Fenton.*

London: A. Middleton for R. Newbery. 1575. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.* Also, London, 1577. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum,* and London, 1582. 4to. Pp. 347. Black letter. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

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Dedicated to "Ladie Anne Countesse of Oxenford."

This work of Fenton's is a kind of supplement to Edward Hellowes's, *The Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthony of Guevara. . . . Translated out of the Spanish Toung, by E. Hellowes. . . .* Now corrected and enlarged, etc. London. [1574.] 4to. Black letter. 1577. 4to. 1584. 4to. All in the *British Museum.*

The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that Fenton translated the Golden Epistles from the French. I find a French translation, entitled,

Epistres Dorees moralles & familieres [tom 1–2], traduites d'Espagnol . . . . par le Seigneur de Guterry, etc. (Le troisième livre des epistres illustres. . . . La Revolte que les Espaignolz firent contre leur jeune Prince, l'an 1520, & l'yssue d'icelle; avec un traitté des travaux & privileges de Galeres, . . . traduit . . . . en François [by Antoine Dupinet, Sieur de Noroy.] 3 tom. Lyon. 1556–60. 4to.

1576. *Galateo of Maister John Della Casa, Archbishop of Beneventa, or rather, a treatise of the mañers and behaviours it behoveth a man to uze and eschewe, in his familiar conversation. A worke very necessary and profitable for all gentlemen or other. First written in the Italian tongue, and now done into English by Robert Paterson of Lincolnes Inne Gentlemen. Satis si sapienter.*

Imprinted at London for Raufe Newbery, dwelling in Fleete streate, a little above the Conduit. An. Do. 1576. 4to. 68 leaves. Black letter. 1703. 12mo. *British Museum.* 1774. 16mo. *Brit. Mus.* 1892. 4to. Privately printed, with an introduction by H. J. Reid. An epitome of *Galateo* was published in the miscellany, *The Rich Cabinet.* 1616.

Dedicated, "to the right honourable my singular good lord, the Lord Robert Dudley, Earle of Leycester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the Honourable order of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes Maiesties Horses, and of her Highnesse priuie counsell, Robert Peterson wisheth perfect felicitie."

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With commendatory verses in Italian, by Francesco Pucci and Alessandro Citolini; in Latin, by Edouardus Cradoccus, S. Theologiae Doctor and Professor; and in English, by Thomas Drant, Archdeacon, J. Stoughton, Student, and Thomas Browne of L. I. Gent.

The Refin'd Courtier; or, a correction of several indecencies crept into civil conversation. [*In part translated and abridged from G. della Casa's Galateus, by N. W.*]

London. 1663. 12mo. *British Museum.*

The Refined Courtier. . . . Written . . . . in Italian by J. C., from thence into Latin by N. [*athan*] *Chytraeus, and from both . . . . made English, by N. W.*

London. 1686. 12mo. *British Museum.* Second edition. Also, 1804. 16mo. *Brit. Mus.* There have been altogether seven editions and one epitome of *Galateo* in English between 1576 and 1892.

Galatee . . . . mis en François, Latin, & Espagnol par divers auteurs, etc. [*into Latin by Nathan Chytraeus*]. 1598. 16mo. *British Museum.*

Galateo is a translation of Giovanni della Casa's, *Trattato . . . . nel quale . . . . si ragiona de' modi, che si debbono & tenere & schifare nella comune conversatione, cognominato Galatheo.*

Milano. 1559. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Giovanni della Casa, 1500–1556, Archbishop of Benevento, Petrarchist, and author of *Galateo*, has been called the Italian Chesterfield. *Galateo* is an admirable treatise on good manners. Differing from Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano*, which prescribes the training and discipline of the man of birth and position, *Galateo* aims to be a guide to the average gentleman in his intercourse with his equals. Like the *Courtier*, it has enjoyed enduring fame, because its precepts of conduct are based on those general principles of mutual respect and tolerance which hold good for all peoples and at all times. Both books perhaps have been saved from the perverse fate of manuals of etiquette in general by the fact that in a simple, dignified way, and with singular distinction

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of style, they recognize the final sanction of tact as the mark of education and culture, and inculcate the importance of it as a universal social duty.

The title of *Galateo* passed into a proverb. 'To teach the *Galateo*' is synonymous, in Italian, with 'to teach good manners.' *Galateo* is said to have been in real life a certain Galeazzo Florimonte of Sessa.

Galateo discusses social conduct with much particularity, instructing the young man on such points as the proper use of the drinking-glass at table, the employment of the napkin, how to dress the hair, etc. I quote a page or two from one of the old editions:

"The treatise of Master Jhon Della Casa, wherin under the person of an old unlearned man, instructing a youthe of his, he hath talke of the maners," etc.

"To rise up where other men doe sit and talke, and to walke up and downe the chamber, it is no poynt of good manner. Also there be some that so buskell them selues, reache, streatch, and yawn, writhing now one syde, and then another, that a man would weene, they had some feuer uppon them. A manifest signe, that the companye they keepe, doth weary them. Likewise doe they very yll, yt now and then pull out a letter out of theyr pocket, to reade it; as if they had greate matters of charge, and affaires of the common weale committed unto them. But they are much more to be blamed, that pull out theyr knyves or their scisers, and doe nothing els but pare their nayles, as if they made no account at all of the company, and would seeke some other solace to passe the time awaye. Theis fashions to, must be left, that some men use, to sing betwene the teeth, or play the dromme with their fingers, or shoofle their feete; for these demeanours shewe that a body is carelesse of any man ells."

"A man must beware that he say, not those things, which unsaid in silence would make the tale plesaunt inoughe, and, peraduenture, geue it a better grace to leaue them out. As to say thus, 'such a one that was the sonne of such a one, that

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dwelt in Cocomer street; do you not knowe him? he married the daughter of Gianfigliazzi, the leane scragg that went so much to St. Laraunce. No, you do not know him? why, do you not remember the goodly strayght old man that ware long haire downe to his shoulders?' For if it were nothing materiall to the tale, whether this chaunce befell him, or him, all thys long babble, and fond and folishe questions, were but a tale of a Tubbe; to no purpose, more then to weary mens eares that harken to it, and long to understand the end."

"To weare a toothpicke, about your neck, of all fashions that is the worst, for, besides that it is a baued jewell for a gentleman to pull forth of his bosome, and putteth men in mind of those tooth drawers that sit on their benche in the stretes; it makes men also to thinke that the man loues his belly full well, and is prouided for it, and I see no reason, why they should not as well carry a spoone, about their neckes, as a toothe picke."

"Some men there be, that have a pride or a use to drawe their mouthes a little awry, or twinckle up their eye, and to blow up their cheekes and to puffe, and to make with their countenance sundrie such like foolishe and ilfauoured faces and gestures, I councell men to leaue them cleane, for Pallas herselfe, the goddesse, (as I haue hearde some wise men say) tooke once a great pleasure to sound the flute and the cornet; and therin she was verie cunning. It chaunst her one day, sounding her cornet for her plesure ouer a fountain, she spide herselfe in the water, and when she beheld those strange gestures she must nedes make with her mouth as she plaid; she was so much ashamed of it that she brake the cornet in pieces and cast it away."

Censura Literaria, vol. 7, pp. 215–217.

1577. *The Court of Civill Courtesie.*

Chatsworth Library,

The Court of ciuill Courtesie. Fitlie furnished with a pleasant part of stately phrases and pithy precepts: assembled

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in the behalfe of all young Gentlemen, and others, that are desirous to frame their behauiour according to their estates, at all times and in all companies. Therby to purchase worthy praise of their inferiours: and estimation and credite among their betters. Out of the Italian, by S. R. Gent.

Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones, 1591. 4to. Black letter. *Huth.*

The author of this book was ostensibly "Bengalasso del Monte, Prisacchi Retto," who is described by Richard Jones, the printer, as "a Noble and graue personage of Italy." It was written for the benefit or "behauiour" of his nephew, "Seig. Princisco Ganzar Moretto," in the following circumstances:—

"At my last being at Prisacchi, understanding by your father's talke, that hee minded to haue you a while in the Court, where he hath spent the better part of his life; and because it is frequented with all sortes of companies, as any place in Italy is, I haue directed this little booke, which if you read and marke diligently, shal be as it were a Guide, to lead you from a number of snares which you may be trapt withal, & also for your behauior in al companies: with many other things fit to be knowen of yong Gentlemen, and especiallie for such as haue not bene convuersant in all companies."

The Athenaeum, No. 3666, Jan. 29, 1898, and No. 3667, Feb. 5, 1898.

1579. *Physicke against Fortune, as well prosperous, as adverse, conteyned in two Bookes. . . . Written in Latine, by Frauncis Petrarch, a most famous poet and oratour, and now first Englished by T[homas] Twyne.*

London. R[ichard] Watkyns. 1579. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

This is a translation of Petrarch's set of Latin dialogues, *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae, (1356)*. The earliest Italian edition of the original that I find in the *British Museum Catalogue* is,

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Francisci Petrarcae poetae oratorisque clarissimi de Remediis utriusque fortunae. . . . Cremonae. 1492. Folio.

Petrarch's first book treats of the snares of prosperity, the second of the uses of adversity.

The translation is alluded to by Marston in *The Malcontent*, iii. 1:—

Bilioso. "My lord, I have some books which have been dedicated to my honour, and I never read them, and yet they had very fine names: *Physick for fortune; Lozenges of sanctified sincerity.* Very pretty works of curates, scriveners, and schoolmasters. Marry, I remember one Seneca, Lucius Anneus Seneca."

1585. *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius, contayning a Discourse of rare Inuentions, both militarie and amorous, called Impresse. Whereunto is added a Preface, contayning the Arte of composing them, with many other notable Deuises. By Samuel Daniell, late Student in Oxenforde.*

London, Printed by Simon Waterson. 1585. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to the "Right Worshipful Sir Edward Dimmock, Champion to hir Majestie."

A translation of Paolo Giovio's essay on mottoes and badges, entitled,—

Ragionamento di Paolo Giouio sopra i Motti, e Disegni d'Arme e d'Amore communemente chiamano Imprese. Con un Discorso di G. Ruscelli, intorno allo stesso soggetto. Venetia. 1556. 8vo. *British Museum.* (Second edition of *Dialogo dell' Imprese Militari et Amorose. Roma.* 1555. 8vo. *British Museum.*)

The *Worthy Tract* is interesting as being Daniel's first publication.

1586. *The ciuile Conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo, written first in Italian, diuided into foure bookes, the first three trans-*

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lated out of French by G. pettie. In the first is contained in generall, the fruits that may be reaped by Conuersation. . . . In the second, the manner of Conuersation, meete for all persons. . . . In the third is perticularlie set forth the orders to be obserued in Conuersation within doores. . . . In the fourth is set downe the forme of Ciuile Conuersation, by an example of a Banquet, made in Cassale, betweene sixe Lords and foure Ladies. And now translated out of Italian into English by Barth. Young, of the middle Temple, Gent.

Imprinted at London by Thomas East. 1586. 4to. *British Museum. Huth.*

The Civil Conversation is in prose with a few verses interspersed. It is translated from,

La civil conversatione del Signor S. G. [*Stefano Guazzo*] *. . . . divisa in quattro libri. Venegia.* 1575. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Books I., II. and III. were printed separately in 1581, 4to., and were dedicated to Lady Norris by George Pettie. Lady Norris was Marjorie, wife of Sir Henry Norris, Baron Norris of Rycote. Sir Henry and Lady Norris were personal friends of Queen Elizabeth, who playfully nicknamed Lady Marjorie her 'black crow,' in allusion to the lady's dark complexion. A striking monument in St. Andrew's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, commemorates this worthy couple and their six sons. Life-size figures of Lord and Lady Norris lie beneath an elaborate canopy supported by marble pillars, while around them kneel effigies of their children.

An English translation of *La civil conversatione*, of 1738, is entitled *The Art of Conversation.* I have found no trace of Pettie's French original.

The banquet at Casale is intended as an exemplification of the rules of polite society laid down in the book, and for this purpose the company is described in the minutest detail—what the six lords and four ladies talked about, what games they played, how they supped, and all their doings up to their dispersal.

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1595. *Nennio, Or A Treatise of Nobility: Wherein is discoursed what true Nobilitie is, with such qualities as are required in a perfect Gentleman. Done into English by W. [illiam] Jones, Gent.*

Printed by P. S. for P. Linley and J. Flasket. [London.] 1595. 4to. *British Museum.*

Duplicate, with new title-page, and without dedications, 1600. *A discourse whether a nobleman by birth, or a Gentleman by desert is greater in Nobilitie.* [Translated from the Italian, by W. [illiam] Jones.]

Peter Short. London. 1600. 4to. *British Museum.*

The work is translated from Giovanni Battista Nenna's, *Il Nennio. Nel quale si ragiona di nobiltà.*

Vinegia. 1542. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The edition of 1595 contains commendatory sonnets by Edmund Spenser, George Chapman, Samuel Daniel, and Angel Day.

Sonnets. [Quoted in original order.]

From "Nennio, Or a Treatise of Nobility, etc. Written in Italian by that famous Doctor and worthy Knight, Sir John Baptista Nenna of Barri. Done into English by William Jones, Gent. 1595."

Who so wil seeke by right deserts t'attaine,
Unto the type of true Nobility,
And not by painted shewes & titles vaine,
Deriued farre from famous Ancestrie:
Behold them both in their right visnomy
Here truly pourtrayt, as they ought to be,
And striuing both for termes of dignitie,
To be aduanced highest in degree.
And when thou doost with equall insight see
the ods twixt both, of both thē deem aright,
And chuse the better of them both to thee:
But thanks to him that it deserues, behight;
To *Nenna* first, that first this work created,
And next to Jones, that truely it translated.

Ed. Spenser.

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Of William Jones, his "Nennio, 1595."

Here dost thou bring (my friend) a stranger borne
To be endenized with us, and made our owne,
Nobilitie; whose name indeed is worne
By manie that are great, or mightie growne:
But yet to him most natural, best knowne,
To whom thou doost thy labours sacrifize,
And in whom al those virtues best are showne
Which here this little volume doth comprize.
Whereon when he shall cast his worthie eies,
He here shal glasse himselfe, himselfe shal reed:
The modell of his owne perfections lies
Here plaine describ'd, which he presents indeed:
So that if men can not true worth discerne
By this discourse, look they on him and learne.

Sa. Danyel.

The personage Daniel alludes to in this sonnet is "Robert Devreux [sic], Earle of Essex and Ewe, Vicount of Hereford, Lord Ferrer of Chartley," etc., to whom William Jones dedicated *Nennio*.

To the author of Nennio.

Accept, thrice noble Nennio, at his hand
That cannot bid himself welcome at home,
A thrice due welcome to our native strand,
Italian, French, and English now become.
Thrice noble, not in that used epethite,
But noble first, to know whence noblesse sprung,
Then in thy labour bringing it to light,
Thirdly, in being adorned with our tongue.
And since so like itself thy land affords
The right of noblesse to all noble parts,
I wish our friend, giving thee English words,
With much desert of love in English hearts,
As he hath made one strange an Englishman,
May make our minds in this, Italian.

Ex tenebris. [George Chapman.]

1598. *Hecatonphila. The Arte of Loue. Or, Loue discouered in a hundred seuerall kindes.*

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Printed at London by P. S. for William Leake, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Greyhound. 1598. 12mo. 48 leaves. *British Museum.*

Dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull Ma: Henry Prannell Esquire, the true Friend and Fauourer of all laudable Professions." Prefixed is "In Artem Amandi Decastichon," signed Franciscus Meres.

This is a translation of Alberti's prose poem, entitled, *Hecatomphila, ne la quale se insegna l'ingeniosa arte d'amore.* Venetia. 1545. 8vo. It is a lecture addressed to women by a professed mistress of the art of love. She tells them how to choose a lover, neither too young nor too old, not too rich nor yet too handsome, how to keep him and in what way to make the most of him. Alberti is a misogynist, and his title is a sarcastic one meaning 'the lady of a hundred loves.'

1600. *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles: erected in English as neer the first Italian modell and platforme as the unskilfull hand of an ignorant Architect could deuise. I pazzi, e li prudenti, fanno giustissima bilancia.*

Printed by Edm. Bollifant for Edward Blount. 1600. 4to. *British Museum. Huth.*

Dedicated "To the Good Old Gentlewoman, and her Special Benefactresse, Madam Fortune, Dame Folly (Matron of the Hospitall) makes curtesie, and speakes as followeth."

From the Italian of Tommaso Garzoni, *L'hospidale de' Pazzi incurabili . . . . nuovamente formato e posto in luce . . . . con tre Capitoli in fine sopra la Pazzia.* Ferrara. 1586. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The *Huth Catalogue* says that the original was printed at Venice in 1586. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1620, and a German version at Strassbourg two years earlier, in 1618.

Edward Blount, or Blunt, is himself supposed to be the translator.

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1603. *A Dialogue full of pithe and pleasure: between three Phylosophers: Antonio, Meandro, and Dinarco: Upon the Dignitie, or Indignitie of Man. Partly translated out of Italian, and partly set downe by way of obseruation. By Nicholas Breton, Gentleman.*

Dignus honore pius,
Gloria sola Deus.

London, Printed by T. C. for John Browne, and are to be solde at his Shop in Saint Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet-streete. 1603. 4to. Black letter. *Huth. British Museum.* Also, 1876. Sm. 4to. *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Nicholas Breton. Part XXII. The Chertsey Worthies Library.* A. B. Grosart. *Peabody.*

Dedicated, "To the Right Worshipfull the louer of all good spirites, and nourisher of all good studies, John Linewray, Esquier Master Surueior Generall of all her Maiesties Ordinance."

In the dedicatory letter, Breton describes the dialogue as follows,—

"under the Title of the Dignitie or Indignitie of Man, are discoursed many necessary points to be considered of, as well for the outward as the inward parts: wherein it may be you shall finde pleasant wittes speake to some purpose, no Machauilian pollicies, nor yet idle fables, no straunge Riddles, nor vaine libelling ballades, but quicke spirits whetting their braines, to shewe the edge of their inuentions: and not to be tedious in my Preface before you come to the matter, you shall finde in summe, that true worth, wherein lieth the whole matter, that only maketh the worthie or unworthie man, and the due glorie unto God, who is only worthie of all honour, and of all men: the greatest part of this booke was in Italian, dedicated to a man of much esteeme in the Dukedome of Florence, and this booke in this our Language, I haue thought good here in England, to present to your worthinesse, of a better worke in this her Maiesties Royall Tower of London."

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1605. *The Dumbe Divine Speaker; or, dumbe speaker of Divinity. A . . . . treatise in praise of silence: shewing both the dignitie, and defectes of the tongue . . . . translated by A. M.*

For W. Leake, London, 1605. 4to. *British Museum.*

Translated from Jacopo Affinati d'Acuto,

Il muto che parla, dialogo, oue si tratta dell' eccellenze e de difetti della lingua humana, e si spiegano più di 190 concetti scritturali sopra il silentio, etc.

Venetia. 1606. 8vo. *British Museum.*

[1606.] *Problemes of Beautie and all humane affections. Written in Italian by T. B. . . . With a discourse of Beauty by the Same Author. Translated into English by S.* [*amson*] *L.* [*ennard*] *Gent.*

London. G. Eld, for E. Blount and W. Aspley. [1606.] 12mo. *British Museum.*

A translation of Tommaso Buoni's *I Problemi della Bellezza di tutti gli effetti humani: con un discorso della bellezza del medesimo autore. Venetia.* 1605. 12mo. *British Museum.*

Samson Lennard accompanied Sir Philip Sidney to the Netherlands, and was with him when he received his fatal wound at the battle of Zutphen, in 1586. He subsequently entered the Herald's College, and died in 1633, as Blue-mantle pursuivant.

1607. *Ars Aulica or the Courtiers Arte.* [*Quotations and motto, Felice chi puo.*]

London, Printed by Melch. Bradwood for Edward Blount. 1607. Sm. 8vo. (*Huth.*) 12mo. (*British Museum.*)

Dedicated to the Herbert brothers, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery.

Translated, by Edward Blount, from Lorenzo Ducci's, *Arte Aulica . . . . nella quale s'insegna il modo che deve tenere il Cortigiano per devenir possessore della gratia del suo Principe.*

Ferrara. 1601. 8vo. *British Museum.*

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1616. *The Rich Cabinet furnished with varietie of Excellent discriptions, exquisite Charracters, witty discourses, and delightful Histories. Deuine and Morrall. Together with Inuectives against many abuses of the time digested Alphabetically into commonplaces. Whereunto is annexed the Epitome of good manners, extracted from Mr. John de la Casa, Arch-bishop of Beneventa.*

London, Printed by I. B. for Roger Jackson and are to be sold at his shop neere Fleet Conduit, 1616. Sm. 8vo. *Huth.*

A curious miscellany of prose and verse, arranged in alphabetical order. The Epitome of good manners at the end is the Galateo of Giovanni della Casa, already translated in 1576, by Robert Peterson. The Invectives are a series of theophrastic sentences upon the general text, 'player is now a name of contempt.' The whole tract possesses a unique interest, because, published in the year of Shakspere's death, the character of the player presented in it, his virtues and his defects, shows plainly the social stigma which was then attached, both to the poet who wrote for the stage, and to the player who interpreted his works. Shakspere's Sonnets, 110 and 111, reveal how he smarted under it. Ben Jonson, in the Hawthornden Conversations, says with characteristic bluntness, "Poetry had beggared him, when he might have been a rich lawyer, physician, or merchant." Beaumont was born a gentleman, and the fact that his name appears first on the title-page of *The Scornful Lady*, published in this same year, immediately after his death, would seem to indicate that he did not care to be known as a playwright during his lifetime.

1637. *Curiosities: or the Cabinet of Nature: containing Phylosophical, Naturall, and Morall questions fully answered. . . . Translated out of Latin, French and Italian Authors, by R. B. [asset] Gent. Never before published.*

N. & I. Okes. London. 1637. 12mo. *British Museum.*

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d. ITALIAN AND LATIN PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLAND.

[1549.] *Tractatio de Sacramento Eucharistiae, habita in celeberrima universitate Oxoniensi in Anglia, per D. petrum martyrem vermilium Florentinum, Regiam ibidem Theologiae professorem, cum jam absoluisset interpretationem ii capitis prioris epistolae D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios. Ad hec Disputatio de eodem Eucharistiae sacramento, in eadem Universitate habita per eundem D. P. Mar. Anno Domini* M. D. XLIX. 2 pts.

Londini, ad aeneum serpentem. Library of Edward VI. Royal Library. *British Museum.*

At folios 8, 10, 11, 12, and 13, of the Disputatio are notes in the handwriting of King Edward VI.

[1553?] *Cathechismo, cioè forma breve per amaestrare i fanciulli: La quale di tutta la christiano disciplina cōtiene la somma. . . . Tradotta di Latino in lingua Thoscana per M. A.* [*Michel Angelo*] *Florio.*

[London (?) 1553 (?)] 8vo. *British Museum.*

The Latin original of this Protestant catechism is, *Catechismus pro pueris et Juventute in ecclesiis et ditione. . . . Marchionum Brandenborgensium, et inclyti senatus Norimbergensis, breviter conscriptus, e Germanico Latine redditus per J.* [*ustus*] *Jonam. Addita epistola de laude Decalogi.* 1539. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Florio's title apparently translates Archbishop Cranmer's English one,—

Catechismus. That is to say; a shorte Instruction into Christian Religion for the Synguler commoditie and profyte of childrē and yong people. Set forth by . . . . Thomas Archbyshop of Canterbury. [*Translated from a Latin work, which was itself a translation from the German, made by Justus Jonas.*] *With woodcuts from designs by Holbein.*

Gualter Lynne. London. 1548. 8vo. Black Letter. *British Museum.*

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Dedicated to King Edward VI.

Michel Angelo Florio, father of John Florio, was a Florentine originally from Siena, who fled to England from the persecution of the Waldenses in the Valteline shortly before the accession of Edward VI. He was patronized by both Archbishop Cranmer, and Sir William Cecil, in whose house he lived for some time. In 1550, he was pastor of a congregation of Italian Protestants in London. His most interesting work is a biography of Lady Jane Grey.

See *Historia de la Vita e de la Morte de l'illustrissima Signora Giovanna Graia.* 1607.

1555. *De Memoria reparanda, augenda, servandaque* [*ac de reminiscentia: tutiora omnimodo remedia et praeceptiones optimas continens.*] *Item de Praedictione morum naturarumque hominum facili, ex inspectione partium corporis,* [*tum aliis modis. De temporum omnimoda mutatione, perpetua et certissima signa et prognostica.*]

Apud B. Arnoletum: Lugduni. 1555. 16mo. *British Museum.* (2 copies).

This is a London reprint of the Latin of Guglielmo Grataroli, a physician of Bergamo. The first work was translated by William Fullwood, in 1562, as The Castle of Memorie, which see, Part III.

1566. *Epitaphia et Inscriptiones lugubres, a G. B. cum in Italia, animi causa, peregrinaretur, collecta.*

Londini: 1566. 4to. *British Museum.*

The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives the first edition, as London, 1554.

G. B. is William Barker, of Magdalen College, Oxford, who translated *The Fearfull Fancies of the Florentine Couper.* 1568. See Part III.

1566. *Espositione . . . . sopra un libro, intitolato Apocalypsis spiritus secreti.* [*With the "Apocalypsis" prefixed.*]

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Giovanni Kingston à instancia di P. Angelino, Londra, 1566. 4to. *British Museum.*

By Giovanni Battista Agnello.

1581. *La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore,* etc. [By Lodovico Petrucci (Petruccio Ubaldini)].

Giovanni Wolfio, Londra, 1581. 4to. *British Museum,* (2 copies). Also, [Oxford?] 1599. 4to. *British Museum.*

Didot-Hoefer's *Biographie Générale* says that the Oxford edition was printed in 1589.

1581. *Epistolarum P. Manutii* [*Paolo Manuzio*] *libri x. Quinque nuper additis. Eiusdem quae praefationes appellantur: cum noua quoque accessione.*

T. Vautrolle[*rius*], *Londini, 1581,* 16mo, pp. 505. *British Museum.* Also [libri XII], *Londini,* 1591. 16mo. *British Museum.*

1581. *Phrases Linguae Latinae ab A.* [*ldo*] *Manutio* [Aldo Manuzio, the Younger.] *P. F. conscriptae; nunc primum in ordinem Abecedarium adductae, & in Anglicum sermonem conversae, etc.*

Ex officina Thomae Vautrollerii, Londini, 1581. 12mo. *British Museum.* Also, *Londini,* 1599. 8vo. *British Museum; Londini,* 1618. 8vo. *British Museum;* and *Cantabrigiae,* 1636. 8vo. *British Museum.*

1582. *A Gentilis de Juris Interpretibus dialogi sex.*

Apud J. Wolfium, Londini, 1582. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Alberico Gentili, 1550–1611 (?), came of an ancient and noble family of the Marches of Ancona. Having become a Protestant, Alberico went to England, and was entered at New Inn Hall, Oxford, in 1580. He seems to have been a man whose social qualities were as brilliant as his learning was profound. He was the friend of Sir Francis Walsingham,

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Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Thomas Bodley, and other famous Elizabethans, and was patronized by both the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Essex. In 1587, Queen Elizabeth made him professor of Civil Law, at Oxford. His writings, which are in Latin, constitute the earliest systematic digest of international law that exists. Robert Gentili, his son, was a prodigy of learning as a boy, but left only a few translations from the Italian, of which the best known is the *History of the Inquisition*, from the Italian of Father Paul [Paolo Servita], 1639.

Scipio Gentili, brother to Alberico, a juris-consult and professor of civil law at Altdorf, made a Latin version of Tasso's *Jerusalemme Liberata*, London, 1584, and wrote two paraphrases, from the Psalms, in verse.

[1583?] *Philothei J. Bruni. . . . Recens et completa Ars Reminiscendi, et in phantastico campo exarandi. Ad plurimas in triginta Sigillis inquirendi, disponendi, etque retinendi implicitas novas rationes & artes introductoria.* (*Philothei J. Bruni. . . . Explicatio Triginta sigillorum, etc.*) 2 pts. By Giardano Bruno.

[London, 1583?] 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Castelnuovo di Mauvissiere, French ambassador to the court of Elizabeth, in whose official family Bruno lived during his stay in England, 1583–1585. The house of the French ambassador was the resort of a select little band of cultivated Englishmen, among whom were Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Fulke Greville, Dyer, Harvey, the poet Spenser, Temple, the translator of Ramus's *Dialectic*, and others who took an interest in literature and philosophy.

1584. *La Cena de le Ceneri, descritta in cinque dialogi*, etc. [By Giardano Bruno.]

London, 1584. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to the French ambassador, Castelnuovo di Mauvissiere.

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"Bruno tells how, on the evening of Ash Wednesday, the 13th of February, 1584, he was invited by Fulke Greville to meet Sidney and others in order that they might hear 'the reasons of his belief that the earth moves;' and this seems to have been one of numerous gatherings—a revival or a continuation, in another form and for graver purposes, of the Areopagus of 1579. 'We met,' Bruno says, 'in a chamber in the house of Mr. Fulke Greville, to discuss moral, metaphysical, mathematical, and natural speculations.'"

Sir Philip Sidney. H. R. Fox-Bourne. 1891.

1584. *G.* [*iordano*] *B.* [*runo*]. *Dell' infinito Universo e Mondi.*

Stampato in Venetia [*or rather London,*] 1584. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Castelnuovo di Mauvissiere.

1584. *G. Bruno Nolano. De la causa, principio, et Uno,* etc.

Stampato in Venezia [*or rather London*], 1584. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Castelnuovo di Mauvissiere.

In his trial before the Venetian Inquisitors, 1592, Bruno gave reasons why this book, and the six others printed in London between 1583 and 1583, bore Venice or Paris on their title-pages. The London printer was Vautrollier who had to flee to Scotland for his audacity. See *The Athenaeum,* April 30, 1898, No. 3679, p. 562.

1584. *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante. . . . Consecrato al molto illustre. . . . Cavalliero Sig. P. Sidneo.* [By Giordano Bruno.]

Stampato in Parigi [*or rather by T. Vautrollier, London,*] 1584. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante,* or Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast, is an allegory set forth in three dialogues. The gods are represented as resolving to banish the constella-

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tions out of heaven, because so many of them recorded their loose lives, and to substitute the moral virtues in the firmament in their stead. The first dialogue, which ostensibly censures classical mythology, is really an attack on all forms of anthropomorphic religion. This is the gist of the argument of the piece, but the second dialogue is the most important from the philosophical point of view, for here Bruno discourses of Truth, Prudence, Wisdom, Law, Universal Judgment, and the other moral virtues which take the places of the beasts. His treatment of the virtues makes clear the essence of his philosophy. Truth, he explains, is the unity and substance which underlies all things; Prudence, or Providence, is the regulating power of truth, and includes at once liberty and necessity; Wisdom is Providence itself in its supersensible aspect, in man, it is reason which grasps the truth of things; Law naturally proceeds from Wisdom, for every good law must be rational, and have for its object the welfare of all; by Universal judgment men are judged with absolute justice, by their actual deeds, not by their religious beliefs, which may or may not make for righteousness.

Many of Bruno's ideas have affinities with the philosophy of Spinoza, but the bold, mocking spirit of the Italian gives a character to the *Spaccio* that is all its own. Bruno girds at the monks, he scoffs at the mysteries of faith, to him the miracles are 'magical tricks,' Jewish record and Greek myth are all one. The Roman Catholic Church was correct in recognizing underneath the allegory a vehement attack on the established religion.

In many respects the *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* is the most remarkable work of Bruno as it is decidedly the most popular. One phase of its popularity is especially interesting to English readers; it is the source of Thomas Carew's masque, *Coelum Britannicum*, acted at Whitehall by King Charles I. and the noblemen of his Court, on Shrove Tuesday night, Feb. 18, 1633. The masque was written in compliment to

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King Charles I. and Queen Henrietta Maria, praising the temperance, chastity, and justice of the royal pair.

As in the *Spaccio*, Heaven is divested of its gods and goddesses, in whose stead shines first the King, "the bright Pole-starre of this Hemispheare," by his side his "faire Consort," and a "Noble traine, of either sexe;"

> So to the Brittish stars this lower Globe
> Shall owe its light, and they alone dispence
> To the world a pure refined influence.

The closing scene of the masque represents the moral virtues, Religion, Truth, Wisdom, Concord, Government, and Reputation, seated on clouds, with Eternity on a Globe in their midst. Fifteen stars express fifteen 'stellified British Heroes,' among them 'Prince Arthur' and 'the brave St. George.'

1584. *Hugonis Platti armig. Manuele, sententias aliquot Divinas & Morales complectens: partim è Sacris Patribus, partim è Petrarcha philosopho et Poeta celeberrimo decerptas.* 1584. 16mo. (Lowndes.) Also, P. Short. *Londini*, 1594. 16mo. *British Museum.*

1584. *Atto della Giustitia d'Inghilterra, esseguito, per la conservatione della commune & christiana pace, contra alcuni seminatori di discordie, & seguaci de ribelli, & de nemici del reame, & non per niuna persecutione, che fosse lor fatta, per cagion della religione: si come e stato falsamente publicato da defensori, & da sostentatori della costoro rebellione, & tradimento. Traslato d'Inglese* [*of William Cecil, Lord Burghley*] *in vulgare. . . . Il 25 di Maggio*, 1584, etc.

Appresso G. Wolfio, Londra, 1584. 8vo. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

This is a translation of the first part of Lord Burghley's tract,—

1583. *The Execution of Justice in England for maintenance of publique and Christian peace, against certeine stirrers*

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of sedition, and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the Realme, without any persecution of them for questions of Religion, etc. [*By William Cecil, Lord Burghley.*]

London, 1583. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*, (2 copies). Also, 1583, 4to, a second imprint, "with some small alterations."

Lord Burghley's *Execution of Justice*, was also printed in a Latin translation, T. Vautroullerius, Londini, 1584, 8vo, and in Dutch, R. Schilders, Middelburgh, 1584, 4to, both in the *British Museum*.

This is one of the many public documents prepared by Lord Burghley, and its being translated into Italian, Latin, and Dutch gives an idea of the political and social conditions of the time. Lord Burghley wrote with ease and precision in Latin, French, and Italian.

The Cecil Papers at Hatfield House contain 1290 documents which were prepared either by William Cecil himself or under his immediate direction.

1585. *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo. Con l'aggiunta dell' Asino Cillenico*, etc. By Giordano Bruno.

Parigi [*or rather London,*] 1585. 8*vo*. *British Museum.*

This is a treatise on the different kinds of ignorance, or asinity, whether dogmatic or pedantic or purely sceptical and uninquiring. Its purpose is to rouse men to free and intelligent thought, and Bruno wrote it as "The awakener of sleeping minds" (*dormitantium animorum excubitor*—his style for himself in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, prefixed to his *Spiegazione di trenta sigilli*, 1583). The satirical conclusion of the work is, that asinity is the highest human duty, and to it is assigned divine favor both in this world and the next. Bruno's warfare with dogma, superstition and ignorance, in the *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* goes on in the *Caballa del Cavallo Pegaseo*. In this sense the ideal and cabalistic ass is the Triumphant Beast of Dogma in real flesh and blood. Hence, and it is explained

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with many particulars as to asses in the Old and New Testaments, and in the ancient writers, the spiritual and moral ass is everywhere as much esteemed as the physical and material ass is appreciated by particular communities. A cynical sonnet erects asinity into a saint or goddess,

> O sainted Asinity. Ignorance most holy! etc.

1585. *G. Bruno Nolano. De Gl'Heroici Furori. Al molto illustre. . . . Cavalliero, Signor P. Sidneo.*

Appresso Antonio Baio, Parigi, [*or rather by T. Vautrollier, London,*] 1585. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Thinking of the similarity of Shelley to Bruno, John Owen, in his *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance*, compares *Gli eroici furori* to the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, and the *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* to *Prometheus Unbound.* Cicada, one of the characters in the dialogue, *Gli eroici furori*, says,—"How much better is a worthy and heroic death than a disgraceful and vile success." "On that proposition," responds the poet Tansillo, "I composed this sonnet," whereupon Bruno borrows from Tansillo the verses which have been generally accepted as his own prediction of his fate. The sestet reads,—

> Soaring I hear my trembling heart's refrain
> "Where bearest me, O rash one? The fell steep
> Too arduous is not climb'd without much pain."
> "Fear not," I answer, "for the fatal leap,
> Serene I cleave the clouds and death disdain,
> If death so glorious heaven will that I reap."

1585. *La Vita di Giulio Agricola, scritta da Cornelio Tacito et messa in volgare da Giovanni Maria Manelli.*

Londra, nella stamperia di Giovanni Wolfio. 1585. 4to. Pp. 48. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Lord Robert Sidney.

Tacitus's life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola, *Julii Agricolae Vita*, done into Italian and published in London.

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1585. *A Gentilis de Legationibus, libri tres.*
T. Vautrollerius, Londini, 1585. 4to. *British Museum.*

1585. *Dichiaratione delle caggioni che hanno mosso la Serenissima Reina d'Inghilterra a dar' aiuto alla difesa del popolo afflitto e oppresso negli Paesi Bassi. (1 Oct. 1585.)*
Christofero Barcher, Londra, 1585. 8vo. *British Museum.*
This is a translation of
A declaration of the causes mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the defence of the people afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries. (An addition to the declaration touching the slaunders published of her Maiestie. 1 Oct. 1585.)
C. Barker. London. 1585. 4to. *British Museum.*
Another edition in the same year, 1585, 4to. Barker also printed the *Declaration* in Latin and in French, 1585, 8vo, and the *British Museum* contains two copies of each.

1587. *Examine di varii Giudicii de i Politici, e della Dottrina e de i Fatti de i Protestanti veri e de i Cattolici Romani.*
Londra nella Stamperia di Gouanni Wolfio. 1587. 4to. (Lowndes.)

1591. *De furtivis literarum notis, vulgo de Ziferis libri IIII.* [*Edited by Giacopo Castelvetri, from Giovanni Battista della Porta.*]
J. Wolphium. Londini. 1591. 4to. Pp. 228. *British Museum.*
This work appeared at Naples, in 1563. It gives 180 different ciphers, with methods to multiply them infinitely, and entitles Porta to high rank among early writers on cryptography.

1591. *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri. Del Regno d'Inghilterra, & del Regno di Scotia, & di quelle, che d'altri paesi ne i due detti Regni sono stato maritate,* etc.

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Giovanni Volfio, Londra, 1591. 4to. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

By Lodovico Petrucci, (Petruccio Ubaldini).

1592. *Parte prima delle . . . . dimostrationi, et precetti . . . . ne i quali si trattano diversi Propositi morali . . . . chè convengono ancora ad ogni nobil matrona,* etc. MS. Notes.

[London?] 1592. 4to. *British Museum.*

By Lodovico Petrucci, (Petruccio Ubaldini).

1595. *Scelta di alcune attioni e di varii accidenti.*

London, 1595. 4to.

By Lodovico Petrucci, (Petruccio Ubaldini).

1596. *Elizabetha. Dichiaratione delle cause che hanno indotta la. . . . Reina d'Ingilterra, di preparare & mandare sopra il mare una Armata per la difesa de i suoi Regni, contra le forze d'el Re di Spagna,* etc.

Stampato per le Deputati di Christophero Barker, Londra. 1596. 4to. *British Museum.*

This is a translation of

A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queenes Majestie . . . . to prepare and send a Navy to the Seas, for the defence of her Realmes against the King of Spaines forces, to bee published by the generals of the saide navy, etc.

By the Deputies of C. Barker, London, 1596. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.* Also, in Dutch, "By de Gedeputeerde van C. Barker," London, 1596. 4to. *British Museum.*

1597. *Lo Stato delle tre corti.*

London, 1597. 4to.

By Lodovico Petrucci, (Petruccio Ubaldini).

1597. *Militia del Gran Duca di Thoscana. Capitoli, ordini & privilegii della militia . . . . con l'aggiunta de i nuovi capitoli . . . . concessi . . . . alla nuova militia de i cavalli,* etc.

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[Londra?] 1597. 4to. *British Museum.*
By Lodovico Petrucci, (Petruccio Ubaldini).

1605. *A. Gentilis. . . . Regales Disputationes tres; id est, De potestate Regis absoluta. De unione Regnorum Britanniae. De vi civium in Regem semper iniusta. Nunc primùm in lucem editae.* [*With dedication by R. Gentilis.*]
Apud T. Vautrollerium, Londini, 1605. 4to. *British Museum.*

1607. *Historia de la Vita e de la Morte de l'illustriss.* [*ima*] *Signora Giovanna Graia, già Regina eletta e publicata d'Inghelterra: e de le cose accadute in quel regno dopo la morte del Re Edoardo VI. Nella quale secondo le diuine Scritture si tratta dei principali articoli de la religione Christiana. Con l'aggiunta d'una dottiss.* [*ima*] *disputa fatta in Ossonia l'anno 1554. (de la real presenzia del corpo di Christo ne l'Eucharistia; fra N. Ridleo, et un gran numero di Laureati Papei . . . . il primo de quali fu dottore Smitho. Lettere e ragionamenti de la Signora G.* [*iovanna*] *Graia.)*
Stampato appresso Richardo Pittore nel anno di Christo. [London? Catalogue of Early English Books—to 1640.] 1607. Sm. 8vo. *British Museum,* (2 copies). *Huth.* By Michelangelo Florio. (Supposed to be of Dutch imprint. D.N.B.) Pp. 1–378.
Most of the letters and other works attributed to Lady Jane Grey are found translated into Italian in the *Lettere e ragionamenti* at the end of Florio's biography.

1616. *M. A. de Dominis . . . . suae Profectionis Consilium exponit.*
Apud J. Billium, Londini, 1616. 4to. *British Museum,* (2 copies).

1617. *Scala Politica dell' Abominatione e Tirannia Papale di Benvenuto Italiano, a tutti gli Prencipi, Republiche, Stati, e*

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Signori et ad ogn' altro nobil spirito amatore dell' ortodossa e Christiana fede.

Roma, [London] 1617. 12mo. *British Museum.*

1617. *Predica* [*on Rom. XIII. 12*] . . . . *fatta la prima Domenica dell' Avvento quest anno 1617 in Londra nella Cappella detta delli Merciari.*

Giovanni Billio, Londra, 1617. 16mo. *British Museum.*

By Marco Antonio de Dominis.

1617–58. *De republica Ecclesiastica Libri X.* (. . . . *Pars secunda . . . . cum appendicibus . . . . in quibus . . . . refellitur opus . . . . Cardinalis Perronii, in ea Parte in qua agitur de sanctissima Eucharistia. . . . Additur . . . . Responsio ad magnam partem Defensionis Fidei P. F. Suarez.—Pars Tertia . . . . cum . . . . G. Cassandri tractatu De Officio pii viri circa religionis Dissidia, etc.*) *3 pts.*

Apud J. Billium, Londini, [and Frankfort,] 1617–58. Folio. *British Museum.*

Part III bears the imprint, "*Francofurti.*"

By M. A. de Dominis.

The controversial authors of Parts II. and III. are Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron, Franciscus Suarez, and Georgius Cassander.

1618. *Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacono, cavagliero inglese, gran cancelliero d'Inghelterra, con un' altro suo Trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi. Tradotti in Italiano* [*by Sir Toby Matthew.*]

Giovanni Billio. Londra. 1618. 8vo. 2 pts. (Pt. 2, *Della Sapienza degli Antichi* is separately paged.) *British Museum.*

Saggi morali . . . . corretti e dati in luce dal Sig. Cavalier Andrea Cioli . . . . et un trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi.

Fiorenza. 1619–18. 12mo. *British Museum.* Also, Venetia, 1621. 12mo. *British Museum.* Bracciano. 1621. 24mo. *Brit. Mus.*

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The second edition, *curante Andrea Cioli*, contains the essay *On Seditions and Troubles*, which was not printed in England till 1625.

A dedicatory letter to Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, eulogizes Sir Francis Bacon, praising him not only for the qualities of his intellect, but also for those of the heart and will, and moral understanding; "being a man most sweet in his conversation and ways, grave in his judgment, invariable in his fortunes, splendid in his expenses; a friend unalterable to his friends; an enemy to no man; a most hearty and indefatigable servant to the king, and a most earnest lover of the Public,—having all the thoughts of that large heart of his set upon adorning the age in which he lives, and benefiting as far as possible the whole human race."

Sir Toby Matthew and Sir Francis Bacon became friends as young men together in Parliament, and their affection knew no break through every variation of both their fortunes. Bacon held a high opinion of Matthews's literary judgment, and submitted his writings to him for criticism from time to time, among other pieces his book, *De Sapientia Veterum*, with an accompanying letter dated Feb. 17, 1610. In the last year of Bacon's life, at Sir Toby Matthews's special request, he added his *Essay on Friendship* to the series, in commemoration of their lifelong intimacy.

1619. *Apologia Equitis Lodovico Petrucci contra Calumniatores suos: Una cum Responsione ad libellum a Jesuitis contra . . . . L. Donatum, Ducem Venetum, Promulgatum.*

Londini, 1619. 4to. *British Museum.*

1626. *Inderdicti Veneti Historia de motu Italiae sub initio Pontificatus Pauli V. Commentarius, Authore R. P. Paulo Sarpio, Veneto. . . . Recens ex Italico conversus* [*by William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh*].

Apud T. Bucke, J. Bucke, et L. Greene, Cantabrigiae, 1626. 4to. Pp. 225. *British Museum.*

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Dedicated, "Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi Carolo, D. G. Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regi, Fidei Defensori."

This is a Latin version of Fra Paolo's *History of the Interdict*, written in 1608, but not published until after the author's death.

Istoria particolare delle cose passate tra'l Sommo Pontifice Paolo V e la Serenissima Republica di Venetia gli anni M.DCV, M.DCVI, M.DCVII. *Lione* [*Venice?*] 1624. 4to. *British Museum.*

See *The History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice.* 1626.

1631. *F. Stradae* [*Famiano Strada*] *Romani . . . . Prolusiones Academicae juxta exemplar Authoris recognitae*, etc.

G. Turner, *Oxoniae*, 1631. 8vo. *British Museum.*

[Another edition.] *Oxonii*, 1745. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Compare, Part II, Crashaw. *Steps to the Temple.* 1646.

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1617. Predica . . . . fatta la prima Domenica dell' Avvento quest anno 1617.
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1618. Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacono.
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MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT.

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APPENDIX I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, 1898.

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., December 27, 28, 29, 1898. The invitation to meet in Charlottesville proceeded officially from Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Chairman of the Faculty, in accordance with the vote of the Faculty, January 5, 1897, upon the motion offered by Professor J. A. Harrison and seconded by Professor C. W. Kent (cf. *Proceedings for 1897*, p. xv).

The first session was held in the Public Hall; all the remaining sessions were held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall of the University.

FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The first session of the meeting was convened in the Auditorium of the Public Hall, at 7.30 o'clock p. m. Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Chairman of the Faculty of the University, presided, and opened the session with brief words of welcome; Professor George W. Miles, Headmaster of St. Alban's School, followed in an elaborate and eloquent address of welcome in behalf of the Board of Visitors of the University of which he is a member. To these addresses of welcome the Secretary of the Association cordially responded.

The President of the Association, Professor Alcée Fortier, was then introduced to deliver his following annual address. Subject: "Historical and social forces in French literature."

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The word *philology*, taken in its broadest sense, is now understood by all scholars to signify the study of literature as well as of language; it means, in reality, the study of civilization. The history of civilization is an account of the customs of a people, of the events which have taken place in politics, in war, in science, and in literature. The historian of civilization covers such an immense field of research that he must neglect facts of minor importance and study principally the causes and results of great events. He must study the souls of men, in order to see what influence external causes have produced on the individuals composing a nation; and, just as causes act somewhat differently on individuals, and each man has his own ideas, so it is with nations, which differ in civilization, although exposed to influences nearly similar.

Western Europe, in the Middle Ages, was invaded by the barbarians, became christian, became feudal, undertook the crusades, explored the New World; there were, in fact, nearly the same institutions in all occidental countries. Who will say, however, that the civilization of France, of England, of Germany, of Italy, of Spain have been exactly similar? All these countries have in common the general traits of European civilization, which is very different from the Asiatic; but, as the historical and social forces have necessarily not been the same in all countries of Western Europe, the civilization of each has been somewhat different from that of the others, and the literature which is, in great part, the product of a peculiar civilization, has peculiar and distinct traits.

It is true that all mankind is animated by the same psychical forces inherent in humanity, and that a great work of art, whether produced by a Homer, a Virgil, a Dante, a Shakespeare, a Calderón, a Molière, a Goethe, is permeated with the same broad human feeling, but each man is bound to reproduce in his work the effect of the civilization to which he belongs. That civilization is largely an inheritance, which the individual enjoys by the mere fact of being born in a certain atmosphere; but, as civilization means development, new historical and social forces are constantly being brought to bear upon the individual and are modifying his ideas. There are, therefore, three great causes which mold the mind of the individual: (1) the fact of being a man, which gives him ideas and sentiments common to all men; (2) his birthplace, which impresses upon him the civilization of his country; (3) the social and historical forces produced in his own lifetime.

It is often exceedingly difficult to perceive the effect upon a writer of social and historical forces, whether contemporary or handed down from former times. It is evident that events do not produce the same effects upon all men, and to measure those effects we must study the life of an author and try to lay bare his heart. Biography is essential for understanding thoroughly the motives by which a writer has been actuated, for, just as the civilization of France produces its effect on all Frenchmen, so it is with local influences. M. Gaston Paris says that "all the provinces

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did not take in the Middle Ages an equal part in the literary activity." We must, therefore, study very carefully the surroundings of an author, *le milieu*, to which Sainte-Beuve attached such a great importance, but we must also call psychology to our aid, as Bourget has done, to probe the human soul, the human heart, to find out what causes make that heart throb like the beating of a mighty hammer on a gigantic anvil, or what causes render the pulsation as faint and feeble as the rustling of the leaves agitated by a gentle breeze.

Michelet, in the second volume of his History of France, presents to us a striking tableau of the characteristics of each of the provinces and gives an admirable explanation of the influence of local causes, of topography and geography, we may say, on the genius of a nation. Great social and historical forces were at work at different epochs in the different provinces of France, and French civilization is the result of all these forces. I do not wish to be understood as denying the personal influence of a man of genius upon his epoch, for it has often happened that a strong and well-marked individuality in a writer has changed considerably the character of an epoch, and that a great literary work has produced a lasting effect on the literature of the time contemporary with it and on that of subsequent ages.

M. Brunetière says that the principal influence in literature is that of works upon works. That influence is certainly very important, but it is not the principal one. So many forces have contributed to the civilization of every country and to the development of every literature that it is impossible to say which one of these forces has been the most active and the most fruitful. If a great writer has produced a change in the civilization of his time, that change is never as complete as it might appear, inasmuch as the writer must reflect some ideas common to his race, to his country, and to all men. Again, admitting that the personal influence of one man had produced a change almost complete on his epoch and on the literature of his time, that influence of an individual becomes a social force and reacts on other individuals, who may, in their turn, impress the stamp of their genius on civilization and on literature. Historical and social forces are, therefore, continually brought in contact with forces apparently entirely personal and literary, and there is a perpetual reaction of the one class of forces on the other. It is very difficult, as I have said, to trace the relative value or importance of all the forces which have brought about a certain development of a literature, but it is interesting to study some of them and to ascertain the result. We may not be able to say which one of a number of rivulets, tributaries to a noble river, has poured into it the largest stream of pure water, but we may find a great pleasure in drifting with the placid current of the rivulets, until we reach the mighty and impetuous river. It is my purpose to describe briefly some of the principal historical and social forces in French literature, without pretending to say which ones have been the most important. This is but a

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bird's eye view of a vast subject, which would call for the wonderful critical acumen of a Sainte-Beuve, of a Taine, of a Brunetière, of our own colleague, Professor Kuno Francke, were it attempted to analyze minutely the different phases of the subject.

M. Gaston Paris, in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, has explained so clearly the earliest historical and social forces in French literature that, in speaking of that epoch, we can only express briefly well known facts.

The great majority of the inhabitants of Gaul belonged to the Celtic race, but the influence of that race was not felt in the literature of France, for Gaul was thoroughly romanized by Cæsar's conquest. Vulgar Latin became the language of the Gallo-Romans, and classical Latin being, at first, the language of the State and, at all times, of the Church, was taught in the schools and was written and spoken by the clergy and by the learned men, even after French had arisen from the vulgar Latin and had become the speech of the people. "This," says M. Paris, "cut the nation in two," and it delayed the development of French literature by keeping away from it a large number of men of culture.

The Roman conquest, however, was a great historical and social force by substituting an old civilization for the Celtic civilization yet in its infancy, and by bringing into Gaul new customs and new ideas, which were to be reflected later in literature. One of the most important results of the conquest was the adoption of christianity by the Gauls, much earlier than if the Celts had remained independent, and christianity, as a social force in literature, was most potent in the Middle Ages. The absolute faith of the people in the teachings of the church, their delight in everything concerning sacred history gave rise to the miracles and the mysteries, whilst the large number of priests and of monks was a fruitful source of satirical writings. Let us call attention here to the wonderful force contributed by the monasteries for the future development of literature in the preservation by the monks of the masterpieces of antiquity.

The conquest of the Gallo-Romans by the Germanic tribes is another important historical and social force. The conquerors adopted the language of the conquered and, to a great extent, their civilization, but some Germanic traditions and ideas survived, and blending with the new christian civilization of the Gallo-Romans, produced, says M. Gaston Paris, the French epic of the Middle Ages.

In the course of centuries, after the Merovingians and the Carlovingians had reigned, and the national dynasty of the Capetians had arisen, we see feudal society constituted, and the influence of that society is easily seen in literature. The rude and haughty baron, the knight and the gentle lady, are faithfully depicted in the *chansons de geste* and in the Arthurian romances, and the farces and the fabliaux give us an insight into the life of the *bourgeois* and of the *vilains*. If literature is "*the expression of society*" it was never more clearly so than during the Middle Ages. The end of that period was marked by the calamities of the Hundred Years' war and

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by the tireless efforts of Louis XI. to destroy the power of the great nobles, but these events had little influence on social life and on literature. It was the Italian wars of Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I., which brought about principally the Renaissance of the 16th century.

The sense of the artistic was the chief gain of the expeditions of the French beyond the Alps, and under the intelligent patronage of Francis I. the taste for the beautiful spread over France, as well as a desire to study the writers of antiquity. Marguerite de Navarre and Clément Marot were the products of the first period of the Renaissance and were inspired by their taste for the artistic, whilst Ronsard and his school appeared in the second period and were influenced both by Italian art and by their enthusiasm for the masterpieces of Greece and of Rome. It was then that Joachim Du Bellay wrote his *Défense et illustration de la langue française*, that Jodelle produced *Cléopâtre;* and that the members of the *Pléiade* vied with one another in writing tragedies, comedies, and odes, imitated from the ancients. The Renaissance had really taken place and it had been brought about by historical forces which had reacted on society and on literature.

Besides Marot and Ronsard, Rabelais and Montaigne were representatives of that epoch, and both were influenced greatly by the Reformation. The religious controversies of the time emboldened Rabelais and allowed him to make the satire of society and its institutions, and the horrors of the religious dissensions and wars gave rise to the scepticism of Montaigne and induced him to study all questions affecting the mind and the soul of men.

However, the religious controversies of the 16th century did not always lead to scepticism or to indifference, as with Montaigne and a number of men of that epoch, but the period of the Reformation produced works inspired by sincere faith, those of Calvin, of Saint François de Sales, the poetic Discourses of Ronsard, the energetic verses of Du Bartas and of d'Aubigné, the concise and strong Memoirs of Monluc.

The Italian influence, so potent for the revival of arts and letters, was felt more directly after the death of Francis I. and Henry II., when Catherine de Medici governed France in the name of her sons, and the comedies of Larivey are due to that historical and social force. Spanish influence began also to be felt in the latter part of the 16th century, when the League almost betrayed France into the hands of Philip II., and in the celebrated *Satire Ménippée* the patriotic authors of that pamphlet attacked the Spanish party with most bitter and witty irony. However, when the *Ménippée* appeared Henry IV. had already won his throne, and with his reign began the period of order and stability which is the distinctive mark of the 17th century, in spite of the disorders which took place during the minorities of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.

M. Gustave Lanson, in his very valuable *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, explains admirably the transition from the period of the Renaissance

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to the 17th century. He states that "reason, matured in the agitations of the age, and the study of the ancients, is permeated with a positive and scientific rationalism. The domain of faith is excepted: beyond that, everything is decided by reason. This leads to two consequences: literature becomes the expression of truth; it must then be sincere and objective."—"Literature," adds M. Lanson, "in which reason tends to dominate, is directed towards the universal: it recognizes for its object what each one finds in himself: truth and custom." In this last sentence M. Lanson agrees with M. Brunetière, who states that the essential trait of French literature is sociability. If there is a tendency towards the universal, towards the study of the individual taken as the type of the human race, then literature is sociable and is easily understood by all men. M. Lanson, however, restricts his statement to the 17th century, whilst M. Brunetière bases his whole theory of the evolution of French literature on the characteristic traits of the 17th century: the spirit of order, the impersonality or objectivism of the literary works, and the social spirit.

The clearness and the conciseness of French literature comes from the desire of the authors to be easily understood, and from that cause also, according to M. Brunetière, comes the lack of the lyric spirit to be noticed generally in French writers. They have neglected the *ego*, the *moi*, in their desire to be sociable, and have lost in lyric spirit what they have gained in clearness, conciseness, and good sense. There is a great deal of truth in the above theory, although a number of works do not agree with the fundamental rule. With regard to the 17th century there is no doubt that the great historical and social forces tended to establish in France order and regularity, and these two qualities are preëminent in the works of that time.

Malherbe was the embodiment of the spirit which was to animate the 17th century, and he expressed in his works the tendency of his contemporaries towards order and regularity. There was yet, at that time, coarseness in customs and language, and literature reflected society but too well. Here comes the great influence of l'Hôtel de Rambouillet in the refinement of society and of literature, and we may pardon the affectation, the *marinisme*, and *gongorisme* of the *précieuses*. The authors who frequented the *salon* of Julie d'Angennes sought to please the society of their time, became more polite, more *universal*, more clear; but both M. Brunetière and M. Lanson call our attention to the fact that the social spirit which permeates French literature has prevented it from being as deeply philosophical as the literatures of some other nations. I desire to give here a characteristic extract from M. Brunetière's *Évolution des Genres*, page 128: "If you wish to know for what reasons some of our greatest writers—I except always the Bossuets and the Pascals, to whom their trade or as the second one says their *sign* permitted it—if you wish to know why Racine or Molière, for instance, have not always reached that depth of thought which we find in a Shakespeare or in a Goethe; or again, why

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such questions, as that of destiny, which are enveloped in a *Hamlet* or in a *Faust*, seem to have remained foreign to them, 'cherchez la femme,' and you will find that the fault is due to the influence of the *salons* and of women. They have wished to please; and, in order to please, they have tried to accommodate themselves to the world. They have granted, they have conceded something to fashion, Molière the ceremony of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, Racine his Pyrrhuses, his Xiphareses and his Achilles. Especially they have not themselves taken, or seemed to take life more seriously than was done around them; or, at least, when they have done so, it was when their genius was greater in them than the desire to please."

I can hardly agree with all that M. Brunetière says in the above quotation from his learned work. I believe in the influence on literature of social forces, but whether French writers were less philosophical than those of other countries, that might well be disputed; it seems hard to lay all the blame of that inferiority in depth of thought to the paramount influence of women. True genius rises superior to its surroundings, and it is often impossible to trace in a great work of art the forces that have given birth to it. Take away from Molière some accessories of his time, and we may place Tartuffe, Harpagon, Alceste, and many other characters, in any epoch, and they will always be true. Some of the wonderful poems of Lamartine, of Hugo, of Musset, of Vigny, seem to have been dictated to the poets by the Creator himself, and no historical or social forces can account for them. It is true that M. Brunetière says that lyric poetry is a deviation from the classic ideal, and that the study of the *moi* is outside the essential social spirit of French literature. This theory, I repeat it, is very interesting, and, in the main, correct, but let us not be guided entirely by it. The danger in all theories is that we are liable to be influenced unduly by them and to wish to judge everything according to preconceived ideas. Let us try to discover what are the essential traits in the character of a nation and of its literature, but let us admit that, in many cases, we cannot find the causes of events in history and of the forces in literature. We must be thankful, however, to men who have original ideas and who make us think in our turn. For my part I cannot be too grateful to M. Brunetière and M. Lanson, although I do not share all their opinions.

The principal social force in the age of Louis XIV. was the influence of the king himself. When he began his personal reign, after Mazarin's death, he found royal authority supreme, and his excellent judgment and strong will established perfect order in the kingdom. The encouragement and help he gave to Molière, Boileau, and Racine, are well known, and by receiving so kindly at his court men of letters, who were often of inferior birth, he gave them, as M. Brunetière points out, a culture, a politeness, a refinement which they could never have obtained otherwise, and which are felt in their writings. Many works are a glorification of the king, and praise which sounds excessive to us was natural and proper at the time. We may understand and excuse the eulogy of the king in *Tartuffe*, when we remember the debt of gratitude which Molière owed Louis XIV.

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The court of the Great King was, for more than half a century, the only *salon* in France and was the polite society of the age and an important force in literature. La Rochefoucauld was somewhat influenced by it, when he produced his Maxims, and Mme de Sévigné wholly so when she wrote her charming letters. I venture to add that the exquisite *Princesse de Clèves* of Mme de La Fayette could not have been written at any time before the 17th century. The charm and conciseness of that work coincided with the spirit of a refined and orderly society. Literature, in the 17th century, was less subjective than at any other period in French history, but it is national, inasmuch as it represents the spirit of the age which is so essentially sociable and human.

The influence of religion was felt, not only in admirable sermons, but also in the Provincial Letters of Pascal, written for the defense of the Jansenists. In Bossuet's Universal History we see the profound faith of the author in the almightiness of God and in the Creator's will to regulate the affairs of men.

The celebrated quarrel about the ancients and the moderns between Boileau and Perrault was caused by the latter's belief in the excellence of everything connected with the age of Louis XIV., and especially of the literature which was the expression of that age. The Characters of La Bruyère are a study of contemporary society, and Fénelon's Telemachus represents the court of Louis XIV. more faithfully than it does antiquity. Ulysses could scarcely have recognized his son in the French Télémaque, but Louis XIV. did not fail to recognize his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, in Fénelon's hero, and himself in Idoménée.

The 18th century was very different from the 17th; royalty, under Louis XV. and Louis XVI., was no longer a great social force; the religious feeling was less profound and was replaced by philosophy and science, and incredulity was expressed more freely. The literary *salons* appeared again, when the court of Louis XIV. existed no longer, and the influence of women was again deeply felt, as at the time of l'Hôtel de Rambouillet. The French language and French literature were all-powerful in Europe in the 18th century, but the influence of English literature may be seen in a number of Voltaire's works and in Montesquieu. During the 17th century, after 1660, the French writers had imitated no longer Italy and Spain. Literature represented faithfully the great social changes brought about by the Regency of Philip of Orleans and by the appearance of the financier, after the failure of Law's system. *Turcaret*, *Le Glorieux*, and many other comedies might be mentioned which portray the customs of the time. Indeed, in nearly all the writers of the 18th century, we see clearly the influence of the following historical and social forces: the gradual downfall of the monarchy, the struggle of the new philosophical ideas against old established beliefs and customs, and a certain maudlin sentimentality. Rousseau's works, says M. Brunetière, were acts, but we may add that they were caused by social forces which swayed the author,

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before he swayed, in his turn, the society of his time and shattered its foundations. Beaumarchais' *Barbier de Séville* and *Mariage de Figaro* were also the direct product of social forces, of changes which were taking place in society and were to end in the greatest revolution that the world has ever seen.

What was the influence of the Revolution on literature? It destroyed polite society for a number of years and almost destroyed literature, which is, as we have seen, so often the expression of society. However, the imitation on the political stage of Greek and Roman heroes, brought about, strange to say, a return to classic literature, and we see the names and the supposed ideas and customs of the ancients reproduced in many pretentious and bombastic works. There was, we may say, no literature in France from the day when the great poet, André Chénier, mounted the scaffold in 1794 until, as M. Faguet expresses it so well, Chateaubriand "renovated French imagination." Let us now cast a rapid glance at the literature of the 19th century and mention a few historical and social forces.

The wars of the Revolutionary period and of the Empire were not favorable to literary productions, but there are in the literature of that age, two great names that represent forces which were to be very potent in the 19th century, Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël. After the excesses of the Reign of Terror and the frivolity of the Directory there was a great longing for things ideal and religious, and a renewal of the love of nature inculcated by Rousseau and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Chateaubriand was the happy interpreter of these feelings, of these forces, religion and nature, and he exerted an immense influence on literature. Tossed about, like so many of his contemporaries, by the tempest of the Revolution he had not felt the social influence of the literary *salons* destroyed by the Revolution, and his genius was more personal, more subjective, and therefore more lyrical. Mme de Staël was not influenced by love of religion and love of nature, but she was, like Chateaubriand, intensely personal and subjective, although more generous, and was cosmopolitan in her ideas. A great historical force acted on her, the despotism of the Emperor, which exiled her from France and made her travel all over Europe or compelled her to reside at Coppet, surrounded by a cosmopolitan crowd of admirers. Like the other exiles of that time she had to study foreign languages, and she was deeply impressed by the masterpieces of the German and Italian literatures. It was then that she wrote *De l'Allemagne*, in which we see her definition of the word *romantisme*, as meaning modern ideas in opposition to the spirit of antiquity of the classical school.

Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël interpreted admirably the historical and social forces of their time, and their works had a powerful influence on the development of the Romantic school, of which the principal causes were love of nature, the christian spirit, the study of foreign languages and literatures, and the lyric spirit or the study of the *moi*.

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The four great poets of the 19th century are Lamartine, Hugo, Vigny, and Musset. They are all lyric, but Lamartine is the most lyric and subjective of the four, and there is little change caused in his verses by the change in his political opinions. His *Histoire des Girondins*, however, is the direct result of historical forces. In Hugo we see at first the Catholic and the royalist, then the passionate admirer of the Napoleonic epic, then the adherent to constitutional monarchy, and later the ardent republican. The changes in his ideas may be traced in a number of his works, until he became, as was said: "the voice of the people," and the interpreter, as he thought, of the feelings of his age. Alfred de Vigny and Musset express the disappointment and sadness of the men of their generation, who were born too late for the great deeds of the Empire. Vigny is sad and pessimistic, but does not despair, whilst Musset often abandons himself to his grief like a child, and gives vent to his feelings, sometimes in cynical words, and sometimes in passionate sobs.

The romantic and lyric school has been succeeded by the realistic, which makes society and the human heart its study. The great apostles of that school were Balzac and Flaubert, but let us mention specially the naturalist Zola, who dissects the body, and the psychologist Bourget, who analyzes the soul. I shall go no further in the study of contemporary French literature and wish only to express my regret that it is too often pessimistic. If French society be taken as a whole we find a happy and prosperous people, and no cause for pessimism in literature, inasmuch as discontent does not exist among the people. The great historical and social force in France, for the last twenty-eight years, has been the establishment of the Republic as a permanent government. The trials incident to the transformation from a monarchy to a parliamentary democracy may be the cause of the present pessimism in literature. The parliamentary system *is* the real cause of pessimism, says Mr. Bodley, in his recent work on France. This assertion is interesting but very paradoxical. Let us hope, at all events, that pessimism is about to disappear, and that M. Rostand's grotesque but noble Cyrano has brought back absolute faith in pure love and in the chivalric sentiments of Corneille's Rodrigue and Hugo's Hernani.

After this address the regular reading of papers was begun, with President Fortier in the chair.

1. "Are French poets poetical?" By Dr. P. B. Marcou, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications*, XIV, 257 f.]

Discussion by Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins.

To really answer the question put by this paper is, as all will admit, a task of extreme delicacy, needing first of all a clear definition of terms. Which French poets are meant? What is meant by "poetical?" While

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I can scarcely blame Dr. Marcou for not attempting to define poetry in the abstract, it seems to me that it is quite possible to detect certain differences between English and French ideas of what is truly poetical, and these, if they exist, ought to occupy a prominent place in such a discussion. Professor Dowden quotes a popular English definition of poetry—"the overflow of individual emotion"—and proceeds, by way of contrast, to describe the greater poetry of the French classic period as being essentially oratory—"the appeal to an audience." Now this, in my opinion, has been and still is (though in a less degree since Hugo) the prevailing French conception of poetry; as such, it is only one manifestation of the stronger social consciousness of the French as a race. With this in mind, we understand why Mr. Saintsbury's search for "the lyric cry," in his volume of French lyric verse, was so nearly fruitless. It was because the national ideals differ in essential points, and, consequently, to the question: Are French poets poetical (that is, in the English sense)? the reply has always been "No," or "Rarely;" while the Frenchman returns a similar response to the equally legitimate query—*les poètes anglais sont-ils poétiques?* It is dangerous to assume that, were we to strip away all those troublesome differences due to a different language medium, a representative French poem would be found to be after all only an English poem, more or less satisfactory to our English standards.

There is a practical side of this subject, equally interesting, and perhaps more profitable to discuss. I mean the causes for the present neglect of French poetry in this country and England. Certain of these causes were explained with admirable clearness in this paper: the question of vocabulary, for example. The poetic effect of *maternel* is inevitably pale and ineffectual by the side of 'motherly,' because we also use 'maternal;' *arrêter* cannot seem so vivid to us as 'stop,' because the French word is English 'arrest,' and so on. This obstacle to the enjoyment of French verse is one not easily overcome.

As to the presence or absence of a regular rhythm in French verse (independent of the irregular movement arising from the division of the line into stress-groups), I must again plead for extreme caution. It is well known that since the appearance of Stengel's *Romanische Verslehre*, this whole question has assumed quite a new aspect, and, while I do not accept fully Stengel's theory of the fixed tonics (I believe we must regard them purely and simply as the attenuated remnant of the old pause, and not necessarily as the French representatives of the English-German beat, or stress), it is certainly desirable, when speaking on this point, to bear in mind the views of the eminent Marburg professor.

Not a little of the indifference to French poetry to be noted among educated people is traceable, I believe, to that conception of it best embodied in the too well-known treatise of Quicherat:—a conception of the poetic art so sterile and arid, that even the frothy enthusiasms of M. Vielé-Griffin and his friends become almost preferable as a substitute. They, at least, suggest growth, even though it be a tropical growth, soon to perish.

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2. "A neglected field in American philology." By Professor Thomas Fitz-Hugh, of the University of Texas. [A brief abstract of this paper is printed in *Modern Language Notes*, XIV, p. 98.]

The session was then adjourned, and the members of the Association were received in the University Library at 10 o'clock.

SECOND SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The President called the second session to order at 9.30 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

The Secretary of the Association, James W. Bright, submitted as his report the thirteenth volume of the *Publications* of the Association.

The Treasurer of the Association, Herbert E. Greene, submitted the following report:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, December 24, 1897,		$ 903 84
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:—		
For the year 1893,	$ 3 00	
" " " 1894,	3 00	
" " " 1895,	9 00	
" " " 1896,	15 00	
" " " 1897,	78 00	
" " " 1898,	1,267 60	
" " " 1899,	62 40	
		$1,438 00
Sale of *Publications*,		69 14
For partial cost of publication of articles and for reprints of the same:—		
Albert S. Cook,	23 00	
Kenneth McKenzie,	8 00	
Mary A. Scott,	112 00	
James T. Hatfield,	11 00	
Edward Fulton,	6 25	
Albert H. Tolman,	5 50	
J. D. Bruce,	92 00	
		$ 257 75

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Advertisements,	82 50	
Interest on deposits,	21 64	
		$ 104 14
Total receipts for the year,		$2,772 87

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XIII, 1, and Reprints,	$ 332 64	
" " " " 2, " "	339 13	
" " " " 3, " "	303 41	
" " " " 4, " "	382 63	
		$1,357 81
Expenses of the Committee of Twelve,	325 65	
Supplies for the Secretary: stationery, postage, mailing *Publications*, etc.,	42 36	
Supplies for the Treasurer: stationery, postage, etc.,	30 90	
The Secretary,	200 00	
Job printing,	79 60	
The Central Division,	27 25	
Bank discount on checks,	65	
		$ 706 41
Total expenditures for the year,		$2,064 22
Balance on hand, December 26, 1898,		708 65
		$2,772 87
Balance on hand, December 26, 1898,	$708 65	

The President appointed the following committees:

(1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors W. S. Currell and H. S. White.

(2) To nominate officers: Professors H. A. Todd, C. W. Kent, C. H. Grandgent, A. S. Cook, R. E. Blackwell.

(3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting: Professors A. Cohn, J. A. Harrison, Calvin Thomas, M. W. Sampson, H. C. G. von Jagemann.

Professor M. D. Learned presented a circular letter proposing an observance in Strassburg in 1899 of the 150th birthday of Goethe.

The Secretary reported the receipt of a communication from the Secretary of the American Philological Association,

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in which it was stated that the Executive Committee of that Association had voted in favor of the year 1900 for a proposed Philological Congress.

On motion of the Secretary it was voted that the Modern Language Association of America concurs in the choice of the year 1900, and also propose December of that year as the month, for the holding of a Philological Congress. It was also voted that the Secretary of the Association, under the direction of the Executive Council, be authorized to represent the interests of the Association in the arrangements that may be made for such a Congress.

3. "*La Vie de Sainte Catharine d'Alexandrie,* as contained in the Paris MS. La Clayette." By Professor H. A. Todd, of Columbia University. [To be printed in *Publications,* XV.]

4. "Luis de Leôn, the Spanish poet, humanist, and mystic." By Dr. J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications,* XIV, 267 f.]

5. "German-American ballads." By Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania. [For an abstract of this paper see *Modern Language Notes,* XIV, p. 99.]

6. "The Latin and Anglo-Saxon *Juliana.*" By Professor James M. Garnett, of Baltimore. [Printed in *Publications,* XIV, 279 f.]

7. "Transverse alliteration in Teutonic poetry." By Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

In the absence of the author, this paper was presented, with comments, by Professor A. S. Cook; Professor J. L. Hall discussed the subject.

8. "Modern poetry, and the revival of interest in Byron." By Professor George L. Raymond, of Princeton University.

After referring to the new editions of Byron, to the fact that the novel has largely taken the place in public interest formerly occupied by poetry, to the lack of high appreciation for the poetry of Tennyson and of writers

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influenced by him on the part of many English-speaking people, and of virtually all foreign critics of distinction, Prof. Raymond said that the feature that separated verse of this school from that preceding it, was the greater attention given to the musical flow of the syllables,—a feature imparting to Modern English poetry almost as distinctive a character as the rhythmical balance of lines imparted to the poetry of the age of Pope. He then went on as follows :

Years ago, Lessing in his *Laocoön* did a permanent service for criticism, by distinguishing the motive of poetry from that of painting. Is it important in our day that the same motive should be distinguished from that of music? Is there any difference between the mental effects produced by poetry and by music, which makes either art ineffective in the degree in which it trespasses upon the domain of the other? Let us try to answer this question. Both, being arts, appeal, of course, to the imagination; that is to say, they cause images to appear in the mind. But the two differ in the ways in which they determine what these images shall be. The inarticulated sounds heard in music, unless accompanied by words, can suggest to the mind no more than a general emotive tendency—active or restful, triumphant or desponding, gay or sad, as the case may be. This tendency influences the general direction of thought; but it leaves the mind free to determine for itself exactly what shall be the form of the thought, or the image. The same melody or harmony may make a fisherman think of a storm at sea, a rustic of a wind-swept forest, or a soldier of a battlefield. On the contrary, the articulated words heard in poetry, all have specific meanings. They indicate that of which the listener should think, and they are effective in the degree in which they indicate this with great definiteness. This definiteness, moreover, is caused by that which distinguishes an effect produced upon imagination when, in addition to thinking of something audible, it thinks of something visible. Words are usually significant of objects or conditions that can be seen. When we say *horse*, *house*, *hut*, *hill*, *pastime*, *undermine*, *overlook*, even sometimes *go* and *come*, we imaginatively perceive that which is mentioned. Now it is the peculiar function of poetry, the art in which the appeal to the imagination is made through words, to awaken in the mind consecutive series of definite visual conceptions—to lift thought into a region where it is surrounded on every side by those images of the real which we call the ideal. This is an effect which the novel, picturing life as it does, almost inevitably produces. But poetry can and should produce it still more emphatically, because, in addition to presenting a poetic subject, it can, to an extent scarcely possible in prose, express this in poetic language,—that is, in language every separate phrase and word of which is picturesque, as in the following from Shakespeare, "Lost in the labyrinth of thy fury," "Thou art all ice, thy kindness freezes," "My soul hath elbow-room," "He hath strangled his language with his tears;" or this from Longfellow,—

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Our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still like muffled drums are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

This last stanza is characteristic of Longfellow, a writer who, though a contemporary, was not a follower of Tennyson. Does the visual effect of the style give us one reason for Longfellow's wide popularity, a popularity as great in England and Germany as in our own country? Observe, too, that this visual effect of which we have been speaking can be compelled in the imagination through a representation of even objects and conditions which are described as being in themselves extremely vague in outline, as in Milton's description of Satan, or Tennyson's of the barge that came to bear away King Arthur.

But now, when the musical effects of poetry are supposed to compensate for the absence of other legitimate effects—such as the visual which we are here considering—then the poet may fail to make as much of these latter as he should. He may fail to develop a very important part of his poetic possibilities. Often, in reading Tennyson and more often in reading Swinburne, the reader, while conscious of certain audible sensations of great delicacy and sweetness, is not conscious of any definite and distinct pictures; and just in the degree in which this is true he fails to be lifted out of his actual visual surroundings into that realm of the imagination no less visual into which it is the peculiar function of poetry to transport one. Notice these entire stanzas from Swinburne:—

So much we lend indeed,
Perforce, by force of need,
So much we must; even these things and no more
The far sea sundering and the sundered shore
A world apart from ours,
So much the imperious hours,
Exact, and spare not; but no more than these
All earth and all her seas
From thought and faith of trust and truth can borrow,
Not memory from desire, nor hope from sorrow.

A Parting Song.

Praise him, O winds that move the molten air,
O light of days that were,
And light of days that shall be; land and sea,
And heaven and Italy:
Praise him, O storm and summer, shore and wave,
O skies and every grave;
O weeping hopes, O memories beyond tears,
O many and murmuring years,
O sounds far off in time and visions far,

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O sorrow with thy star,
And joy with all thy beacons; ye that mourn,
And ye whose light is born;
O fallen faces, and O souls arisen,
Praise him from tomb and prison. *A Song of Italy.*

Notice the following too,—a remarkably successful description so far as concerns the method of representation possible to sounds:—

And gentler the wind from the dreary
Sea-banks by the waves overlapped,
Being weary, speaks peace to the weary
From slopes that the tide-stream hath sapped;
And sweeter than all that we call so
The seal of their slumber shall be,
Till the graves that embosom them also
Be sapped of the sea. —*By the North Sea.*

Is it hypercritical to say that poetry of this kind manifests a *tendency* to emphasize the visual suggestions too slightly, to make them depend too largely upon obscure associations; and, therefore, that, at times, this poetry fails to satisfy all the requirements of imagination? Is it strange that many, especially foreigners not acquainted with the subtler suggestions of our English words, should experience a sense of relieved tension, when they find outlines larger, broader, bolder,—outlines that, without borrowing the glasses of those accustomed to search for nice discriminations, they can see, as it were, with naked eye; and see literally, as they can, for instance, those that make up these passages from Byron:—

'Tis midnight: on the mountains brown
The cold round moon shines deeply down;
Blue roll the waters, blue the sky
Spreads like an ocean hung on high,
Bespangled with those isles of light,
So wildly spiritually bright;
Who ever gazed upon them shining,
And turned to earth without repining?
—*The Siege of Corinth.*

Sweeps his long arm—that sabre's whirling sway
Sheds fast atonement for its first delay.
. . . . . .
The cloven turbans o'er the chamber spread,
And scarce an arm dare rise to guard its head:
Even Seyd, convulsed, o'erwhelmed with rage, surprise,
Retreats before him though he still defies.
No craven he, and yet he dreads the blow,

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So much confusion magnifies his foe.
His blazing galleys still distract his sight,
He tore his beard, and foaming fled the fight.

—*The Corsair.*

Byron's poetry with its abrupt, if not ungrammatical, transitions of tense, its inaccuracies of diction, and its inharmonious successions of syllables, the German critics prefer to the poetry of Tennyson. If we ourselves do not prefer it, would it not, at least, be wise for us to try to perceive why others should do so, and to ask ourselves whether this style does not meet a legitimate imaginative demand which the poetry of our own time is neglecting? In this age there is no great danger that any large number will give to the English poetry of the early part of this century, of which, perhaps, Byron is the foremost representative, the supreme literary homage once accorded it. But let us not go to the opposite extreme. Let us acknowledge that the artistic possibilities of many of our younger writers might be greatly broadened by giving to this poetry a certain amount of very cordial literary consideration.

9. "The sources of Cynewulf's *Christ*, Part I." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University.

THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The third session was convened at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

The auditing committee reported as follows:

The Committee appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer and of the Committee of Twelve beg leave to report that both accounts have been carefully examined, and that both are found to be correct.

In the account of the Committee of Twelve there is a deficit of $63.33 for necessary additional expenses. To cover this deficit the Committee respectfully recommend a further appropriation of $63.33.

Respectfully submitted,
W. S. CURRELL,
H. S. WHITE.

10. "Lemercier, and the three unities." By Dr. John R. Effinger, Jr., of the University of Michigan.

Discussion by Professor A. Cohn:

On the whole I heartily concur with the conclusion of Dr. Effinger's very able paper. There is no doubt that the middle solution proposed by Lemercier was preferable to the absolute subversion of the old rules which

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was later advocated by the Romanticists. But was the adoption of such a solution possible at that time? Lemercier himself was no great dramatist. There was no great French dramatist living at that time, and it may even be said that there had been none for a whole century. Voltaire, unquestionably the greatest French dramatist of the XVIIIth century, brilliant as he was, cannot be called a great dramatist. He possibly might have been one if he had not spread himself over so much ground, but, as it was, he lacked the powerful concentration which is necessary for the production of great dramatic works. When the Romanticists came, they did what they had to do; they destroyed the whole state of things, and this was necessary in order that a new one might be created. The faults of the dramas of Victor Hugo cannot be overlooked, and yet their production served a good purpose and may even be said to have been necessary. It must not be forgotten that Hugo did not begin his career as a dramatist. He was driven to dramatic writing by the criticisms of the adherents of the old school. After the production of Lamartine's *Meditations*, these critics were compelled to admit that something beautiful could be written by poets who did not accept all the rules laid by Boileau in his *Art Poétique*. They said to the new poets: "Oh yes, you may write elegies (this was the name given by them to Lamartine's poems), but when it comes to the highest form of poetry, to dramatic poetry, you are powerless." They of course considered dramatic poetry the highest form of poetry, because it was the form in which the poets of the classical era had achieved their greatest successes. This was a challenge which Hugo, as the chief of the younger poets, had to take up. He therefore determined to write for the stage, although his genius was lyric, and not dramatic. He constructed his dramas as melodramas, but he poured into them the burning metal of his lyric genius; and the success of *Hernani* simply demonstrated that a dramatic work, written in defiance of the old rules, could be a work of great poetical beauty, and win the admiration of the public. The success of *Hernani* effected a revolution; it destroyed the absolute sway of the old rules; it cleared the ground and made possible the creation of something new which is perhaps now springing up.

11. "Adversative-Conjunctive relations." By Dr. R. H. Wilson, of the Johns Hopkins University.

12. "The sources of Opitz's *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei*. By Dr. Thomas S. Baker, of the Johns Hopkins University. This paper was discussed by Professor James W. Bright.

13. "The origin and meaning of 'Germani' (Tac. *Germ.* 2)." By Professor A. Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Printed in *Philologus*, LVIII, 25 f.]

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14. "The International Correspondence." By Professor Edward H. Magill, of Swarthmore College. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, XIV, p. 48 f.]

This communication was discussed by Professors A. Fortier, and T. Atkinson Jenkins.

The following committee was appointed to report on the subject of this paper at the next Annual Meeting of the Association:

EDWARD H. MAGILL, *Chairman.*
A. RAMBEAU,
THÉRÈSE F. COLIN,
CARLA WENCKEBACH.

15. "Old English musical terms." By Mr. F. M. Padelford, of Yale University. [Printed as Heft IV of *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistic*, Bonn, 1899.]

This paper was discussed by Professors T. S. Baker, J. W. Bright, and H. E. Greene.

[The American Dialect Society held its Annual Meeting at 5 o'clock p. m.]

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Chairman of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, and Mrs. Barringer, received the ladies and gentlemen of the Association at their home at 8 o'clock p. m.

FOURTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The President called the fourth regular session of the meeting to order Thursday morning at 9.30 o'clock.

The Committee on Place of Meeting reported in favor of accepting an invitation extended by President Seth Low to hold the next Annual Meeting of the Association at Columbia University.

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In reply to a telegraphic message received from the President of the Central Division of the Association, proposing a joint meeting of the Association at Indianapolis in 1899, the President of the Association was empowered to say: "The Modern Language Association of America returns kindest greetings to the Central Division. In view of a Philological Congress in 1900, which will provide for a joint meeting of the Association, an invitation to meet at Columbia University in 1899 has been accepted."

16. "The Origin of the Runes." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan. [Printed in *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, 370 f.]

At the request of the author, who could not be present, this paper was read by Professor James W. Bright.

The chief portion of the time allowed for this session had been set apart for the final report of the Committee of Twelve, "appointed (*a*) to consider the position of the Modern Languages (French and German) in Secondary Education; (*b*) to examine into and make recommendations upon methods of instruction, the training of teachers, and such other questions connected with the teaching of the Modern Languages in the Secondary Schools and the Colleges as in the judgment of the Committee may require consideration" (*Proceedings for 1896*, p. xxii).

Professor Calvin Thomas, Chairman of the Committee of Twelve, now reported the completion of the work of the Committee (cf. *Proceedings for 1897*, p. xv), and at the special request of the Association read the chief portions of the Report of the Committee.

It was decided by vote that the Report in its present form be accepted for preliminary publication, and that the Committee be continued to await the detailed discussion of the printed Report at the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

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The Chairman of the Committee was authorized to draw upon the funds of the Association to defray the expense of publishing the Report. [This Report is now printed as Chap. XXVI of the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1897–98*, United States Bureau of Education, Washington, 1899; it is also incorporated in the National Educational Association's *Report of Committee on College Entrance Requirements, July, 1899.*]

Thursday afternoon was occupied in the most delightful relaxation. Under the direction of the Local Committee the members of the Association were taken in carriages to visit Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson.

FIFTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The fifth and closing session of the meeting was called to order Thursday evening at 7.30 o'clock.

The following officers for the year 1899 were elected:

President: H. C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University.
Secretary: James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.
Treasurer: Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council.

H. S. White, Cornell University.
L. E. Menger, Bryn Mawr College.
Albert S. Cook, Yale University.
Richard Hochdörfer, Wittenberg College.
Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana.
Charles M. Gayley, University of California.
James A. Harrison, University of Virginia.
W. S. Currell, Washington and Lee University.
W. D. Toy, University of North Carolina.

Phonetic Section.

President: A. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C.
Secretary: George Hempl, University of Michigan.

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Pedagogical Section.

President: F. N. Scott, University of Michigan.
Secretary: W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University.

Executive Committee.

James A. Harrison, First Vice-President.
Richard Hochdörfer, Second Vice-President.
H. S. White, Third Vice-President.

Editorial Committee.

C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.
H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

17. "The influence of the return of Spring on the earliest French lyric poetry." By Professor W. Stuart Symington, Jr., of Amherst College.

Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins discussed some aspects of the subject.

18. "From Franklin to Lowell, a century of New England pronunciation." By Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications*, XIV, 207 f.]

19. "Some tendencies in contemporary English poetry." By Mr. Cornelius Weygandt, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Abstract printed in *Modern Language Notes*, XIV, p. 101 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professors H. E. Greene and T. A. Jenkins.

20. "The development of the long *u* in Modern English." By Professor Edwin W. Bowen, of Randolph-Macon College.

21. "Experiments in translating Anglo-Saxon poetry." By Professor J. Lesslie Hall, of the College of William and Mary.

Professor Albert S. Cook discussed this paper.

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22. "The influence of German literature in America from 1800 to 1825." By Dr. Frederick H. Wilkens, of Baltimore. [Read by title.]

23. "Archaisms in Modern French." By Dr. T. F. Colin, of Bryn Mawr. [Read by title.]

The writer endeavored to collect and classify, under the accepted heads of Phonetics, Morphology, and Syntax, the current so-called exceptions and anomalies, either of pronunciation, orthography, set phrase, or peculiar construction, for which earlier usage can alone account. These survivals, or archaisms, viewed in the light of the history of the language, stand as landmarks of its progressive transformation.

Fully tabulated examples, drawn from old texts and chronologically displayed, were offered in explanation of these living relics, which subsist in specialized functions.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Association:

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America, now convened for its Sixteenth Annual Meeting, hereby conveys to the Board of Visitors and to the Chairman of the Faculty of the University of Virginia its grateful recognition of their cordial welcome; and to the members of the Local Committee and to the ladies and gentlemen who coöperated with them, its hearty appreciation of their hospitality.

The Association adjourned at 10.30 o'clock p. m.

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RICHARD HOCHDÖRFER,
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C. H. GRANDGENT,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,
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Few, Dr. W. P., Trinity College, Durham, N. C.
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Griffin, Dr. N. E., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
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JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Oxford, England.
ARTHUR NAPIER, University of Oxford.
FRITZ NEUMANN, University of Heidelberg.
ADOLF NOREEN, University of Upsala.
GASTON PARIS, Collège de France.
H. PAUL, University of Munich.
F. YORK POWELL, University of Oxford.
PIO RAJNA, Florence, Italy.
J. SCHIPPER, University of Vienna.
H. SCHUCHART, University of Graz.
ERICH SCHMIDT, University of Berlin.
EDUARD SIEVERS, University of Leipsic.
W. W. SKEAT, University of Cambridge.
JOHANN STORM, University of Christiania.
H. SUCHIER, University of Halle.
HENRY SWEET, Oxford, England.
ADOLF TOBLER, University of Berlin.
KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin.
RICH. PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipsic.

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ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEASED.

T. WHITING BANCROFT, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [1890.]
D. L. BARTLETT, Baltimore, Md. [1899.]
W. M. BASKERVILLE, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1899.]
DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. [1899.]
WILLIAM COOK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888.]
SUSAN R. CUTLER, Chicago, Ill. [1899.]
A. N. VAN DAELL, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1899.]
EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894.]
W. DEUTSCH, St. Louis, Mo. [1898.]
FRANCIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896.]
L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
GEORGE A. HENCH, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1899.]
RUDOLPH HILDEBRAND, Leipsic, Germany. [1894.]
J. KARGÉ, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892.]
F. L. KENDALL, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893.]
EUGENE KÖLBING, Breslau, Germany. [1899.]
J. LÉVY, Lexington, Mass.
JULES LOISEAU, New York, N. Y.
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1891.]
J. LUQUIENS, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899.]
THOMAS MCCABE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891.]
J. G. R. MCELROY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1891.]
EDWARD T. MCLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893.]
C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md.
W. M. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa.
C. P. OTIS, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894.]
M. SCHELE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y.
F. R. STENGEL, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
H. TALLICHET, Austin, Texas. [1894.]
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
MISS HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888.]
MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898.]
CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889.]
JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany. [1895.]

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America.*

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

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Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention, December 30, 1886:

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members, who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to accept or reject such papers, and also of the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.

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APPENDIX II.

Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Lincoln, Nebraska, December 27, 28, and 29, 1898.

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THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The fourth annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, December 27, 28, and 29, 1898.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 27.

On Tuesday evening, December 27, the Association was called to order in the Library Hall of the University of Nebraska by Professor Lawrence Fossler, of the University of Nebraska. The speaker introduced Chancellor George E. MacLean, who delivered an address welcoming the members to the University and to the city of Lincoln. The President of the Central Division, Professor C. Alphonso Smith, responded, and then delivered an address on "The Work of the Modern Language Association of America." [Printed in *Publications*, XIV, 240 f.]

Before adjourning Professor A. H. Edgren invited the members to attend an informal reception tendered them at his home.

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 28.

The Second Session was called to order Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock a. m., by President C. Alphonso Smith. The Secretary being absent on account of illness, Dr. F. I.

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Carpenter, of the University of Chicago, was chosen Secretary *pro tem.* The report of the Secretary was presented, and on motion was adopted.

Report of the Secretary of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America.

The Secretary begs to submit the printed Proceedings of the previous Annual Meeting, published in Vol. XIII of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, pp. XLIII–LIX.

During the past year thirteen new members have been elected:

Miss Mary L. Freeman, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Miss Jane Hutchins White, High School, Evanston, Ill.
Miss V. D. Jayne, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
Professor William Koren, Mount Pleasant, Ia.
Miss L. R. de Lagneau, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
Professor G. D. Morris, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Professor Herman S. Piatt, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
Dr. Karl Pietsch, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Professor J. E. Roessler, Valparaiso, Ind.
Mr. Hugh A. Smith, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Professor Vernon P. Squires, University of North Dakota, University P. O., N. D.
Professor Guido H. Stempel, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

The selection of a place of meeting was left to the Executive Committee. As a member of this body the Secretary wishes to present a résumé of the transactions. The Committee had a number of invitations to select from: Vanderbilt University, Tulane University, Leland Stanford University, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Illinois. The choice of Charlottesville, Va., as the place for the eastern meeting reduced this number to three; a careful canvas showed a solid South in favor of the Virginia meeting. This, together with the fact that the representatives of the Leland Stanford University, had been exceptionally active in their support of the Association, led to negotiations with the authorities of that institution, and the Pacific railroads. Contrary to expectation, and certainly contrary to the wishes of many members, a desirable agreement with the railroads could not be effected. It may be added—to obviate any misapprehension—that this meeting on the Pacific coast was in every detail feasible, and had an assured success long before the negotiations were finally dropped. The invitations from the State Universities of Illinois and Wisconsin the Committee, after a careful consideration of the

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situation, did not feel justified to accept, for the reason that two out of three meetings had been held in northern Illinois. The Committee finally believed to discharge its duties in the most impartial manner, and in accord with the best interests of the Association, by accepting a later invitation extended by the University of Nebraska.

At the last meeting the Secretary was directed to negotiate with Associations of similar character with regard to combined meetings, in order to secure reduced railroad rates. The Secretary has spent considerable effort in obedience to this request, with the result that he has to repeat his statement made when the motion was under discussion: that there are two such organizations, one of them being strictly local, and the other at present suspended. The many problems of our own, involving especially questions of place and time of meeting, our exceptional position as a branch of another Association, the large territory of our operations—to mention only these points—constitute factors with which no other Association has to deal, and which, in the aggregate, threaten to become so burdensome and perplexing that a relief from further, however well-intentioned, legislation seems to be desirable.

Upon the vote of the Central Division the Secretary has addressed the Secretary of the Modern Language Association with regard to a joint meeting in the coming year, and every fourth year thereafter. As a result of this vote the Central Division will have to appoint a Committee to act upon the decision of the Modern Language Association.

The success of the joint meeting of the Language Associations in Philadelphia has encouraged the American Philological Association to arrange preliminaries for another Philological Congress, to be held most probably about Christmas, in the year 1900; the question will be definitely decided before the adjournment of the present meeting. The Secretary awaits special instructions as to the course the Central Division wishes to take in this matter.

The following report of the Treasurer for the year 1898 was then read, and on motion was referred to the Auditing Committee:

Report of the Treasurer of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association for the year 1898:

RECEIPTS.

Thirteen membership fees, ...	$39 00
From the Treasurer of the M. L. A., ...	27 25
Total receipts for the year, ...	$66 25

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EXPENDITURES.

Printing of Programmes, Job printing,	$13 65
Stamps,	13 30
Telegram,	0 30
Paid to the Treasurer of the M. L. A.,	
November 21st,	33 00
December 2nd,	6 00
Total expenditures for the year,	$66 25

Respectfully submitted,

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,
Treasurer.

The President announced the appointment of the following Committees:

(1) To audit the Treasurer's accounts: Professors Albert E. Jack and Lawrence Fossler.

(2) To recommend place for the next meeting: Professors Edward P. Morton, W. H. Carruth, F. A. Blackburn, J. P. Fruit, and Dr. H. M. Belden.

(3) To nominate officers: Professors A. H. Edgren, W. H. Carruth, Charles Bundy Wilson, Dr. P. S. Allen, and Dr. C. W. Eastman.

On motion of Professor W. H. Carruth the Committee on Place of Meeting was instructed to send greetings to the Association in session at the University of Virginia, and to invite them to meet at Indianapolis in joint session the next year.

On behalf of the authorities of Tulane University the chair extended an invitation to the Association to meet in New Orleans next year.

On motion Professors S. W. Cutting and J. S. Nollen, and Miss K. Merrill were appointed a Committee to rearrange the programme of the present meeting to secure a close of its sessions by Thursday noon.

The reading of papers was then taken up.

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1. "Certain structural peculiarities of the I-novel." By Miss Katharine Merrill, of Austin, Ill.

By I-novel is meant one related in the first person,—only those in the form of a continuous narrative being here considered. An I-novel need not be closely autobiographical, but when an autobiographical novel is put in the first person it gains in lifelikeness and also in subjectivity through the directness of the form.

Directness and capacity for intensity are, accordingly, the first qualities noted in I-narrative. The inherence of these is proved by the difference in the nature of novels cast in this form. The story of adventure, such as Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, the tract-novel, such as Kingsley's *Alton Locke*, and the novel of passion, such as Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, possess in their material the quality of intensity, though this quality is due to different causes. This intensity in the nature of the material is at once aided by the directness of the first personal form of discourse. The I-form thus seems especially adapted to work that is intense and concentrated rather than flowing and comprehensive. The truth of this is enforced by the absence in these novels of diversity of characterization and multiplicity of interests. To a story possessing at once variety and also depth and minuteness of character-portrayal, the I-form is far less adapted.

The reason is that the I-form compels unity, owing to the structural importance of the narrator. The fact that everything passes through the mind of the I-narrator creates inevitably a certain unity of structure; though it does not *necessitate* unity of material. Indeed, so inherent in the I-form is unity of structure, that in material it passes to the opposite extreme and allows the greatest diversity. (This explains why such a story as Smollett's *Roderick Random* can appear in the first-personal form.)

This structural importance given the narrator is a fundamental quality of I-narrative. As a result, an I-novel may have greater freedom in the relations of time and space, it may cover the whole life of its hero with less interruption, than a third-personal novel, and it allows a freer use of retrospect in a rapid survey of a period, because of the fixed centre of the "I."

But this fixed centre has also its disadvantages, because it is likely to result in violation of probability. Hence arises the problem of legitimacy, of rendering natural the narrator's knowledge and ignorance, his presence and absence, his acting and his not acting. The peculiar difficulty of the I-form is that the narrator is a double person, being a figure in the story and also a representative of the author. As author he is bound to prepare the reader for the future; as fictitious personage he must often remain ignorant of what he is making others see. How is this to be done with probability? (Question stated, not answered.) The legitimating of the narrator's knowledge of occurrences, and of the moving him about also offers difficulties. This is largely the same as the problem of motiving

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the behavior of the personages. The solutions of it cannot easily be classified, and the study of the problem in the particular novels considered cannot be reduced to the scope of an abstract. Not one of them entirely escapes improbability.

This paper was discussed by Dr. P. S. Allen, Professors J. S. Nollen, W. H. Carruth, Mr. E. P. Morton, Mrs. Franklin, and Dr. H. C. Peterson.

2. "The stem-changing verbs in Spanish." By Professor A. H. Edgren, of the University of Nebraska.

The object of this study is not to trace the history and nature of the thematic vowel-changes in Spanish verbs, but to find how far the method of distinguishing the stem-changing verbs from others with a like thematic vowel may be simplified.

Very little aid is to be had by historical considerations. Though it be true, with certain well-known modifications, that the changeable *e* and *o*-vowels came from Latin *ĕ* and *ŏ*, yet this principle, even if of any practical use to the ordinary Spanish student, could not serve as a criterion of distinction for the reason that the unmodified *e* and *o*, as shown by appended lists, is at least as often derived from Latin *ĕ*, *ŏ* as the modifiable *e*, *o*. Besides dialectical borrowing or influence, and analogical formations, a multitude of words have come into the language after the law of vowel-gradation had ceased to be operative in Spanish. Diez, who first formulated the now somewhat modified theory of the derivation of the variable vowels, added that they are usually followed by *l*, *m*, *n*, *v*, or *s* + another consonant. If this qualification, made use of in some grammars, were accordant with actual facts it would furnish a most welcome aid in recognizing the stem-changing verbs. But it is absolutely valueless. Not much above one-half of the stem-changing verbs show the form described by Diez; and, what is more fatal, the unmodifiable *e* and *o* are also, as shown by appended statistics, with only sporadic exceptions followed by the same consonants or consonant-groups as the modifiable, and by few others. Nor does it appear that there is any other difference of form or phonetic surroundings that might serve as a basis for a broad, practical distinction.

The important and, apparently, hitherto unobserved fact that in a vast majority of stem-changing verbs it is the radical and not, as so often in the unmodifiable verbs, the terminational tonic vowel that suffers gradation; and further that the modifiable vowel is never in hiatus or followed by any other surd mute than sporadically *c*, *t*, and that when it is *e* it is never preceded by *c*, *j* or *ll*, will help in a negative way to eliminate a great number of unchangeable stems from consideration.

Remarks on this paper were offered by Professor Raymond Weeks.

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3. "Leonard Cox and the first English rhetoric." By Dr. F. I. Carpenter, of the University of Chicago. [Printed as No. V of *English Studies* of the University of Chicago.]

This paper was discussed by Professor A. E. Jack and the author.

4. "The tense-limitations of some modal auxiliaries in German." By Professor W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas.

The defective forms of the English auxiliaries of mode make this subject one of peculiar difficulty for the English student of German. On this account it is especially desirable to have a complete analysis of these words in German, and a careful comparison of correspondences between the two languages.

Of the six tenses in which any complete verb may be found, English 'will,' 'shall,' 'may,' 'can,' occur in but two each, and 'must' in but one, a total of but nine cases, while the corresponding five stems in German offer thirty forms, to speak of the indicative mood alone.

It is true, the English has the means of expressing every shade of meaning included in these thirty forms; but the very abundance of the German forms is apt to be bewildering to the English student.

Furthermore, when the modal auxiliaries are combined with principal verbs, we have for each auxiliary, not only the six tenses with the simple infinitive of the principal verb, but in addition, in the three primary tenses of the auxiliary, we have the combination with the perfect infinitive of the principal verb. Thus: Ich will es sagen, wollte es sagen, habe es sagen wollen, hatte es sagen wollen, werde es sagen wollen, werde es haben sagen wollen, will es gesagt haben, wollte es gesagt haben, werde es gesagt haben wollen.

This makes a total of nine tense-forms in the combination of each auxiliary with the principal verb, or forty-five forms for the five auxiliaries which have corresponding stems in English.

Good usage in both languages forbids the combination of a secondary tense of the auxiliary with a perfect infinitive of the principal verb, although there are plenty of instances in older classical writers of such monstrosities as, We might have been able to have gone, He should have ought to have seen him, and, in German, Du hättest mir das sollen gemeldet haben. Yet the teacher, as well as the writer, may well avoid such forms.

While in practice this array of difficulties is slightly reduced by the general elimination of the second future, or future perfect, and of the first future combined with the perfect infinitive of the principal verb, this gain is lost sight of in view of the added complications arising from the varying

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meanings of the auxiliaries themselves. Each auxiliary of mode has, even in modern usage, from three to six distinct shades of meaning, and it is found that these shades vary more or less in accordance with a change in tense. In fact, certain meanings are in common practice limited to certain tenses.

So far as these limitations are clear and generally conceded it must be desirable for both teacher and pupil to be aware of the facts.

In the case of each auxiliary I shall outline but two or three general meanings, not going into many finer shades of distinction in this presentation. In each case I discover one or more meanings which are adapted to every tense-form. This meaning I shall call 'chief,' avoiding 'primary,' because in several cases it is not at all the primary meaning historically. If still another meaning seems also adapted to a broader use of the tenses it may be called 'secondary.' Finally, in each case I discover a meaning, or group of meanings, which I call 'tertiary,' limited to employment in the simple tense-forms and especially in conjunction with the perfect infinitive of the principal verb. This terminology, 'chief,' 'secondary,' 'tertiary,' is not at all satisfactory to me, but I have not been able to devise a better, and trust that it will serve to make my meaning clearer.

The paper then goes on to examine the six auxiliaries after the following method, illustrating with

Sollen.

(1) Chief meaning: Intention, on the part of anyone but the subject, destiny.
Used in all tenses in conjunction with the simple infinitive of the principal verb.

(2) Secondary meaning: moral obligation.
Used only in the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive.

(3) Tertiary meaning: Report ('to be said').
Used in simple tenses only, followed chiefly by perfect infinitive, but also by simple infinitive of sein and other verbs denoting state of being and customary action.

Illustrations must wait for fuller publication. The older stages of the language show many exceptions to this outline, but growth seems clearly to be toward it, and the writer believes it will be found correct in the main for current usage and even for the later eighteenth century.

Such a tertiary meaning, with practically the same tense limitations, is found for each auxiliary. I can discover no inherent reason why these meanings should be limited to the simple tenses. I merely note the facts as they are, if I have not misunderstood or misinterpreted them.

In all of the tertiary meanings I discover something of a common quality, to wit, a peculiarly subjective attitude on the part of the speaker, as, refusal of authority or responsibility, denial of knowledge, conjecture, estimate, concession from indifference, logical inference.

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The discussion of this paper was opened by Dr. C. W. Eastman, and continued by Professors S. W. Cutting, F. A. Blackburn, A. H. Edgren, C. A. Smith, C. W. Wilson, Dr. P. S. Allen, Miss L. Pound, and the author.

THIRD SESSION.

The President called the meeting to order at 2.30 p. m.

5. "The poetic value of long words." By Professor A. H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago. In the absence of the writer the paper was read by Miss K. Merrill. [To be published in the *Journal of Germanic Philology.*]

The discussion which followed was participated in by Miss K. Merrill, Professors R. Weeks, F. A. Blackburn, W. H. Carruth, and Dr. F. I. Carpenter.

6. "The origin of some ideas of sense-perception." By Professor F. A. Wood, of Cornell College, Ia. [Printed in *Publications*, XIV, 299 f.]

This paper was presented in abstract by Professor F. A. Blackburn. Professors A. H. Edgren, R. Weeks, F. A. Blackburn and S. W. Cutting took part in the discussion.

7. "Historical Dictionaries." By Professor A. H. Edgren, of the University of Nebraska.

This paper was discussed by Professors C. A. Smith, J. S. Nollen, C. W. Wilson, and F. A. Blackburn.

8. "Dramatic Renaissance." By Miss M. Anstice Harris, of Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.

Remarks on the topic of this paper were offered by Professors J. S. Nollen, L. Fossler, A. H. Edgren, and Dr. H. M. Belden.

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FOURTH SESSION.

The meeting was called to order at 8 p. m.

9. "A method of teaching metrics." By Mr. Edward P. Morton, of the University of Indiana.

One great difficulty in teaching metrics is that the pupils are too often ignorant of the simplest rules of scansion and almost always insensitive to the aesthetic effectiveness of different verse-forms. The first object of any teaching of metrics ought to be, therefore, to develop an intelligent appreciation of what the verse contributes to the general excellence of the whole.

In the absence of a text-book, which systematically points out the rhetorical reasons which underlie metrical effectiveness, I have pieced together a method which I wish briefly to describe.

The first, and perhaps the only principle of English verse which has not been questioned or rejected, is that accent, or stress, is at least predominant. The notation which most clearly recognizes this is one in which unaccented syllables are marked by an x, and accented syllables by a mark of accent. The strong point of this notation is that it attempts to mark only stress.

The most frequent, and apparently the most natural English foot is the iambus—the measure of at least nine-tenths of the bulk of our verse. Of this enormous quantity much more than half is in the five-foot measure, called the iambic pentameter. We may, therefore, safely assume this five-foot iambic line to be the standard English metre.

Because it is common, therefore, and because it is possible easily to compare its rhetoric with that of prose without having to account for the effects of rime, either upon the structure of the verse or upon the senses of the reader, I begin with blank verse. After half a dozen lessons in Tennyson's blank verse the students begin to see that the very monotony and lack of salient features make blank verse so infinitely adaptable. Of course, they will be very far from a real appreciation of the best blank verse, but they will be so accustomed to a measure marked chiefly by metre that they will be moderately sensitive to the effects produced by rime. So, when the class next takes up the heroic couplet, they see that rime emphasizes the line unit and tends to limit the expression of a thought to two lines.

The class next takes up the four-beat poems, *Il Penseroso*, *L'Allegro*, *Marmion*, *Christabel*, the *Ancient Mariner*, and Tennyson's *St. Agnes' Eve* and *Day Dream*. In these poems, in the order named, the approach to a rigid stanza form is closer and closer. In the *Palace of Art* and *Dream of Fair Women*, the stanza structure is perfectly definite and unvarying. After the four-beat measures, the class takes up the shorter ones, and then jumps abruptly from these to the very long six, seven, or eight-beat measures.

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After a few lessons on the long lines, the class goes back to the five-foot measures and takes up the elaborate stanza structure of the ottava rima, the Spenserian stanza, and the sonnet. After the sonnet, the class again takes up blank verse, this time historically.

The course thus outlined is meant for a class that meets once a week throughout the year, but it can be cut down or expanded at need. I have had in mind one main purpose—to show my pupils as far as might be the effectiveness of different verse-forms. By taking blank verse first, the students are unable to apply any preconceived notions about poetry, and are obliged to fall back on rhetoric. The essential features of my plan are this, beginning with blank verse and the sharp contrast of different measures, I am not sure that it makes much difference whether we take first the short measures or the long ones, or whether or not we finish the study of verse lengths before we take up stanza structure.

By the end of the course students should not only see, but feel and understand that one definite problem of versification is always the effect of the verse on sentence structure, and of this latter in softening or enforcing metrical structure. In short, they should see that the versification of good poetry is not an arbitrary ornament, but an essential, organic part of the whole.

The paper was discussed by Professors A. E. Jack, L. A. Sherman, F. A. Blackburn, J. S. Nollen, C. A. Smith, Dr. F. I. Carpenter, and the author.

10. "Wilhelm Müller and Italian popular poetry." By Dr. Philip S. Allen, of the University of Chicago. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, XIV, 329 f.]

Remarks were made by Professors L. Fossler, W. H. Carruth, C. W. Wilson, F. A. Blackburn, and the author.

11. "The history of the Sigfridlegend." By Professor Julius Goebel, of Leland Stanford University.

It must be considered an established fact that the Sigfridlegend existed as a separate legend, independent of the story of the Burgundians with which it was afterwards combined. In my paper 'On the original form of the legend of Sigfrid' (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XII, 461 ff.), I believe I have shown beyond doubt that we have the oldest and most authentic account of the original Sigfridlegend in the passage of *Beowulf*, v. 885 ff. According to this oldest account our legend consisted of the story of a hero who became famous by the killing of a dragon possessing great riches. It is of no importance whatever that our hero is called Sigmund in *Beowulf*. Sigmund, Sigurð, and Sigfrid are

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different names for the same hero. The passage in *Beowulf* shows no traces of a connection of the Sigfridlegend with the historic Saga of the Burgundians.

The various versions which we possess of the *combined stories, i. e.*, the story of Sigfrid and the story of the Burgundians, clearly represent various attempts at a fusion of both legends. The earliest and most imperfect of these attempts is contained in the version given in the *Edda* (to be supplemented by certain portions of the *Volsungasaga*), a second one we can still observe in the crude form of the *Seyfridlied*, and the third and most artistic one we possess in the *Nibelungenlied*.

It is the purpose of this paper to make a study of these various attempts at a fusion, of which the versions named are the historic documents and to inquire into the means which, in the process of artistic evolution, were employed by the poetic imagination.

A careful study of the Edda version shows that the invention of the character of Gudrun, whose German name is Kriemhilt, was the first and most important link, by which the Sigfridlegend and the story of the Burgundians were forged together. The historical basis for this character has long ago been found in the account of Attila's death given by Jordanis (c. 49), according to which Attila died at his wedding night by the side of a woman named Ildico. We can still see how the legend makes use of this historical fact. While Attila, according to Jordanis, dies from natural causes, the legend soon has it that he was killed by his wife. And she kills him in revenge of the murder of her brothers, for the legend, inventing a motive for her act, makes her the sister of the Burgundian kings.

But while the character of Gudrun-Kriemhilt thus forms the connecting link between Attila and the Burgundians, this character also forms the link between the Sigfridlegend and the story of the Burgundians. Gudrun-Kriemhilt, we are told, was married to Sigfrid before she became the wife of Attila and, accordingly, the famous slayer of the dragon appears at the court of Gunther asking for the hand of Gudrun. I am convinced that Gudrun's marriage to Sigfrid is a later invention. The marriage-motive so successfully employed in explaining the annihilation of the Burgundians is repeated for the purpose of connecting the Sigfridlegend with the story of the Burgundians. But having invented these two marriages of Gudrun, the legend felt compelled to explain and excuse them. We are consequently told in the Scandinavian version that Gudrun was given a magic potion before she became Attila's wife, and in the *Nibelungenlied* we hear that Kriemhilt consents to her second marriage because she is thereby given the opportunity of avenging Sigfrid's death. While thus, in the *Nibelungenlied*, a sufficient reason is given for Kriemhilt's second marriage, no such reason is given in the Scandinavian version, since it is her brothers and not Sigfrid whom Gudrun here revenges. I conclude, therefore, that the magic potion is a poor though early device to find an excuse for the two marriages of Gudrun, dating back to the time when the Sigfridlegend was first connected

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with the story of the Burgundians. In other words, the Sigfridlegend was connected with the story of the Burgundians by the invention of the previous marriage of Gudrun to Sigfrid at a time when the story of Gudrun's revenge was fully developed. Since this latter development cannot have taken place before the 6th century, an earlier connection of the Sigfridlegend with the story of the Burgundians is out of the question.

One of the most important factors in the poetic process is the development of the μῦθος as Aristotle calls it. By this I mean the joining together of actions and characters into the organic unity of the epic or the drama under the law of cause and effect. I have thus far been trying to show how, on the basis of two existing legends, a new μῦθος develops by the combination of these two legends. Before I proceed further I may say that it is a characteristic feature of this new μῦθος that it transforms into family relations original historic events, and that upon these relations the poetic motives are based which are the moving power in the actions of the characters. And if, by a poetic motive we understand certain relations of life as, *e. g.*, love, hatred, jealousy, etc., conceived by the poet in their full importance as impulses of actions, then we find that the Scandinavian version is still on the stage of inventing motives and μῦθος, that it has not yet developed into the fixed unity which we find established in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Under the light of these remarks we must approach the character of Brynhild. Like Gudrun-Kriemhilt she forms an important link in the chain that connects the legend of Sigfrid with the story of the Burgundians. Is she, like the former character, the product of motive-finding imagination, or does she belong originally to either one of the two legends?

There are, in the Norse version, clearly distinguishable two conflicting accounts concerning Brynhild which have given endless trouble to the orthodox believers in a Brynhild-myth, which can, however, be satisfactorily explained, if we remember the fluctuating and unfinished state of the new μῦθος in the Scandinavian version.

According to one of these accounts contained in *SigurÐarkviþa en skamma*, v. 37–40, and *Oddrúnargrátr*, v. 16 ff., which undoubtedly represents the oldest account of our character, Brynhild is the sister of Attila, and with the help of Sigfrid, his brother-in-law, she becomes the wife of Gunther. To be sure, no historic fact does warrant this account, but it is evident that Brynhild serves here as an important second link to bind together both legends. She is needed as such for the purpose of furnishing a motive for Attila's annihilation of the Burgundians. Since the Scandinavian version of this defeat of the Burgundians corresponds so closely with the facts of history and consequently must be very old, I conclude that the invention of the motive for the annihilation of the Burgundians is equally old. The character of Brynhild, hence, is a product of poetic imagination, and it belonged originally to the story of the Burgundians before the latter was connected with the Sigfridlegend.

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As soon as the poetic combination of both legends began, Brynhild was given a second position in the new *μῦθος*: she was to cause the death of Sigfrid. If it was the original object in introducing the character of Brynhild to create a motive for the annihilation of the Burgundians, then it is evident that Brynhild's connection with Sigfrid's death is a later invention.

This view finds strong support in the fact that Sigfrid, according to some accounts, is killed without the aid of Brynhild. Not only is this the version of the *Seyfridlied*, but also of *Guþrúnarkviþa ǫnnur*, v. 3, and *Sigurðarkv. en skamma*, v. 17, where we are told that Sigfrid was killed for the sake of obtaining possession of his treasure. We are, therefore, justified in assuming the existence of a version of Sigfrid's death, according to which Sigfrid was killed by his avaricious relatives who wished to get hold of his treasure. And it seems highly probable that this version of Sigfrid's death belongs to the old Sigfridlegend. Later on, when this legend had been connected with the story of the Burgundians, the avaricious relatives were, of course, found in Gudrun's brothers.

But the motive of avarice leading to Sigfrid's death, which still appears in all our versions, was pushed aside as soon as the character of Brynhild began to assume larger proportions. As soon as the sister of Attila, the wife of Gunther, had developed into the strong extraordinary maiden whom only Sigfrid could win for Gunther, and as soon as it was told *how* Sigfrid had aided his brother-in-law, a new field was opened for the poetic imagination. Not only are we now told that Brynhild had formerly been betrothed to Sigfrid and that she secretly loves him, but also a new motive is found for the death of Sigfrid. To the original motive of avarice is added the motive of jealousy and hatred, resulting from the knowledge of deceit and betrayal that is revealed to Brynhild in her quarrel with Gudrun.

The second account of the character of Brynhild, which is contained in the Scandinavian version, is the one which represents her as a valkyrie. We are still in a position to see how this Valkyrie-myth developed from the fact that Brynhild, the sister of Attila and daughter of Budli, was a 'wishmaid' by profession. A later version then makes her a wishmaid of Oðinn, *i. e.*, a valkyrie who, in disobedience to his commands, is stung by Oðinn with the sleep thorn and surrounded by fire. Here she sleeps until Sigfrid, on Grani's back, rides through the flames and awakens her.

There is no question that this whole story is a Scandinavian invention which has nothing to do with the original legend, and which was fabricated at the time when the Sigfrid story was shaped into a myth after the pattern of the Wodan-myth, as I showed in my former paper.

An apparently old and simple attempt of welding together the two legends we have in the *Seyfridlied*, the oldest parts of which, according to W. Golther, dates back to the 13th century. According to this poem Sigfrid obtains Kriemhilt by killing the dragon, who, while the girl one day was standing in the window, had carried her away to the mountains. I do not agree with the scholars who consider this story a later production influ-

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enced by the legend of St. George. Much in the description of the fight with the dragon corresponds with the oldest account of this fight in *Beowulf*, though in its present dilapidated form our poem must, of course, deviate essentially from the original. This original I consider a very old attempt of connecting the Sigfridlegend with the story of the Burgundians, dating back to a time when the character of Brynhild had not yet developed to its later proportions.

The combination of both legends into a new *μῦθος* received its final shape in the *Nibelungenlied*. Despite the chivalrous coloring of this poem the gigantic characters of the old heroic age may still be seen looming up behind the polished forms of court life. The new *μῦθος* has attained greater unity than it had in the Edda-version. The connecting link between both legends is the character of Kriemhilt. We hear no more of Brunhilt, as the sister of Attila, whose death the king of the Huns avenges by annihilating the Burgundians. The latter met destruction because Kriemhilt desires revenge for the death of Sigfrid. In making Kriemhilt thus the only connecting link of both legends, her character rises to immense proportions. She is the central figure of the *Nibelungenlied*. The German poets seem to sympathize with her far more than with Brunhilt. The latter character might have been entirely eliminated from the new *μῦθος* had it not been for her relations to Sigfrid, which, as we have seen, at an early period of the fusion of both legends, had been developed, while the sister of Attila was forgotten, because she was no longer needed as such, the memory of her connection with Sigfrid's death was retained. At the same time it is significant that Brunhilt is dropped from the poem after the death of Sigfrid, among the causes of which we also find the old motive of the avaricious relatives.

Summing up we arrive at these results. The history of the Sigfridlegend is the history of the shifting and moulding of motives and characters, by which this legend is blended with the story of the Burgundians. Since all the versions of the combined legends show the tendency of developing such motives and characters, it is an absolute mistake to see in either of these versions the original form of the combined story. This new *μῦθος* of the combined stories never existed outside of, or independent of the versions which have been handed down to us. Each one of these versions represents a different attempt of combining the two legends into a new *μῦθος*.

While we have to look for the original form of the story of the Burgundians in the facts of history, no such historical basis can be found for the Sigfridlegend. The original form of the latter is contained in the account given in *Beowulf*, to which must be added the tragic death of Sigfrid. (The phrase *äfter déaδ-däge* in *Beowulf* seems to point to a tragic death.) The oldest version of his death must have been that he was killed by avaricious relatives for the possession of his treasure.

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Concerning the links which connect both legends we notice a state of fluctuation and change. Both Kriemhilt and Brunhilt are characters created by the poetic imagination for the purpose of connecting both legends. The history of the changes which these characters underwent is the history of the fusion of both legends into a new μῦθος. Before the final and most artistic fusion was accomplished, the existence of single songs must be assumed in which poets of various talents and at various times treated various parts of the combined story, or the latter as a whole, with great freedom. Such freedom in transforming motives and characters would have been impossible had they been guarded by fixed conservative tradition.

This paper was presented in abstract by Professor F. A. Blackburn.

Professor S. W. Cutting then presented the report of the Committee of Twelve on the Modern Language Association, in a short résumé. The meeting was interrupted through a failure of the lighting apparatus, and the members repaired to the quarters of the Lincoln Business Men's Club, where a reception to the Association had been arranged.

FIFTH SESSION.

The meeting was convened at 9 a. m.

Professor S. W. Cutting's report, begun at the preceding session, was concluded. The report was then accepted with the understanding that the Committee would edit and publish the same without material change of the essential features.

12. "Le Covenant Vivien." By Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri. [To be published in *Romania*.]

There are in the *Geste de Guillaume* three poems which are thought to contain descriptions or summaries of the so-called battle of Aliscans; namely, *Aliscans*, the *Covenant Vivien*, and *Foucon de Candie*. No two of these accounts agree. Furthermore, each of these poems, save *Foucon*, contains grave internal inconsistencies and improbabilities. The following inconsistencies and improbabilities have been noted in the *Covenant Vivien:* 1. At the opening of the poem, certain cousins are said to accompany Vivien, who, we learn later (lines 740–45), are not with Vivien, but

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with his uncle at Orange. In fact, these cousins are among those who come later with Guillaume to help Vivien (1144–45; 1216–18). 2. We are told in line 69 that Vivien carries on successful warfare in Spain for seven years, yet, at the close of this period (95-97), the emir Qesrames knows nothing of any war. 3. Vivien and his band, being hard-pressed in battle, cut their way to a castle, which they enter without difficulty. Inasmuch as this castle seems capable of sheltering them for several months, we cannot understand how such a stronghold should have been left unprotected. 4. Immediately on the arrival of Vivien at the castle, we see his men killing their horses for food, and acting as if they had been besieged for a long while. 5. Girart is sent to Guillaume for help. On Guillaume's departure, it is stated that within four days he will meet the direst peril of his life. How can he march from Orange to the scene of the battle in Spain, and fight a battle, all within four days? 6. Vivien, instead of waiting for the arrival of succor, sallies from the castle for no apparent reason, and meets destruction. 7. Finally, how can the fact be explained that the poem ends so vaguely? We are left in doubt concerning every hero in whom we have become interested. The poem seem to end nowhere.

The theory advanced in this paper is that the *Covenant* as it exists is a blending of two poems originally independent, in the first of which—the antecedent probably of the present *Enfances Vivien*—the action resulted favorably to the hero; in the second of which it resulted disastrously. The battle as it is in the *Covenant* is mainly drawn from the first of the above sources, hence is not the battle of Aliscans.

This theory is based partly on internal, but mainly on external, evidence. The following sources of external evidence are utilized: *Aliscans*, *Foucon de Candie*, *Enfances Vivien*, *Storie Nerbonesi*, *Roman d'Arle*, and *Philippe Mousket*. The attempt is made to show how, in the light of this theory, the internal inconsistencies of the *Covenant* disappear.

The paper was discussed by Professor A. H. Edgren and the author.

Professor Raymond Weeks, third Vice-President of the Central Division, was called to the chair.

13. "The Finnsburgh Fragment, and its relation to the Finn episode in *Beowulf*." By Miss Louise Pound, of the University of Nebraska.

Remarks on this paper were made by Professor C. A. Smith.

14. "Poe's critique of Hawthorne." By Dr. H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri.

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The inconsistency of what Poe says of Hawthorne was first discussed. It is due to the running together by the editors into what would seem to be one article of two different reviews. One is a review of the "Twice Told Tales," and appeared in *Graham's* for May, 1842; the other is on the "Mosses from an Old Manse," and was not printed till 1847, in the November issue of Godey's *Lady's Book*. Poe has changed his mind in the interval and now declares that Hawthorne, far from being "original at all points," as he said in 1842, is "not original in any sense." He then goes on to charge Hawthorne, by a most unmistakable implication, with having learned his style and adopted his choice of subject from Tieck. "Those who speak of him as original mean nothing more than that he differs in his manner or tone, and in his choice of subjects, from any writer of their acquaintance—their acquaintance not extending to the German Tieck, whose manner, in *some* of his works, is absolutely identical with that *habitual* to Hawthorne. . . . These points properly understood, it will be seen that the critic (unacquainted with Tieck) who reads a single tale or essay by Hawthorne, may be justified in thinking him original; but the tone, or manner, or choice of subject, which induces in this critic the sense of the new, will—if not in a second tale, at least in a third and all subsequent ones—not only fail of inducing it, but bring about an exactly antagonistic impression."

What led Poe to make this charge?

Poe did not know German well enough to detect the "manner" of a German book. Such of Tieck's work, as was well known in this country, gives little justification for Poe's charge. But Poe was not, as Schönbach (*Englische Studien*, vol. VII) seems to have thought, the originator of the idea. The suggestion had been made in print at least five times before Poe took it up and gave it the sharp expression quoted above. Poe doubtless saw it first in the *Democratic Review* for April, 1845; and again in the same magazine for September, 1845. That the idea had not occurred to him up to December, 1844, is pretty clear from the fact that in a criticism of Hawthorne in his "Marginalia" (printed in the *Democratic Review* for December, 1844) he charges Hawthorne with plagiarism from himself ("William Wilson"), and from Michel Angelo, but says no word of Tieck. That the mention of Tieck in the *Democratic* for May, 1845, is what gave Poe the notion is further confirmed by the fact that in the review in which he makes the charge he mentions several reviews of Hawthorne, but does *not* mention that in the *Democratic* for May, 1845. He wanted to appear to have made the discovery himself.

If, as has been supposed, Poe did not know Tieck directly, but only through translations and reviews, it is not surprising that he should have thought Tieck and Hawthorne very much alike. A number of articles on Tieck in English magazines (*Monthly Review*, April, 1841; *Blackwood's*, September, 1837; *Ib.*, February, 1833) had characterized Tieck in language that seems to us far more appropriate to Hawthorne than to him. Poe

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was accustomed to newspaper ways of doing things, and would be very likely to look for information about Tieck in the reviews.

There is, however, a definiteness about Poe's expression of the charge that makes one think he had something definite in his mind when he spoke of "Tieck's manner, in *some* of his works." He probably had in mind a little allegory of Tieck's that appeared in translation in the *Democratic* for May, 1845: "The Friends, from the German of Ludwig Tieck." "Die Freunde" is by no means a characteristic piece of Tieck's writing, having been produced before he developed the "romantic" manner so evident in the "Phantasus"—the manner that his name stood for among English and American readers in 1845. It is rather remarkable that it should have been chosen for translation at this time. It comes very much nearer to Hawthorne's manner than either the *Märchen* or the *Novellen*. The tone, the choice of subject, and (as translated for the *Democratic*) even the diction and phrasing, are very close indeed to Hawthorne's in the "Twice Told Tales" and the "Mosses." It was this that justified Poe in writing that Tieck's "manner, in *some* of his works, is absolutely identical with that *habitual* to Hawthorne."

No attempt was made in the paper to determine whether Hawthorne was really influenced by Tieck or not.

15. "The concord of collectives in English." By Professor C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Louisiana.

The discussion was conducted by Professors S. W. Cutting, F. A. Blackburn, Drs. C. W. Eastman, H. M. Belden, and the author.

The grammarians all state that when a collective noun is thought of as an aggregate, the dependencies (verb and pronoun) are singular; but that when the constituent members of the collective are thought of, the dependencies are plural. Illustrations were cited from the grammars of English, French, German, Spanish, Latin, and Greek.

Such a view leaves out of consideration the transition in the syntax of collectives from singular to plural. If we follow the collective a little farther into the sentence or paragraph than the grammarians have hitherto done, we shall find that the normal tendency of the collective is from unity to plurality, never from plurality to unity. Many sentences were cited from all periods of English in illustration of this singular-plural tendency, none being found that illustrate the opposite tendency.

Two cautions need to be emphasized: (1) Collectives preceded by *this*, *that*, or *a* (*an*) are not necessarily singular in meaning; for these words are formalists, agreeing not with the thought-content of the collective, but solely with its grammatical form, which is singular. In other words, *this*, *that*, and *a* (*an*) are indeclinable before collectives grammatically singular.

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We cannot say *these crowd*, even though the dependencies immediately following may prove conclusively that *crowd* is used with plural import. The three apparent exceptions—*these people*, *these kind*, *these sort*—do not affect the integrity of the principle.

(2) No illustrative sentences are cited in which the influence of a partitive genitive following the collective may have influenced the sequent concord, the contention being that the trend from singular to plural is normal, or psychological, and not dependent on environment or attraction.

The principle, then, may be stated thus: The normal tendency of the collective is from unity to plurality. Though the collective may at the outset represent a plural conception, its singular form enables it for a short while to hold its own as a singular and to keep its dependencies singular; but as it begins to share in the activity of the sentence, and as thought becomes more and more focussed upon it, disintegration sets it; it escapes from the thraldom of its singular form, and its dependencies all become plural. This is but an illustration of the psychological law that to visualize a concept is at the same time to individualize it.

16. "The true relation of the Belfagor novels of Machiavelli, Doni, and Brevio." By Professor A. Gerber, of Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. [Read by title.]

The true relation of the three Belfagor stories can only be determined by a critical comparison of the manuscript of Machiavelli with the earliest prints of the three stories. The main results of such a comparison are the following:

1. Doni's version agrees verbatim with the manuscript of Machiavelli, except the first two pages and a half and a few lines on the last.

2. The parts of Doni's version which do not agree with it differ in their whole tenor so much from the rest as to betray themselves thereby as changes made by Doni.

3. The original manuscript of the Belfagor story which Doni claims to have had in his hand must, therefore, have been the manuscript of Machiavelli.

4. By basing his own version on Machiavelli's and not on Brevio's, Doni doubtlessly casts his evidence together with Giunti in favor of Machiavelli against Brevio.

5. The versions of Brevio and Machiavelli are not copies, the one of the other, but the one rewrote the version of the other in his own style.

6. The agreement in expression and division into sentences, however, is such that the one cannot simply have heard the story of the other told, but that the one must have used the manuscript or a copy of the manuscript of the other.

7. Some particular divergencies can only be explained by the assumption that Brevio made use of Machiavelli and not *vice versa*.

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8. Hence, the evidence from the manuscript and earliest prints, as well as Doni's evidence, pronounce Machiavelli the author of the story.

Adding to this accessory evidence from the history of the Belfagor story in Italy and other countries two more conclusions may be drawn:

1. Machiavelli took the *outline* of the story, which perhaps already included the council in Hell, either from popular tradition or from some unknown written source.

2. There is no reliable proof or probability that there ever existed a Latin manuscript which gave the story in a form *closely* resembling that of Machiavelli's, Brevio's and Doni's stories.

In accordance with the nominations made by the Committee on Officers the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, C. Alphonso Smith.

Secretary and Treasurer, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.

First Vice-President, A. H. Edgren.

Second Vice-President, Edward P. Morton.

Third Vice-President, Katharine Merrill.

Members of the Council, J. S. Nollen, Ernst Voss, F. I. Carpenter, A. G. Canfield.

Professor L. Fossler reported that the Auditing Committee had examined the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer and found them correct.

On motion of Professor F. A. Blackburn the cordial thanks of the Association were extended to the University of Nebraska and the Local Committee for their hospitable entertainment.

The meeting adjourned at 11.45 a. m.

CORRECTIONS.

P. 356, l. 10, *read* versification; that.—P. 356, l. 11 *from below, read* has not.—P. 363, l. 11 *from below, read* exigencies do arise.—P. 364, l. 10 *from below, read* is suggestive.

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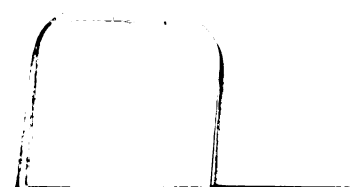

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